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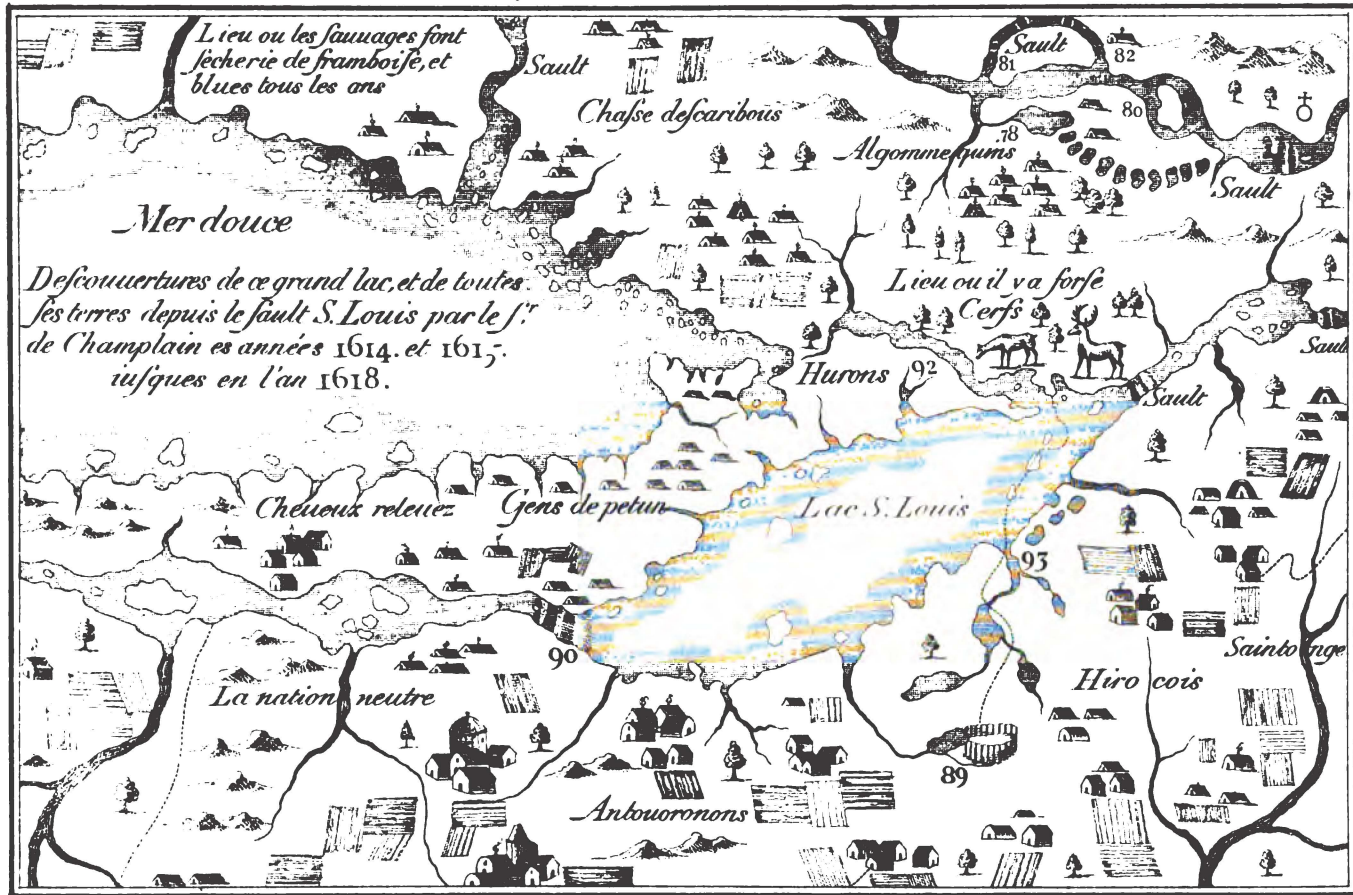
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# Fac-Simile of Part of the Champlain Map of 1632.



Lith. of Bates & Koch, 171 Pearl St. N. Y.

## EXPLANATION.

The map prefixed is a photo-lithographic fac-simile of the original which accompanies the edition of the Voyages of Champlain in New France, printed at Paris, in 1632.

The numbers 89, 90, 93 appear in the original, and are thus explained in a table annexed :

89. Village renfermé de 4 pallisades ou le Sieur de Champlain fut à la guerre contre les Antouhonorons, où il fut pris plusieurs prisonniers sauvages.

*Translation :* Village enclosed within 4 palisades, where the Sieur de Champlain was during the war upon the Antouhonorons, and where numerous savages were made prisoners.

90. Sault d'eau au bout du Sault Saint Louis fort hault où plusieurs sortes de poissons descendans s'estourdissent.

*Translation :* A waterfall of considerable height, at the end of the Sault St. Louis, where several kinds of fish are stunned in their descent.

93. Bois des Chastaigniers où il y a forces chastaignes sur le bord du lac S. Louis et quantité de prairies, vignes et noyers.

*Translation :* Woods of chestnut trees, with abundance of chestnuts, and extensive meadow lands, with vines and walnut trees on the border of Lake St. Louis.





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## CHAMPLAIN'S EXPEDITION OF 1615 AGAINST THE ONONDAGAS.

IN the year 1615, there dwelt on the south-eastern shore of Lake Huron, between Lake Simcoe and the Georgian Bay, a nation of Indians who were called in their own language, "Wendats" or "Wyandots," and by the French "Hurons." There is no record of their having been visited by the white man prior to the above date. In the same year, the Sieur de Champlain, the Father of French Colonization in America, who had entered the St. Lawrence in 1603 and founded Quebec five years later, ascended the river Ottawa as far as the Huron country—Le Caron, the Franciscan, having preceded him by a few days only. These adventurous pioneers were seeking, in their respective spheres, and by concurrent enterprises, the one to explore the western portions of New France, and the other to establish missions among the North American Indians.

The Hurons, and their Algonkin allies who dwelt on the Ottawa, being at that time engaged in a sanguinary war with the confederated Iroquois tribes south of Lake Ontario, persuaded Champlain to join them in an expedition which they were projecting into the territories of their enemy. The combined forces set out from Ca-i-ha-gué, the chief town of the Hurons, situated between the river Severn and Matchedash Bay, on the first day of September, 1615.<sup>1</sup>

Crossing Lake Simcoe in their bark canoes, they made a short portage to the headquarters of the River Trent, and descended in its zigzag channel into Lake Ontario. Passing from island to island in the group which lies in the eastern extremity of that Lake, they safely reached its southern shore, and landed in the present State of New York. Concealing their canoes in the adjacent woods, they started overland for their Iroquois enemies.

<sup>1</sup> Champlain's Voyages. Edition of 1632, p. 251.

In an account of this expedition, read before the New York Historical Society in March, 1849, and published in its Proceedings for that year,<sup>1</sup> I endeavored to establish the precise point where the invaders landed, the route which they pursued, and the position of the Iroquois fort which they besieged. The fact that Champlain had, at that early day, visited the central part of the State of New York, seemed to have been overlooked by all previous writers, and was deemed to be an interesting topic for historical investigation. Taking for my guide the edition of Champlain's works published in 1632, the only one then accessible,<sup>2</sup> I became satisfied on a careful study of the text alone, the map being lost, that the expedition landed at or near Pointe de Traverse, now called "Stony Point," in Jefferson County, and from thence proceeded in a southerly direction, and after crossing the Big and Little Sandy creeks and Salmon and Oneida rivers, reached the Iroquois fort on Onondaga Lake. I fully stated these conclusions in the communication above referred to, and they were approved and adopted by several of our American historians.<sup>3</sup> Other writers, however, of equal note and authority, locate the fort as far west as Canandaigua Lake.<sup>4</sup>

In view of these considerations, I have been led to reexamine the subject, aided by additional sources of information, particularly by the late Abbé Laverdière's recent edition of all of Champlain's works. My present purpose is to state, briefly, the result of that re-examination, and the additional grounds upon which I adhere to my former conclusions, I will first, for convenient reference, give a literal translation of that part of Champlain's narrative which relates to the question. It is taken from the edition of 1619, which differs in a few unimportant particulars from that of 1632. After describing the voyage until their embarkation near the eastern end of Lake Ontario, a synopsis of which has already been given, our historian says:—<sup>5</sup>

"We made about fourteen leagues in crossing to the other side of the Lake, in a southerly direction, towards the territories of the enemy. The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore. We made by land about four leagues, over a sandy beach, where I no-

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings for 1849, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> The first account of the expedition was published in 1619.

<sup>3</sup> Brodhead's History of New York, Vol. I., p. 69; Clark's History of Onondaga, Vol. I., p. 253; Shea's edition of Charlevoix's New France, Vol. II., p. 28, note.

<sup>4</sup> O'Callaghan's Doc. Hist. of New York, Vol. III., p. 10, note; Ferland's Cours D'Histoire du Canada, p. 175; Parkman's Pioneers of New France, p. 373; Laverdière's Works of Champlain, p. 528, note.

<sup>5</sup> Laverdière's Champlain, p. 526.

ticed a very agreeable and beautiful country, traversed by many small streams, and two small rivers which empty into the said Lake. Also many ponds and meadows, abounding in an infinite variety of game, numerous vines, and fine woods, a great number of chestnut trees, the fruit of which was yet in its covering. Although very small, it was of good flavor. All the canoes being thus concealed, we left the shore of the Lake, which is about eighty leagues long and twenty-five wide, the greater part of it being inhabited by Indians along its banks, and continued our way by land about twenty-five or thirty leagues. During four days we crossed numerous streams and a river issuing from a Lake which empties into that of the *Entouhonorons*. This Lake, which is about twenty-five or thirty leagues in circumference, contains several beautiful islands, and is the place where our Iroquois enemies catch their fish, which are there in great abundance. On the 9th of October, our people being on a scout, encountered eleven Indians whom they took prisoners, namely, four women, three boys, a girl, and three men, who were going to the fishery, distant four leagues from the enemies' fort. \* \* The next day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived before the fort. \* \* \* Their village was enclosed with four strong rows of interlaced palisades, composed of large pieces of wood, thirty feet high, not more than half a foot apart and near an unfailing body of water. \* \* \* We were encamped until the 16th of the month. \* \* \* As the five hundred men did not arrive,<sup>1</sup> the Indians decided to leave by an immediate retreat, and began to make baskets in which to carry the wounded, who were placed in them doubled in a heap, and so bent and tied as to render it impossible for them to stir, any more than an infant in its swaddling clothes, and not without great suffering, as I can testify, having been carried several days on the back of one of our Indians, thus tied and imprisoned, which made me lose all patience. As soon as I had strength to sustain myself, I escaped from this prison, or to speak plainly, from this hell.

"The enemy pursued us about half a league, in order to capture some of our rear guard, but their efforts were useless and they withdrew. \* \* \* The retreat was very tedious, being from twenty-five to thirty leagues, and greatly fatigued the wounded, and those who carried them, though they relieved each other from time to time. On the 18th considerable snow fell which lasted but a short time. It was accompanied with a violent wind, which greatly incommoded us.

<sup>1</sup> A reinforcement they were expecting from the Carantouanais, who lived on the sources of the Susquehanna.

Nevertheless we made such progress, that we reached the banks of the Lake of the *Entouhonorons*, at the place where we had concealed our canoes, and which were found all whole. We were apprehensive that the enemy had broken them up."

I will now proceed to examine the reasons which have been assigned in favor of locating the Iroquois fort on or west of Canandaigua Lake. They are three-fold, and founded on the following assumptions: 1st. That the *Entouhonorons*, whose territory was invaded, were the *Senecas*, then residing on and west of Canandaigua Lake.<sup>1</sup> 2d. That the route, as laid down on the map of Champlain, which is annexed to the edition of 1632, indicates that the fort was on Canandaigua Lake, or on a tributary of the Genesee river, and consequently in the *Seneca* country.<sup>2</sup> 3d. That the distances traveled by the expedition, as stated by Champlain, prove that the extreme point he reached must have been in the *Seneca* country.<sup>3</sup>

I will notice these propositions in their order. 1st. In regard to the identity of the *Entouhonorons* with the *Senecas*. One of the arguments urged in favor of this identity is based on the similarity of name, the *Senecas* being called "*Sonontoerrhonons*" by the Hurons. But the latter called the Onondagas "*Onontaerrhonons*," which bears quite as strong a resemblance to *Entouhonorons* as the name they applied to the *Senecas*. It may be stated here that O'Callaghan, Parkman, Ferland, and Laverdière, each called the tribe in question "*Entouhonorons*," whereas, Champlain, in all the editions of his works, refers to them invariably as "*Entouhonorons*." He never calls them "*Entouhonorons*" in his *text*. On the *map* annexed to the edition of 1632, they are named "*Antouoronons*," but in the *index* to the map, "*Antouhonorons*."<sup>4</sup> It must, therefore, have been from the map, and not from the text, that the word "*Entouhonorons*" was derived. The other name, as uniformly given by Champlain in his text, we must assume to be correct, in preference to the solitary entry on the map.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Champlain's Voyages. Ed. 1632, Part I., pp. 254-263. Laverdière's Reprint of the Narrative of 1619, pp. 38-48.

<sup>2</sup> Laverdière's Champlain, Vol. 1, p. 521, n. 1. Parkman's Pioneers, p. 373, n.

<sup>3</sup> O'Callaghan, in Doc. Hist. N. Y., Vol. 1, p. 10, n. Parkman's Pioneers, p. 373.

<sup>4</sup> Laverdière's Champlain, Vol. 1, p. 518, n.

<sup>5</sup> Laverdière's Champlain, Vol. 2, p. 1392.

<sup>6</sup> If it be assumed that the terminations "*ronons*" and "*norons*" are identical, and mere suffixes, signifying, in the Huron language, "people," see Father Bruya's Mohawk Dictionary, p. 18, then, if those terminations are dropped from each of the three words, they will respectively become "*sonontoe*," "*onontae*," and "*entouho*," and represent the names of the *places* where those nations resided. Now it cannot be said that there is any stronger resemblance between *sonontoe* and *entouho*, then between *onontae* and *entouho*.



It is supposed by some that the edition of 1632, which contains the map, and is composed of his previous publications, was not the work of Champlain, and never passed under his personal supervision. It is asserted that it was compiled by his publisher, Claude Collet,<sup>1</sup> to whose carelessness the error in the name, as contained on the map, may be attributed. There was no map annexed to the edition of 1619, and the one which accompanied that of 1632 was not constructed until seventeen years after the date of the expedition, as appears from a memorandum on its face. It may not have been compiled from authentic data. One of the discrepancies between it and the text is its location of the "*Antouoronons*," not at the Iroquois fort, but a long distance west of it, thus making a distinction between them and the Iroquois who were living at the fort that is wholly unwarranted by anything contained in the narrative. It is also worthy of note, that the map is not once referred to by Champlain in his text. Not only was it constructed after all his narratives were written, but the index to it was evidently added by some other hand. Another argument urged in favor of the identity of the *Entouhononons* with the Senecas has been drawn from the existence of a nation, called by Champlain "*Chountouaroïon*," which is undoubtedly a misprint for "*Chonontouaronon*." They are described as living between the Hurons of Canada, and the *Carantouanais* (or Andastes), on the Susquehanna.<sup>2</sup> Champlain says that, "in going from the one to the other, a grand detour is necessary, in order to avoid the *Chonontouaronon*, which is a very strong nation."<sup>3</sup> From the name and location, they can be no other than the Senecas.

The Abbé Laverdière assumes that the *Chouontouaronons* and *Entouhononons* are one and the same people.<sup>4</sup> This cannot be true, for Champlain mentions them both in almost the same sentence, and gives to each their respective names, without a hint of their identity.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, Laverdière, in support of his theory, is obliged to interpolate a word in the text of Champlain, which is entirely superfluous.<sup>6</sup> The identity of the *Entouhononons* with the Senecas, rather than with the Onondagas, cannot therefore be established by any supposed similarity of name.

<sup>1</sup> Harris. Bibliographie de la N. France, p. 66. See also Laverdière's Champlain, pp. 637-8.

<sup>2</sup> Shea's Charlevoix, Vol. 2, p. 28, n. The letters "n" and "u" occur frequently in Indian names, and it is quite difficult to distinguish the one from the other in manuscript. Their being often mistaken for each other occasions numerous typographical errors.

<sup>3</sup> Jesuit Relation for 1648. Quebec Reprint, pp. 46-48.

<sup>4</sup> Laverdière's Champlain, p. 522.

<sup>5</sup> Laverdière's Champlain, p. 521, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> Laverdière's Champlain, p. 909-910.

<sup>7</sup> Laverdière's Champlain, p. 522, note 1.

2d. The next in order for consideration, is the *route* pursued by the expedition, and the *site* of the Iroquois fort, as they are indicated on the map.

A slight examination of the annexed *fac-simile* of that portion of the original map, which relates to this expedition, will show it to be wholly unreliable as a guide in any investigation of Champlain's route. It is incorrect in most of its details. Although the original exhibits the general outlines of Lakes Ontario and Huron, Lake Erie is almost entirely ignored, an irregular strait, bearing little resemblance to it, being substituted. Lake Ontario, as shown by the *fac-simile*, is erroneously represented as containing several islands scattered along its northern and southern shore, and the Niagara river as running due east into its westernmost extremity. The Great Falls are located at the very mouth of the river. Everything is distorted, and in some places it is scarcely recognizable. The supposed route of Champlain is indicated by a *dotted line*, which, crossing Lake Ontario along a chain of imaginary islands, nearly opposite the mouth of the Oswego river, strikes the southern shore at that point. All evidence that the expedition traversed the "sandy beach" which stretches along the Lake shore, south of Stony Point, as referred to in the text, is *entirely omitted*. From the mouth of the Oswego, the line pursues a southerly direction, and after crossing what appears to be the present Seneca river, and another stream, passes between two lakes directly to the Iroquois fort. This route, as thus shown by the *map*, is highly improbable, unnecessarily circuitous, and cannot possibly be reconciled with the text of Champlain.<sup>1</sup> If the expedition had gone as far west as Canandaigua lake, Champlain would have passed near to, and have become acquainted with, the existence of no less than eight of those remarkable inland sheets of water which form so conspicuous a feature in the scenery of central New York, not to mention three others a little further west. Only five lakes are indicated on the map, and none are mentioned in the narrative, except Oneida Lake and the one on which the fort was situated. They would certainly have been as worthy of description as the "sandy beach," "the beautiful wooded country," "the numerous streams," the Oneida "lake and river," and

<sup>1</sup> In the *fac-simile* of Champlain's map, published by Tross, in Paris, the dotted line, where it should cross Lake Ontario, as shown by the original map, is omitted. The same portion of the line is also wanting in the *fac-simile* published by Dr. O'Callaghan, in Vol. III. of the Documentary History of New York, and by Laverdière, in his recent edition of Champlain's works. The islands in the eastern end of Lake Ontario, as represented on the original map, are also entirely omitted on Dr. O'Callaghan's *fac-simile*.

"the small lake," adjacent to the Iroquois fort, which were met with on the route and noticed in the narrative.

3d. It is urged, as an additional argument against the location of the Iroquois fort in the Onondaga country, that the distance of "twenty-five or thirty leagues," stated by Champlain to have been traveled by the invaders after they had landed, as well in going to as in returning from the fort, necessarily indicates that they must have gone at least as far west as Canandaigua Lake. It may be said that in stating this distance, Champlain intended to exclude the "four leagues" which they traveled over "a sandy beach," immediately after they had concealed their canoes, thus making from twenty-nine to thirty-four leagues in all. But this cannot be a fair construction of his language. He says, "We made about fourteen leagues in crossing the lake in a southerly direction. The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore. We traveled by land some four leagues over a sandy beach." A little further on he continues: "All the canoes being concealed, we proceeded by land about twenty-five or thirty leagues during four days." He thus includes the "four leagues" in the four days' travel of "twenty-five or thirty leagues."

The above construction is justified by the further statement, that the same distance of "twenty-five or thirty leagues" was traveled by the expedition on its *return* from the fort to the canoes, referring to the *whole* distance. "The retreat," he says, "was very tedious, being from twenty-five to thirty leagues, and greatly fatigued the wounded and those who bore them, although they relieved each other from time to time." Yet this retreat must have been accomplished in *two days*, half the time it took to reach the fort from the landing, for he states they were encamped before the fort until the 16th of October, and reached their canoes on the 18th. Charlevoix says they did not stop during their retreat<sup>1</sup>—a physical impossibility, certainly, if they had started from a point as far west as Canandaigua Lake. This assertion of Charlevoix does not appear to be warranted by the narrative of Champlain.

Those writers who, relying on the map, locate the fort on Canandaigua Lake, lose sight of the fact that it discharges its waters into Lake Ontario through the Clyde, Seneca and Oswego rivers, whereas the map places the fort on a stream which empties into Lake Ontario at a point much further west. In considering the question of *distance*, it must be borne in mind, that the attacking party was on foot, advancing cautiously

<sup>1</sup> Laverdière's Champlain, p. 526.

<sup>2</sup> Charlevoix' N. France, Vol. I., p. 241 Edition of 1744.

towards a formidable enemy, in a hostile and unexplored country, destitute of roads and abounding in dense forests, numerous rivers and miry swamps. Under such circumstances, incumbered as they were with their implements of war and other effects, their progress must have been slow. The distances which are given by Champlain, being measured only by time, are consequently over-estimated. On their retreat, they had become more familiar with the country, and under the stimulus of an enemy in the rear, accomplished their return with much greater rapidity. From Stony Point where they landed, to Onondaga Lake, following in part the beach of Lake Ontario, is fifty-three miles, by the *shortest possible line*, as measured on a reliable map. But it would have been impossible for such an expedition to pursue so direct a course, owing to the necessity of moving circumspectly, and of seeking the most convenient and practicable route through an unknown wilderness. It would not be unreasonable to deduct at least one-fifth from the number of leagues stated by Champlain, in order to arrive at the actual air line distance between the place where he landed and the Iroquois fort.<sup>1</sup> If, therefore, we take one-fifth from twenty-seven and a half leagues, which is the mean of the two distances given by Champlain, it will leave twenty-two leagues, or fifty-three and a half miles, as the true distance, measured on an air line. As an example of over-estimates by Champlain himself, reference may be had to the width of Lake Ontario, which he says is "twenty-five leagues," an excess of one-fifth.<sup>2</sup> Also to the circumference of Oneida Lake, which he states at "twenty-five or thirty leagues," an excess of one-fourth. Numerous other examples might be cited.

<sup>1</sup> Champlain's distances are stated in "leagues." Several, differing in length, were used by the French, under that name. Among them were the "*lieue de poste*" of  $2\frac{4}{10}$  English miles—the "*lieue moyenne*" of  $2\frac{7}{10}$  English miles, and the "*lieue géographique*" of  $3\frac{2}{10}$  English miles. It is important, in discussing this question, to determine the length of the one used by Champlain. Neither his narrative, nor his map of 1632, affords any light on the subject. There is inscribed on a map published in Paris in 1664, entitled: "Le Canada fait par le Sr. de Champlain \* \* \* suivant les Mémoires de P. du Val," a scale of "*Lieues Françaises chacune de 2,500 pas géométriques*." It is fair to presume that the length of the league, as given on this map is identical with the one used by Champlain. As a geometrical pace is  $1\frac{6}{10}$  French metres, or  $3\frac{2}{10}$  English feet, it follows that Champlain's league must be  $2\frac{4}{10}$  English miles, differing slightly from the length of the *lieue de poste* as above stated. This conclusion would account for the discrepancy which has arisen from calling the old French league equivalent to three English miles. The English miles, stated in the text, have been computed on the basis of two and a half to a French league. Even if there were three, it would not change the result, or carry the expedition west of Onondaga Lake. By reckoning the league as equivalent to two and a half miles, many supposed discrepancies of early French travelers in America are reconciled, and their over-estimates of distances explained.

<sup>2</sup> Laverdière's Champlain, p. 527.

It may be interesting, in this connection, to compare Champlain's statements with those of the Jesuit Dablon, who traveled twice over the same route in 1655 and 1656, under much more favorable circumstances for correctly estimating the distances. He informs us that, in company with Father Chaumonot, he left Montreal on the 7th day of October, 1655, for the Onondaga country, and reached "*Otihatangué*" (the mouth of Salmon river) by canoe on the 29th of the same month.<sup>1</sup> That he landed the next day, and prepared to go on foot to *Onondaga*. That on the first day of November, after going "*five good leagues*," he encamped for the night on the banks of a small stream. Early the next day he continued his journey for "*six or seven leagues*," and encamped for the night in the open air. On the third, before sunrise, he resumed his way, and reached "*Tethiroguen*," which he describes as "a river which issues from Lake *Goienho*" (Oneida Lake), and "remarkable as a rendezvous for a great number of fishermen." Here he passed the night in an Indian cabin. The distance traveled this day is not stated, but we may assume it to have been six leagues, which is about the average of the other days. On the fourth he went "*about six leagues*," and passed the night in an "open country," "*four leagues*" from Onondaga. On the fifth of November he reached the latter place,<sup>2</sup> having spent five days in traveling from the mouth of Salmon river, a distance, according to the narrative, of twenty-seven and a half leagues. Inasmuch, however, as the Iroquois fort is claimed to have been on Onondaga Lake, five leagues north of the ancient village of Onondaga,<sup>3</sup> which the Jesuit reached on the fifth of November, the said five leagues should, for the purpose of comparison with Champlain, be deducted from the above twenty-seven and a half leagues. To the resulting difference should be added, for the same reason, six and a half leagues, being the distance from Stony Point to the mouth of the Salmon river, thus making, from the said Point to the fort, according to the Jesuit narrative, twenty-nine and a half leagues, which is a little short of the extreme distance of thirty leagues stated by Champlain.

Leaving *Chaumonot* at Onondaga, *Dablon* set out on his return to Quebec on the second day of March, 1656,<sup>4</sup> over nearly the same route, and traveled that day *five leagues*. On the third he rested on account of the rain. On the fourth he traveled *six leagues* to Oneida Lake. Fear-

<sup>1</sup> Relation of 1656, p. 7. Quebec Edition.

<sup>2</sup> Onondaga was situated a few miles south of the present city of Syracuse.

<sup>3</sup> Jesuit Relation for 1657, p. 14. Quebec edition.

<sup>4</sup> Jesuit Relation for 1656, p. 35. Quebec edition.



ing to venture on the thin ice, he spent the next day on its banks. On the sixth, it was sufficiently frozen to enable him to cross at a point where the lake was a league and a half broad. He reached the mouth of Salmon river on the eighth, a little before noon, consuming in travel, exclusive of detentions, four and a half days. The rate of progress, after crossing Oneida Lake, is not given, but, estimating six leagues as an average day's travel, would make twenty-six leagues from the Onondaga village to the mouth of Salmon river. After allowing the same deductions and additions as in the case of his previous trip, it would leave twenty-seven and a half leagues, which is the mean of the two distances stated by Champlain. By thus comparing Champlain's estimates with those of the Jesuit, it will be readily seen that the expedition of the former could not possibly have extended west of Onondaga Lake.

Having thus examined the reasons which have been urged in favor of locating the fort in question on Seneca territory, founded on the similarity between the names which the Hurons bestowed on the Iroquois and the *Entouhonorons*, and also the reasons for such location, based on the course of the "dotted line" laid down on Champlain's map, between the point where he landed and the said fort, and on the distances which Champlain states were traveled by him, between the same points, it now remains to state and consider the objections which exist against placing the location of the fort as far west as the Seneca Country.

1st. The actual distance between the place of landing and the foot of Canandaigua Lake, measured on the shortest possible line, is ninety-six miles, or thirty-eight and a half leagues. It would be absurd, however, to suppose that the expedition could have followed so direct a course. On the contrary, in accomplishing the distance to the fort, it must have passed over, as stated on a previous page, at least one-fifth more than a straight line between the said points. This fact, without allowing anything for Champlain's over-estimate, would, in case the objective point were Canandaigua Lake, make the distance actually traveled at least forty-six leagues, or not less than one hundred and fifteen miles. If, as is claimed by some, the fort were still further west, on a tributary of the Genesee,<sup>1</sup> it would add several leagues more to the difficulty. 2d. The design of the expedition was to attack an Iroquois tribe living south of Lake Ontario. The assailants were the Hurons, living on the eastern shore of the lake which bears their name. They started from their principal village, which was situated west of Lake Simcoe, on the borders of the Huron country nearest to the Iroquois.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laverdière's Champlain, p. 528, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Jesuit Relation, 1640, p. 90, Quebec edition. Laverdière's Champlain, p. 518, note 1.

Now, if it were their object to attack the Senecas, the shortest and most feasible route to reach them would have been either in a southerly direction around the western extremity of Lake Ontario, through the territory of the friendly Neuter nation, who then lived on both sides of the Niagara, or by canoe directly across the lake, or by coasting along its western shore, landing, in either case, near the mouth of the Genesee river. The fact that the expedition chose the circuitous and toilsome route by the river Trent, through crooked lakes and tortuous channels, involving numerous portages, and traveled eastward for the entire length of Lake Ontario, crossing its eastern extremity in search of an enemy on its south side, affords a strong presumption that the enemy thus sought was located near that eastern extremity. 3d. If the object were to attack the Senecas, the Hurons and their allies would hardly have chosen a route which would separate them so far from their canoes, at the risk of being outflanked by the watchful and kindred Iroquois tribes whom they must pass on the way. After crossing the eastern end of Lake Ontario, it would have been much less hazardous and fatiguing to have coasted along its southern shore to Irondequoit bay, from whence the Senecas could easily be reached, as they were by Gallinée in 1669, and by Demonville in 1687.

Having examined the arguments which have been urged in favor of the location of the Iroquois fort in the country of the Senecas, and noticed a few of the principal objections against it, some of the affirmative proofs, establishing its site on or near Onondaga Lake, remain to be considered.

A careful examination of Champlain's narrative will show that, as before stated, he must have landed on what has been designated as "*Pointe de Traverse*" or "Stony Point," in Jefferson County. It is the nearest and most feasible landing from the islands which are grouped in the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario, and along which the expedition undoubtedly passed before reaching its southern shore.<sup>1</sup> It is well known that from the earliest times the Indians and voyageurs, as they crossed the Lake in rough weather, availed themselves of the protection of those islands. They form a continuous chain, stretching from shore to shore, embracing the Inner Ducks, Outer Ducks, Great Galloo, Little Galloo, Calf and Stony Islands. The distances between them are unequal, in no case exceeding seven miles. The expedition could not easily have landed directly upon the point in question, as it presents a perpendicular rocky bluff, washed at its base by the lake, and forms a bold and in-

<sup>1</sup>Champlain says, "There were large, fine islands on the passage."—*Laverdière's Champlain*, p. 526.

surmountable barrier for some distance in either direction. By passing around the northern extremity of the point, now called "six town point," a safe and sheltered bay is accessible, at the bottom of which is the present harbor of Henderson. This convenient and secluded position was undoubtedly chosen by Champlain and his companions as a favorable point for leaving and concealing their canoes.<sup>1</sup> Having accomplished their debarkation, the invaders followed, for four leagues in a southerly direction, the sandy beach which still borders the lake as far south as Salmon river. It is about six and a half leagues from Stony Point to that river. The many small streams and ponds mentioned by Champlain can easily be identified by the aid of a correct map. The "two small rivers" are undoubtedly those now known as the Big Sandy creek and Salmon river. The invaders were four days from the time of their landing in reaching the Iroquois fort. The narrative states that after passing the two small rivers above mentioned, "they crossed another issuing from a lake, which empties into that of the *Entouhonorons*." This undoubtedly refers to Oneida river and Lake. "This Lake," says the narrative, "is about twenty-five or thirty leagues in circumference,"<sup>2</sup> contains beautiful islands, and is the place where the Iroquois *catch their fish*, which are there in abundance." After crossing Oneida river, the scouts encountered and captured a party of Iroquois, "*going to the fishery, distant four leagues from the enemy's fort*." This locates the fort four leagues south of the outlet of Oneida lake. The latter point was always a noted resort for Salmon fishery in the early history of the country. It is so referred to in one of *Dablon's Journals* above quoted, and in many other early narratives.

The expedition must have met the party of Iroquois, which included women and children, not far from the fishery and the village, which were only about four leagues or ten miles apart. They were probably going from the latter to the former. This was on the 9th of October. *On the next day*, at 3 P. M., they reached the fort. It would have required two or three days more time, and sixty miles more of hard marching, to have arrived at Canandaigua Lake.

It is impossible, from the meager details given by Champlain, to ascertain the *precise* locality of the fort. He places it near a small lake,

<sup>1</sup> A natural landing place of rock formation, existed there in olden time, known as the "Indian Wharf." A trail or portage road, 300 rods long, led from the landing to Stony Creek. See French's N. Y. State Gazetteer, p. 358. MS. letter of the Hon. Wm. C. Pierrepont, of Pierrepont manor, to the author.

<sup>2</sup> Lake Ontario.

<sup>3</sup> These dimensions are, as usual, over-stated.

and there is no site more probable, nor one which corresponds in more particulars to Champlain's description, than the banks of Onondaga Lake. The late Joshua V. H. Clark, author of the "History of Onondaga," states that traces of an ancient Indian fortification were discovered by the first settlers, on the east side of that lake, near the present village of Liverpool. These may have been the remains of the fort in question. There is reason to believe that Monsieur Dupuis and his companions, including several Jesuit missionaries, occupied the same locality in 1656. It is described by the Jesuits<sup>1</sup> as a beautiful, convenient and advantageous eminence, overlooking Lake Gannentaa (Onondaga Lake) and all the neighboring country, and abounding in numerous fresh water springs.<sup>2</sup> Its distance from the chief village of the Onondagas, where burned from time immemorial the ancient council fire of the Iroquois Confederacy, is stated to be four leagues, which would indicate that its location must have been near Liverpool.

It is also supposed that the *Count de Frontenac* encamped in the same place, when he invaded the Onondaga country in 1696, and that Col. Van Schaick occupied the identical ground while on his expedition against the Onondagas in 1779.<sup>3</sup> It was a position which undoubtedly commended itself to the sagacious Iroquois as eminently suitable for a defensive structure, and was thus early used for that purpose.

In the discussion of this question, I have endeavored fully and fairly to present the points, and to give due force to the arguments which have been urged in favor of the identity of the *Entouhonorons* with the *Senecas*, and of the location of the Iroquois fort in the territory of the latter. It is submitted that the weight of testimony is decidedly, if not conclusively, against those propositions, and that we must look on the banks of the Onondaga Lake, in the heart of the central canton of the great Iroquois Confederacy, for the site of that rude fortification which, more than two centuries and a half ago, so bravely and successfully resisted the allied Hurons and Algonkins of the northwest, aided by Champlain and his firearms, and after repeated assaults and a siege of several days compelled the assailants to abandon the enterprise, and retreat ignominiously from the Iroquois country.

O. H. MARSHALL.

<sup>1</sup> On the first settlement of the country, the outlines of a fortification at this point were plainly visible, of which a sketch was made in 1797, by Judge Geddes, then Deputy Surveyor General of New York. A copy is given in the second volume of Clark's *Onondaga*, page 147. A spring exists, at the present time, near the site of the fort, called Gannentaa Spring.

<sup>2</sup> Relation 1657, p. 14. Quebec edition.

<sup>3</sup> Clark's *Onondaga*, Vol. 1, p. 256.

## THE LOST CITY OF NEW ENGLAND

**I**N the Old World lost cities are as common as lost thrones, but in the New they are as rare as lost stars. In distant portions of the North American Continent explorers find here and there a solitary ruin without name or date, but along our eastern borders such memorials are sought in vain. New England presents the most unfruitful field of all. Some, indeed, imagine that Pemaquid furnishes indications of an early occupation by a civilized people, who thus far have had no mention in history; but Pemaquid is not "The Lost City of New England."

The antiquary comes sensibly nearer to a Lost City upon reaching the story of "Agamenticus," which flourished, at least on paper, soon after the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock. In truth, it should be known that Agamenticus, like Tarsus of Cilicia, was no mean city; for, while Boston was still a collection of poor huts huddled together under a hill, the Corporation of Agamenticus basked in the beams of municipal splendor. At this period, 1642, so deeply were the founders impressed with the sense of its perpetuity, that, within the jurisdiction of Edward Godfrey, "Mayor," whither the course of Empire had taken its way, the municipal incumbent was charged with the responsibility of maintaining two annual "fairs," which were to be "held and kept" on the Festivals of SS. James and Paul, "forever." Possibly, however, *our* Lost City may prove even less substantial than Agamenticus, whose site is now indicated by the Mount which bears its name and salutes the voyager on the New England coast from afar. What shall we say, then? Is this a search for something altogether unreal, *Chateaux en Espagne*? Granting that this may prove so, it is possible that the search for the Lost City of New England may nevertheless be attended with some profit. Eratosthenes, as we learn from Strabo, did not expect to discover the whereabouts of Ulysses' wanderings until he could find the cobbler who sewed up the winds in the leathern sack; but since there is something behind even a phantom, we may feel encouraged in the present undertaking.

Upon recent maps no one will be able to find so much as the *name* of "The Lost City of New England." In the old cosmographies, however, it is sufficiently prominent, being called "Norumbega." In the estimation of at least the imaginative explorer, Norumbega was a wonderful place.

If not equal to the capitals of Mexico and Peru, it was certainly a Golconda in its way. Gold, pearls and precious stones abounded, and the Hudson Bay Company would have found it a paradise of peltry. The site of this remarkable city was indicated as upon the bank of the Penobscot, in the State of Maine; and thus, throughout the region where in recent times the prosperity of the people has been drawn from the forest, the lime ledge, and the harvest of ice, report invested the inhabitants with almost fabulous wealth, and declared that gold, silver and precious stones, in their abundance, were degraded to common use.

It would be an easy task, in connection with the subject of Norumbega, to show how the story of a single name may carry with it the history of an entire period, and that the fossil *word* may prove as useful as the bit of coal from the mine or the shark's tooth from the crag; but this hint must suffice.

The name of Norumbega appears as "Arambe" in a Spanish document of 1523, where it is mentioned as one of the provinces of America. Peter Martyr likewise mentions "Arambec" as one of the provinces known and visited by the Spaniards. In the map of Jerome Verrazano, 1529, there is a place on the New England coast called "Aranbega." In 1539 the Dieppe Sea-Captain speaks of Norumbega as a country discovered by Giovanni da Verrazano. In 1543 Jean Allfonsce, who about that time visited Massachusetts Bay, describes Norumbega, from report, as the capital of a great fur country on the Penobscot. Hakluyt, in one place, calls it "Morumbd[-]jega," and in another "Arambec," as though he knew that this was the equivalent for Norumbega. In 1617 Champlain once gives the form "Narembegue." Evidently the *N* is not an integral part of the word, though Father Vetromile says that the Penobscot Indians now use the word "Nolumbega," meaning "still waters between falls." The form given by Champlain appears to be no more than the equivalent of the form by Martyr, "N[aremb]egue, containing "Arembec." Martyr's word is Arambec.

When the word "Norumbega" attracted the attention of Northern antiquaries, the learned Grotius seized upon it as a form of "Norbergia," and a relic of the Northman's occupation. He even went so far as to fancy that a people dwelt upon the banks of the Penobscot, who, in manners and customs, were associated with the Mexicans, a people regarded by him, also, as of Scandinavian origin. But students of the Indian tongues soon appeared, opposing the idea of a New Norway in New England, and declaring that the word was an original compound, meaning *the place of a fine city*. It is also said that "bec" or "begue"

has about the same meaning in both the Indian and Basque tongues, which is a question for philologists to decide.

"Norumbega" continued to figure in current geographical works until about the end of the seventeenth century. Sometimes the word was used as the name of a great region of North America, and again it was applied to a city supposed to be situated upon the banks of the Penobscot. The geographer generally planted some towers and palaces on the borders of that beautiful stream, to indicate a degree of metropolitan splendor.

It is not, perhaps, so very difficult to explain the origin of these exaggerated views; for it was well understood by Columbus and his admirers that the region which he had thrown open to Europeans formed the Eastern border of the Asiatic Continent. In 1543 even Jean Allfonce, upon reaching New England, fancied himself on the border of Tartary. For a long period the Spaniards rejected the fact that the West Indies lay in a New World. The popular notion was that Columbus, by sailing West, had reached the same region visited by Marco Polo travelling East. And now what was the result? In a word, the transfer of the characteristics of Asia to the regions of the North Atlantic coast, where, sunk for ages in barbarism and reduced in numbers by war and disease, the natives, as usual with all sparse seaboard tribes, maintained a constant struggle for existence, their proudest city being a low mud village or a collection of hides stretched upon poles, which the nomadic proprietors pitched anew from day to day. The influence of this delusion was felt even by the Popham Colonists in Maine, where, thirteen years before the landing of the Pilgrims, they commenced their settlement, and sent word to the King that the country abounded in nutmegs. And out of brains fired by the same wild excitement that discovered a banquet fit for an eastern monarch in Montezuma's dinner—served on dishes of silver and gold never used twice—sprang the city of "Arembe" or "Norumbega," full grown, as Minerva from the brain of Jove. In the great French map of 1543, which represented much of the geographical knowledge of the time, the now Lost City of New England is recognized by its stately castle and imposing towers.

Marco Polo has been alluded to, and perhaps we have yet to learn what bearing his writings may have had upon the false views entertained respecting the eastern coast of North America. Possibly he may have had an influence which we do not now suspect. If so, however, we repeat that it remains to be discovered, for there is no proof at hand that any

of his nomenclature was transferred to America by those who were under the impression that the eastern coast of Asia and the so-called New World were the same. There was a certain resemblance between the general outline of the two coasts, but other considerations led navigators to rush to the conclusion that they were identical. Only one of the names used by the Venetian traveller has any possible resemblance to Norumbega, or "bega" as one manuscript of 1582 gives it. This is "bargu" or "bargue," applied to a region of Eastern Asia, not altogether unlike the region of the Penobscot as it appears in some descriptions. Still it is not to be supposed that by any misunderstanding the word "bega" was imported from the land seen by Marco Polo. It is interesting, however, to note how the American and Asiatic names were actually mingled. On the map of Ruysch, published at Rome in 1508, Newfoundland will be seen rudely drawn and joined to the Continent of Asia, bearing the name "Terra Nova," while "Baccalauras" indicates the place that bears this name to-day. Greenland lies adjoining, near by are Cathay, Gog and Magog, and at the north are "Planora de Bergi" and "Bergi extrema."

The temptation to confound the continents with one another, especially when presented to a cosmographer who knew nothing of the coast, was quite irresistible, and hence André Thevet caught at the bait. This credulous and mendacious monk, thoroughly fitted by nature for the rôle of an impostor, wrote, in 1575, an account of a pretended voyage to Maine, which his previous publication of 1558 proves that he did *not* make. Turning over the old maps and globes, amongst which were those of Ruysch and Behaim, he found "M. Bergi" and "Bergis" set down with "Tartary" and "Cathay," and immediately transferred them to his narrative, saying in his "France-Antartique," 1558, "On the other side [of Canada] is solid land called *campestre de Berge*," adding, "it has a cape called Lorraine, but otherwise by those who discovered it *Terre des Bretons*," thus making Cape Breton a remote region of eastern Asia. This error was repeated in his *Cosmographie Universelle*, in 1575. Possibly, Thevet himself may have been misled by earlier blunders, but we are in no manner justified in connecting "bargu" and "begi" with the more modern "bega" and "Norumbega" of the New England coast. But while there appears to be no reason for regarding the last mentioned name as of Asiatic origin, the idea embodied in the stories of Norumbega is traceable to the belief that the rich Orient had been reached by sailing west. This thought colors the Letter of Verazano, who, though admitting that the "East" simply "stretched around



this country," nevertheless claims that it "cannot be devoid of the same medicinal and aromatic drugs, and various riches of gold." Other cities have had similar foundations until, perhaps, it is as easy a task to write of the Lost *cities*, as of the one Lost City of New England.

This is illustrated by the narrative of an English sailor, who visited New England in 1569, from whose narrative are gleaned some of the statements which follow. Our early adventurer tells of many things that he saw, and many more that he did not see. The latter best concern our purpose, as they relate, more or less, to "Norumbega," which he calls "Bega. His narrative exerted a marked influence upon the mind of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who had a copy prepared for his use, and was actually sailing for the coast of Norumbega in 1583, the year in which he lost his life, going down with his ship, bravely observing: "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land."

The paper drawn up for him states that in all the countries through which the above mentioned English adventurer traveled, there were many "kings," who were usually decorated with rubies, some of them six inches long, and we are presented the spectacle of native monarchs borne to public audiences on sumptuous chairs of silver and chrystal, adorned with precious stones. In all the houses pearls were common, and in some cottages was seen a peck or more. The natives themselves were loaded down by the weight of their ornaments of gold and silver. They were generally very kindly disposed, but those dwelling north of Norumbega are represented as cannibals, with teeth like those of dogs, whereby, fortunately or unfortunately, "you may know them." In the course of his travels, our old sailor professes to have seen houses with massive pillars of silver and crystal. The city of "Bega" itself was three-quarters of a mile long, and abounded with peltry, as was testified to by Jean Allfonsce. One of the cities seen had many streets broader than the streets of London. So well persuaded was the relator of the truth of his own story that he offered, upon "his life," to prove that all was in accordance with his statements; though we do not know whether or not he was actually with Sir Humphrey in 1583, when sailing southward along the coast of Nova Scotia, "going for the discovery of Norembega," as the writer, in quaint old Hakluyt, phrases it.

Before this period, however, the wealth of Norumbega had dazzled the imagination of the French, and probably more than one navigator lost his life in search of New England's Golden Fleece. Hence there may be some substantial truth in the fancies of a little poem of "Norum-

bega," giving the story of a knight from Normandy, and describing his death in the wilderness of Maine while searching for the wondrous city, whose fame had drawn him away from his home beyond the sea.

The adventurer, attended by his faithful henchman, is supposed to have ascended the Penobscot with great toil, and at the close of day stands, faint and dizzy, leaning upon his companion's arm. As the sun goes down in a blaze of glory, he fancies that he sees the domes and spires of the fair city shining in the west, and hears chaunts, and hymns, and chapel bells. Accordingly, the companion of his adventures ascends a hill to obtain a better view of the city, but after scanning the prospect descends, convinced that the knight is the victim of a fancy. Thus, we read :

He turned him back : " O master dear,  
We are but men misled ;  
And thou hast sought a city here  
To find a grave instead."

And he declares that the old woods through which they wandered contain no lordly tower or hall ; while the same conviction steals in upon the mind of the knight, who finally exclaims :

No builded wonder of these lands  
My weary eyes shall see ;  
A city never made with hands  
Alone awaiteth me.

Then, yielding to his fate, he sings the song of Bernard :

" *Urbs Syon Mystica* ;" I see  
Its mansions passing fair  
" *Condita celo* ;" let me be,  
Dear Lord, a dweller there !

Thus he dies, and there in the wild-wood his henchman makes his grave. In a note we are told that Champlain, when he ascended the Penobscot in 1604, found "a cross very old and mossy," and upon the suggestion of this cross the poet builds his story. Champlain, however, found no cross, mossy or otherwise, upon the banks of the Penobscot ; but this fact does not render the theory of the poet less credible. Here, indeed, we may even quote the serious observation of the hard-brained old geographer, whose playful remark was referred to in the beginning, and who exclaims, when defending the Homeric tales : " What Eratosthenes says is false, that the poets aim at amusement, not instruction."

Charlevoix tells us that in 1542 Francis I. made Roberval " Lord of Norumbega," though he omits giving any authority for the matter of the title. It is unquestionable, however, that he was constituted the Patentee

of the *Territory* of Norumbega, and more besides towards the South. In 1578 the territory of Norumbega, under this name, was granted to de la Roche by Henry III. And, as we have seen, Gilbert was proceeding thither in 1573 with high hopes, bearing the Commission of Elizabeth. But when the seventeenth century dawned the popular faith even in the city had declined, and when Champlain reached the coast in 1604 he was sceptical on the general subject. His exploration of the Penobscot ended in chagrin. "The Bashaba," as the English afterwards called the Chief of the Penobscot, was simply "Bashaba," though the proper name had been accepted too hastily as a title, and the home of the chief was a common-place Indian village which indicated no previous elevation or splendor. The fair city was now disarrayed, and, to the minds of most thinking men, it was clear that Norumbega had resigned the world in advance, like the maid in Marmion, who retired

"Ere upon life she cast a look,  
Or knew the world that she forsook."

Some, indeed, were not sceptical, for Wytfliet, 1607, says in his Latin *Ptolemaicæ Augmentum*, "Moreover towards the North is Norumbega, which is well known by reason of a fair town and a great river, though it is not found from whence it has taken its name," but Mark Lescarbot, the witty Parisian Advocate, writing in 1609, gleefully says: "If this beautiful town ever existed in nature, I would like to know who pulled it down, for there is nothing but huts here made of pickets and covered with the barks of trees or with skins." As late as 1669 Heylin in his *Cosmography* speaks of Norumbega and its "fair city," but he is afraid that the city never existed. Thus the city was lost, and though the French and English governments quarrelled for many years over the names "Norumbega" and "Acadia," might at last become right, and the vexed question passed out of diplomacy. But it was long before this took place that the cloud-capped towers and gorgeous palaces of Norumbega had dissolved like many another unsubstantial pageant, leaving not a "rack" behind.

B. F. DE COSTA.

DAVID JAMISON, ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF THE  
PROVINCE OF NEW YORK, 1710.

**D**AVID JAMISON came from Lithgow, in Scotland, about the year 1686. He received a liberal collegiate education in his native country. On the return of the Stuarts, the Church of Scotland, especially that section of it called Covenanters, suffered considerable persecution. Laws were passed forbidding their meetings for religious purposes, which were called Conventicles; some were mutilated, and numbers were banished to America for conscience sake. In those times when religious zeal became fanaticism, it was not strange that men appeared who met persecution with defiance, restraint with opposition, and opprobrium with kindred abuse. Thus arose a Society called Sweet Singers, a sort of cross between Quakers and Mennonists, on whom, whilst worshipping after their manner, a party of the King's troops swooped down, took them prisoners to Edinburgh and lodged them in the Tolbooth. After being here some time they published on 27th April, 1681, a manifesto or declaration of their principles, which is a very remarkable production, as all will agree, on reading the following synopsis of it:

It commences with a statement that they had been called "madmen and devils," and subsequently reports that one of them had even been called a "blockhead" by the so-styled rulers. It had seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to them to remove from their Bibles the Psalms in metre—as being an unwarranted addition—to renounce the division of the Scriptures into chapters and verses, because the work of human wisdom; as also the received translations—the larger and shorter catechisms—the Confession of Faith—the Acts of the General Assembly, their covenants, manner of worship, preaching, etc., etc., "for all following that way go to hell together:"—and all their preachers were alike renounced and abandoned for various reasons stated. They desired all to know and understand that they overturned and formally burnt all the former works of the clergy of Scotland, and throughout the whole world, which they conceived to be opposed to holiness.

They proceeded to renounce all authority throughout the world, all that were in authority, with all their acts and edicts, the names of the months, saints-days, and holy days, and various other things, including "feastings," "sportings," "dancings," "laughings," "monk-lands," "friar-

lands," kirks and kirk-yards," "market crosses," "registers of lands and houses," "bonds," "ships' passes," "story-books," "ballads," "romances," and "pamphlets"—they disowned and burnt them all. So did they also reject and repudiate all the customs and fashions of that generation, their way and custom of eating and drinking, sleeping, and wearing, and all their former ways, as well religious as moral, in so far as they had been cast in that generation's mould: and they even denounced all that were then in prison houses or correction houses, men and women, "for," say they, "when we sent them a copy of this, our renunciation, they called us devils."

With similar out-pourings and references to the Holy Spirit of God, by whom they say they "were pressed" to make the declaration, they continue at great length, pouring out their curses and denunciations upon almost everything animate or inanimate, civil or religious, holy or common, saying with the greatest complacency, "our joy no man can take from us, and our prison is so pleasant through the Lord that we care for no company, but all are cursed, and we know not what it is to weary; but according to that scripture, 'Eat and drink my beloved, yea, eat and drink abundantly,' we are rather in paradise."

When examined before the Privy Council they utterly renounced the use of arms or any other weapons than prayer. Singular to say, they were never brought to trial, but several of them were summarily given to Gov. Barclay by an order dated August 7, 1685, and transported to New Jersey, where they were sold for four years to pay the charge of their transportation.

Among those thus banished was DAVID JAMISON, who was a leading man in this extraordinary sect, and who on his arrival became bound to George Lockhart, of Woodbridge, and was by him assigned to the Rev. Mr. Clarke, chaplain to the fort at New York (1684-1686). The principal men of the city, however, bought Jamison's time from Mr. Clarke, and set him to teach a Latin school. He continued thus occupied for some time, and next entered the Provincial Secretary's office as clerk. He was appointed Deputy Secretary and Clerk of the Council, 15 April, 1691, and thus officiated as "Clerk of the bloody Court that condemned Leisler." He subsequently farmed the Secretary's office from Matthew Clarkson. Whilst in the Secretary's office he studied law. On June 25, 1696, he obtained a patent with Wm. Nicolls, John Harrison, and others, for an extensive tract of land, which, we believe, constitutes the present town of Harrison in Westchester county. On the 27 May, 1697, he and eight others obtained a grant of the tract called

The Great Nine Partners' Patent in Dutchess county, and on 14 October, 1697, he was made one of the seven patentees to whom was granted 1,200 acres of land in Deerpark, Orange county, at or near Cuddibackville. During Gov. Fletcher's administration he was one of its active supporters; a strong opponent of what was then the Leisler party, and is charged with having been (along with Nicholas Bayard) the framer of a tract, published in New York in 1698, against Leisler and his adherents, entitled: "A Letter from a Gentleman in New York concerning the Troubles which happened in that Province in the time of the late Happy Revolution." On the change of administration, he was made to feel the vengeance of his enemies. He was dismissed from the office of Deputy Secretary, &c., by Lord Bellamont, who acknowledges that even whilst in England he was prejudiced against Mr. Jamison, which feeling was re-awakened in New York, because he was supposed to have been in confidence of, and a favorite with, his Lordship's predecessor. Jamison had already renounced the "Sweet Singers," and attached himself to the Church of England. He was Vestryman of Trinity Church from 1697 to 1704; Warden from 1704 to 1706; Vestryman again from 1706 to 1709, and again Warden from 1709 to 1714. "To his zeal for religion and his art and management it is that we chiefly owe," says Gov. Hunter, "any legal establishment we have here for the Church of England." In 1700 his name is found attached to a petition of the merchants of New York against Lord Bellamont, whose administration throughout he very actively opposed. In the spring of 1711 he was appointed Chief Justice of New Jersey, in which capacity he gave an opinion on the application of the Acts of Trade to the Commerce between New York and New Jersey, which opinion is printed in N. Y. Col. Doc. iv., 235. On the 10 June, 1712, he was appointed Recorder of the city, and Commissioner to execute the office of Attorney General of the Province of New York. The latter office he held in the absence of Attorney General Rayner, who dying, Mr. Jamison was appointed by President Schuyler full Attorney General, January, 22, 1720, and so continued until July, 1721, when he was succeeded by James Alexander, who was another *locum tenens*, and held the office for a year and a half. These New York commissions were held by Jamison at the same time with that of Chief Justice of New Jersey, a state of things which indicates a small amount of legal talent at the bar, or great favoritism on the part of the administration. Though repeatedly recommended by Gov. Hunter (to whom he was indebted for all his offices) for the place of Member of the Council of New Jersey, and also of New York, he never held a seat in either of these Boards, the

representations of the Earl of Bellamont having apparently blocked his path to the favor of Colonial office. On the request of the Assembly of New Jersey for a resident Chief Justice, Mr. Jamison was removed from that office by Gov. Burnett in November, 1723, and in June, 1724, dismissed from that of Recorder of New York.

His reputation as a lawyer stands high in the annals of the New York Bar, where he distinguished himself by his able and intrepid defence of Mr. Makemie, the Presbyterian clergyman, who was prosecuted in the time of Lord Cornbury for preaching without a license; and as Chief Justice of New Jersey he appears, says Mr. Field (*Prov. Courts of N. J.* 92.) "to have discharged his duties with credit to himself and satisfaction to the public." After his retirement from office, he confined himself to practice at the bar, and was engaged as counsel in most of the important cases before the courts.

He was married in New York city in 1692, to Maria Hardenbrook. Slander imputed to him that he had another wife living in Scotland, but though this woman came to this country, she did not claim to be his wife, otherwise than "before God," as she termed it, having had a child by him in his wild days.

Mr. Jamison died in New York city at an advanced age, leaving, it is said, several descendants, but no will as far as we have been able to ascertain.

There is on record a will of William Jamison, who was probably his son, proved 2d April, 1748, who gave his son David Jamison, if he study Law, all his Law Books, Manuscripts and Precedents, but should he select any other profession, then the Library was to go to Jamison Johnson, son of Elizabeth Johnson, widow, who was, probably, the daughter of the Attorney-General and Chief Justice. To his friends, Richard Nicholls, post-master of New York, and to Abm. Kinsman, the testator leaves to each a gold ring; the interest of £400 to his daughter-in-law Mary Campbell. In case she died without issue, the principal was to go to his son, David, who was left residuary legatee, and in case he should die without issue, to John, David, and Jamison Johnson, sons of the above-named widow Johnson.

E. B. O'CALLAGHAN.

DIARY OF GOLDSBROW BANYAR,  
DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE PROVINCE  
OF NEW YORK, AUGUST 5

TO 20, 1757.

From the Original in possession of Goldsbrough Banyar, Esq., New York City.

NEW YORK, 5th August, 1757, Friday.—The Governor having received a Lre. from General Webb, acquainting him that he expected an attack very soon, that he had ordered the Militia of the Counties, and had wrote to the several Provinces to send their quotas of Men to his assistance; and that he thought the Governor's presence absolutely necessary to forward the Militia up to him: Determined to embark and did accordingly embark at 7 o'clock this evening with Mr. O. De Lancey and Capt. Maunsell; Having first sent orders to Col. Herring to march all above forty years of age of his Regiment, to protect the northern parts of Orange and the southern parts of Ulster, upon notice of Col. de Kay's Regiment moving upwards.—Also orders to the Colonels of Westchester and Queens, each to hold 400 Men in readiness to proceed to Albany on the shortest Notice.

Saturday, 6th August.—At 7 this Evening came to an Anchor at the W. Point of Marbling's Rock. In the Forenoon went with Mr. de Lancey and Capt. Maunsell to view the Iron Works at the Manor of Cortlandt: they are at present in Ruinous Condition having been long neglected. But the situation appears advantageous being within[ ] of the River, plenty of wood near at Hand, and of Ore at several Places within a small distance; from these

circumstances the Proprietors might have great advantage over those at the Manor.

Sunday, 7th August.—Weigh'd Anchor this Morning about two—between 7 and 8 spoke with a boat from Albany, left it last Sunday—Gave no material account: A boat from N. Windsor came aboard us: They said the Militia of that part of Ulster march'd Thursday last: that they supposed Col. De Kay was moved, the People having march'd from Goshen—about 10 o'clock landed at the Fish Kill at Mr. Depeyster's, went to see his Mills, after a messenger was dispatch'd to Col. Beekman to send any Letter left there for the Governor, by water in a light Canoe. Return'd from the Mills and in our way stop'd at Mr. Du Bois's: We learnt there that the Post had passed on Saturday and said that our People and the French had began to engage, that it was reported the latter were 11,000 strong by a French Captain who was taken Prisoner. We find the Dutches Militia to the number of about 1,000 are march'd, the last of them went off[ ] There were three Men who left their Companies and would not go, another was oblig'd to be carried on board. Adams I think was the Name of one of the former. Din'd at Mr. de Peyster's; weigh'd about 2. At 9 Capt. Maunsell and Mr. de Lancey went in the Boat to Mr. Livingston's; He told them there were two Expresses pass'd before the Post, that one had pass'd who left For Wm. H: on Wednesday from whom they learn'd that the Firing began soon after he left it, which by others they were inform'd continued till Thursday morning, then ceased for three Hours and was



again renewed. That the French had 4 forty-two pdrs. and 2 Mortars. That the Albany Militia did not march till Friday and that they heard nothing of Sr. Wm. Johnson. That our Men at the Fort were in High Spirits and could hold out 2 or 3 days—and that the Post carried no Letters for the Governor.

*Monday 8 August.*—Got under sail this morning about 3—at 7 a Boat with a Letter from Col Beekman came on board: If his advices are true, The Albany Militia and those of the Mohawks were in motion on Thursday and got up together with 11,00 whites and Indians under Sr. Wm. Johnson on Friday. A Man who left Albany Saturday 9 o'clock A. M. says 'twas reported there that our Forces under Gen. Webb were possess'd of a Hill & had beat the French off twice. Cannon were heard on Saturday. At 8 o'clock set off in the Boat & were row'd to Col. Beekman's, where we found a Whale Boat waiting for the Governor: The Master of her brought a Letter from Capt. Christie referring to accounts sent by other Conveyances, all which passed us, he says the Garrison Were making a noble Defence. The Bearer told us that Col. Young march'd and got to Wm. H: before the French & was ordered to encamp on the Hill, where he was intrenched. Christie says General Webb was at Fort Edward but unable at that time to march to the assistance of Wm. H. not being strong enough, but that the Militia would be soon with him. From what hitherto appears the Militia have not been so alert as on a former Occasion. The Wind being favourable embarked in the Sloop from Col. Beekman's, and after the Sloop grounded

twice at about 12 miles & somewhat shorter distance from Albany, the Gov. & Capt. Mansel in the Whale Boat and Mr. deLancey & myself in the Canoe proceeded to Albany where we arrived about 12 at Night: Captain Christie thought the Militia had not been so alert as they should, and said many of them were loitering between this & Fort Edward. Said M. Livingston made some difficulty about marching, disputing the Validity of the orders—Col. Ellison & his two Field officers he said made complaint of one Bruyn of Ulster County discouraging the Militia from Marching.

*Tuesday 9 August.*—The Governor issued orders to hasten the march of the Militia between Alby. and Fort Edward, gave one copy of 'em to Col. De Kay whom he ordered to proceed immediately with his Regt., and as many of them on Horseback as were mounted, and another copy to Mr. O de Lancy who, accompanied by Mr. Dias, went at the desire of the Governor as farr as Stillwater to forward up the Militia—Orders were also sent to march hither 500 from the Militia of New York, 600 from Westchester and 600 from Queens County—these three Orders went by Express sent to New York, Westchester Order to be left with Lieutenant Col. Philipse, or in his absence Major Cortlandt, to be forwarded to Col. Willet. The other two orders were enclosed to the Council with a Copy of that to Westchester with a Letter to the Council desiring them to forward up the Detachments as fast as possible.

In the Evening Mr. de Lancey returned from Stillwater, said that the Militia were all on the March & seem'd

to think there had been no backwardness in them. Col. De Kay's were disorderly and several had deserted. Mr. de Lancey said further that the People at Stillwater informed him they had heard no firing at the Lake since 9 o'Clock in the Morning, which in his Opinion, portended some Misfortune to have happened there.

*Wednesday 10 August.*—An Express arrived this Morning, a little before 6, with a Letter from Gen. Webb, advising that they had heard no firing from Wm. Henry since 6 yesterday morning (Lre dated in the evening), whence he feared the Garrison had been obliged to capitulate: In the Postscript he says he is just informed that the Garrison surrendered at 7 yesterday Mornng. About 8 arrived an Express from Col. Whitney at Saraghtoga advising that a Man from Fort Edward had brought an account thither that that Fort was attacked last Night at 12 o'Clock. On this Intelligence Orders were sent to raise and march all the Militia of Ulster, Dutches & Wt. Cr. hither and letters for assistance to the Govrs. of Massachusetts Connecticut New Hampshire & Rhode Island, Also to the Govr. of New Jersey. For this purpose three Expresses were sent between 9 & 10—One to Massachusetts: Bay inclosing those of Rh. Island & N. Hampshire and a Letter to Lord Loudoun giving this Intelligence to him. One to Connecticut with the Letter to that Government: And one to New York who carried a Lre to the Council with these advices & inclosing Govr. Belchers Letter—This Express carried the Westchester and Dutches Orders to be left in those Counties. Ulster orders were sent by a Person going to Esopus

to forward the Militia. One of the General Orders for raising and marching the Militia was sent by Mr. Van Schaack who went to Kinderhook & was to publish it on the Road, & there, and then to send it forward to Claverack. The Govr. also wrote to Schenectady & the Mohawks River to give them the Intelligence and to put the People on their Guard.— At 1 o'clock advice came that the account of Fort Edwards being attacked was groundless, but mentioned nothing as to Wm. Henry. Between 2 and 3 the Governor wrote to Gen: Webb. Just before this the Governor went over the River to give orders to a Company of Connecticut Militia to proceed.

Orders were given in the forenoon to stop all sloops and every Person from leaving the Town.

John Youngs } of Goshen & the Walkill  
J. Butters } deserted 9 Augt. from  
Elisha Wood } Col. deKay's Regt.  
Anthony Van Slyck } both of Schenec-  
John Van Voorst } tady deserted from  
Fort Edward, with two from Rynbeck  
who went off with them.

John Glen gives this information.

*Thursday 11 August.*—At one o'Clock this Morning an Express arrived from Fort Edward with a Letter from Capt. Bartman's Genl. Webb's Aid de Camp advising that they hourly expected the Garrison of Fort William Henry there who were under Parole not to bear Arms for 18 months. The Express said about 30 of them were arrived before he came away which was 12 o'Clock at Noon yesterday: At 8 o'Clock an Express was dispatched with Letters giving this account to Lord Loudoun, Govr. Pownall, Gov.

Fitch, Gov. Green & Gov. Wentworth also to Sir Charles Hardy: At One o'Clock the New York Post had a Letter to the Council with one inclosed to Gov. Belcher giving the same Intelligence to him and he went off soon after. Passes were given to the Sloops where the Masters wanted to go down the River but on condition they carried no Man off with them without Liberty.

*Friday 12 August.*—Lieut. Frans Clauw was ordered back with his Compy to Kinderhook to bring 60 wagg. to Green Bush, no Pay if discharged there, but if employed to be paid from their leaving home. About 11 Forenoon, Govr. recd a Letter from Genl Webb signifying that the French had broke the Capitulation in suffering their Inds to murder & plunder our People: That Col. Johnson had informed him he believed there were not more than 2000 Militia at Fort Edward, & the Genl says they were returning, as fast as they came up. That the Militia need not be hurried up as fast as was necessary before. And that as soon as he hath further advices of the Enemys Motions he would dismiss the Militia that they might go to their Harvest, and says that the Canadians & Indians set off yesterday on their Return:—The Governor wrote an answer early in the afternoon expressing his Resentment agt the Breach of the Capitulation; that he had ordered 60 waggons to be got, desiring to know whether Gen. Webb approved of it; and that he had ordered up the Militia of New York, Queens & Westchester & desiring to know if he sho'd have occasion for them, or whether he should order them back, as that part of the Militia were more immediately

from their situation intended for the defence of the city.

*Saturday 13 August.*—At two o'clock this morning a Man brought a Letter to the Governor from Col. Williams and Col. Ruggles who were arrived with part of their Regts. at Kinderhook, desiring to know how affairs were circumstanced, and whether he was of opinion they should proceed. The Governor returned an answer about 8, that as the Canadians & Indians were returned, he was of opinion they should march to Fort Edward that Genl. Webb might be enabled to drive the French out of Fort Wm. Henry, and that he hoped they had began their march from Kinderhook this morning. About 11 the Gov. dispatched a Letter to Genl. Webb acquainting with what he had wrote to Cols. Williams & Ruggles & desiring to know whether he sho'd have occasion for their Regiments or he should give them Notice to return. The Governor ordered the officers of the Militia of Kingston, Marbltown, Rochester & Paltz to return to guard their own counties having he told them intended only a part of the Militia of that County sho'd march hither. Doctor Vandyck being returned from the Lake says that yesterday morning at Fort Edward it being reported that a Number of the Enemy lay between them and the Lake, Sir Wm. had desired all who would go Voluntiers to reconitre that Place to turn out, and that all the Militia turn'd out, and that Sir William afterwards told them the Genl. had no occasion for them and only wanted to know whether they were ready & willing to go Voluntiers.

Mr. Dies returned this morning from Fort Edward and came to the Govern-

ors. I learn'd from him that of the cannon at Fort Wm. H: 2. 32 pdrs.—2. 18 pdrs—2. 12 pdrs—and 2. 9 pdrs had burst, also two brass mortars—they had only 3. 9 pdrs & a Howitzer left. 'Tis said but little Powder as well as little Ball were left. Col. Munro it seems as yet return'd to the French on seeing the French Indians massacring our People, which began very soon after the Capitulation. Capt. Collins tis said is kill'd, also Lieut. Herbert & Capt. Crookshank fell by the Indians, Mr. Furnace Lieut. Calhoun missing—Capt. Ince missing. — Hamilton missing.

By what I can find our Militia at Fort Edward were extremely desirous to push on to relieve W. Hy. but the Gen'l thought twould be only sacrificing so many Men.

This Evening at 10 o'clock the Govr. recd a Letter from Genl. Webb desiring he would order back the Militia of N. Y. Wt. Cr. & Queens, he also desires no more may come up than those on the Road bet. this Place & Fort Edward: He approves of the taking 60 waggons into service. But does not think himself strong enough to attack the Enemy in a retrenched camp, the Chief of the Army being still there, and most of our Forces being Militia. This is an Answer to what Gov Delancey wrote on the subject of advancing and driving the French from the Lake.

*Sunday 14 August.*—Orders were given to Col. de Lancey to order his detachment back & to signify the like orders to Queens & Westchester, and that it was the Gov. opinion the Jersey Militia might return if he should meet any on their way hither; About 12 he set off

in a Whale Boat. At 10 orders were dispatched also by an Express to be delivered to the first officer of the Militia he sho'd meet coming to Albany & by him delivered over to the rest of the Militia from this City Southward to return back & to discharge them.

Sir John St. Clair arrived this Evening.

*Monday 15 August.*—About Noon the Govr. received a Letter dated yesterday from Gen. Webb, acqg. him that all the Militia of that Province, except Albany City had left Fort Edward in a mutinous manner & desiring the Govr. to make the Militia return to their duty & to forward those of New England near Albany & altho he gave orders that the Militia of the lower Counties should return yet unless an army of 5 or 6000 Militia can be had without them, he would have them proceed.

Orders were given to stop the deserters and to fire on those who resisted.

The following Orders were also dispatched by Col. Parker, wrote short by the Govr. & no Copies kept of them.

To Col. Willet to detach hither 600 pick'd Men, sent closed to him.

The following sent open.

To all the Militia of Dutches to march up hither and deserters to return on pain of death. To all deserters of Ulster & Orange to return hither on pain of death.

The Dutches orders to be left at Col. Hoffman's and Pokeepsingh.

Those for Ulster & Orange to be left at Kingston and New Windsor. With Orders to the officers Civil & Military to forward the Orders by dispatching Copies through the Counties.

This afternoon the Governor went as far as Col. Schuylers to stop the Militia

who had deserted from Fort Edward & were coming down on this side: He stop'd many, and afterwards cross'd the River to a Party of Dutches Militia who had deserted & were returning altho they had not gone beyond the Half Moon. Before the Govr. came to them, they had been stop'd by a Party under Lt. Bayley, and were by his orders proceeding to the Place where the Govr. was expected to cross, but meeting with two Roads they wanted to divide, & one of 'em a Sergeant said he would not return but go home in spite of all orders: The officer expostulated with him but to purpose, and before Mr. Bailey gave orders for firing one of his men fired & killed the Sergeant: The Militia then began to disperse, and of about 200 only 60 or 70 were taken whom the Govr. ordered to Goal.

This Evening at 10. Mr. B. Robinson & 6 or 7 other Gent: arrived from New York. It seems the orders sent to stop the Militia had sent many back.

*Tuesday 16 Augt.*—Orders were given to several of the Colonels &c. to return and send their men back who had deserted.

Several others from the Militia of N. Y. arrived this forenoon, also Major Cortlandt who was marching up with about 1200 of the Westcr. Regiment, who returned back on the orders they met on the Road.

We find that the New York detachmt must have left it in Sloops on Saturday.

Queens it is said crossed at White-stone—about 5 or 600 were coming from N. Jersey.

This Evening an Express ret'd from Boston— The Fleet were not sailed

last Monday week but lay ready: Another Account said they had fall'n down, but were come up again. T'was reported the Windsor had brought in a Halifax Pay Ship bound to Quebec.

Dr. Jay & Mr. Cortlandt arrived this Eveng from N. York. Mr. C. left it on Saturday—our detach't were to leave it that day.

*Wednesday 17 August.*—Two officers came in this Morning from Fort Edward. They say all the officers missing are well: That Moncalm had kept Capts. Facset & Ormsby as Hostages. That Col. Munro was coming with his one piece of Cannon he brought from W. H. & that Col. Young was at Fort Edward. That the French had destroyed every thing but their own lines & Batteries & were going off, having removed all the Provisions &c.

This Evening Sr. Wm. Johnson ret'd; the militia being all discharged, on three repeated scouts advising that the French were all gone off.

*Thursday 18 August.*—Orders were given to Major Cortlandt for the stopping the detachment of 600 Men ordered from Westcr.

Col. Clinton was ordered to return & discharge the Militia of his Regt.

An Order was made out to Col. Hoffman to same purpose, and Col. Hardenbergh was ordered to dismiss his Regt.

*Friday 19 August.*—The Boston Militia are assembled yet at Sheffield as appears by a Letter brought this day by an Express from Sr. W. Pepperel. The Express says he saw an acquaintance of his who left Halifax the 4 Inst. That the Troops began to embark the 3d & were all Embarked the 4 & were to have sail'd that day but the wind did not turn fair till too

late in the Evening. That the Rainbow Capt. Rous did not go with the Fleet her Mast being taken out to supply a Mast by one of Mr. Holburne's Fleet.

This Evening delivered a Warrt to Lieut. Roseboom & Lieut. Van Veghten commanding all officers Civil and Milit. to assist them in apprehending deserters

Col. Munro arrived abt 12 to-day. He spoke his mind very plainly to Mr. Montcalm of the breach of the Capitulation. He is the only one that had not his clothes he wore taken from him except Col. Young.

Had some discourse with Sir Wm abt his resignation of the command of the Militia—he seems hardly yet prevailed on to continue.

*Saturday 20 August.*—Delivered the Governors paper to seven deserters & one to a Man of Pepperels Regt taken at Oswego & now escaped.

Delivered a Warrant of assist to Capt. Ogden going in search of Deserters.

Wrote a Lre for the Govr to Sr Wm Johnson to levy Fines on those who did not march on the late Alarm or who deserted their Posts afterwards. The like to be sent to the other counties whose Militia march'd.

Making out Military Comms purst to Col Renselaers List New formed by Sir William, who set off this morning for Mount Johnson. The Troop to stand as it is yet. No other alteratn was made to Sr. Wm's List than putting out one Ensign and inserting one Renselaer in his room, except a Captain appd of by the Major & Mr. Vanschaick the Mayor.

*Sunday August 21.*—Sent Sir Wm. Johnson's Lre from the Govr wrote to him myself to send List of officers of the Schenectady Batalion.

Wrote by the Govrs order, Circular Letters to the Albany Members, Ulster, Dutches & Manors of Cortlandt, Renselaer, Livingston & Town of Schenectady to meet at New York on Tuesday 6th September.

Paid my Washerwoman 17-4—gave the Wench at Mrs. Renselaers 3-6. and embarked and set sail at 8 this Morning with a fair wind & at 10 o'clock in the Evening passed Soper Island.

*Monday 22d August.*—It blew hard all Night and at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 when I rose we were off Verplanks—at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 12 landed at New York. The Govr called a Council & appointed the Assembly to meet at Harlem the 31 Inst. & circular Letters sent by the Albany Post who was detained for them till near 4.

*Tuesday 23 August.*—Queens, Suffolk & Kings Circular Letters were delivered to Mr Brewerton to forward—Mr. Godby wrote to Mr. Brewerton that if they were not already forwarded to hire a man and send them.

*Wednesday 24 August.*—Brewerton having sent the Suffolk Letters by a Person who was to leave them at Queens, duplicates were made of those and Queens and sent to him with directions to him to dispatch a Person with them.

Sent out the Minutes of Council, Acts and Votes of Assembly to the end of Sr. Charles's admn to the Lieut Govr in a Box to be forwarded with his dispatches to the Board of Trade. Sent out Alby Military Claims to be signed.

*Thursday 25th August.*—Was all this day (after forwarding the Albany Batalion's Comms.) at the Governor's assisting in his dispatches.

This Evening wrote a Letter to Mr. Barons desiring him to inform the Govr. whom Sr Charles had recommended as Councilors.—Answer—Mr. Walton, Mr. Watts, & Mr. Robert R. Livingston.

*Friday 26 August.*—Went out at 9 to complete the Govrs dispatches—staid till 12, then went to town, to attend the Council, and wrote a Warrant to enable Lieut. Duncan to impress all Sloops & Boats of small draft to carry troops to Albany, Lord Loudoun being on account of the great strength of the French at Louisburgh returning hither with 8 Regts. 3 to be sent up the Bay of Fundy & two to be left at Halifax.

At 4 o'Clock went to the Governors, completed his Dispatches, brought them to Town & delivered 'em to Mr. Colden about 8 : & told him he might dispatch the Packet.

*Saturday 27 August.*—Din'd at Mr. Baron's: agreed to take the remaining Map skreen of Sir Charles's in the Council Room.

*Sunday 28 August.*—This Evening Made out a Warrant enabling Mr. Anthony Ten Eyck & Mr. Derrick Brinkerhoff to impress Provs wanting for the Kings Troops. By advices this day from Lord Loudoun he had recd the Intelligence of the Loss of Wm. Henry & if the Winds were unfair would land and march his Troops over Long Island. tis said he brings ten regiments.

Pacquet commanded by Capt. Rand sailed this day. I wrote to Mr. Doughty for a Frock Cloth Coat & a pair of white hair shag Breeches to be sent in the stage waggon to Falmouth to Mr. Allison Bookseller there to be forwarded to me in the first Pacquet.

Gave Doctor Stewart 1 Guinea to purchase 6 Rings of Trebles—2 of 2ds. 1 3d & 1 4th also a set of Harpsichord strings from the Middle Numbers upwards.

*Monday 29 August.*—Wrote a Letter to Gov. Pownall congratulating him on his appt to his Govt—desired him to hint to his Brother that on Peace being established some new office might be Necessary, & to recommend me for such if he thought it fit.

Mentioned that a Body of the Militia, to be fix'd with proper officers and kept in Readiness & equip'd to march on the Requisition of the Commander in Chief to act offensively, but not called on till just going to action, would be far preferable to the whole Militia on any Emergency— And if the Colonies kept such a body up, they need not keep up so many Provincials, who it was found did & would desert, and in a manner dwindled away to Nothing, before the Campaign near finished, and observed how necessary it was that our Regular officers should commd & go out with scouting parties, and that this kind of Merit should be the Road to Preferment.

Was bled to day by Dr. Middleton having been severely afflicted for the 1st time with a kind of Rheumatism from two days after my arrival at Albany to this time.

#### COMMS. FOR NEW YORK BATTALION.

Capt.	George Brewerton	
Lieuts.	{ Geo. Brewerton Jr. Stephen Moore }	{ New York
Capt.	Jonathan Ogden	
Lieuts.	{ Joseph Golding Nathan Flint }	{ Wt Chr.

Capt.	John McEvers	
Lieuts.	{ Thomas Mouncey Tobias Vanzandt }	{ New York
Capt.	Peter Dubois	
Lieuts.	{ Cornelius Duane Isaac DeGraun }	{ New York
Capt.	Francis Moore	
Lieuts.	{ Richard Smith Richard Gatehouse }	{ New York
Capt.	Jonathan Fowler	
Lieuts.	{ Abraham Storm Robert Crawford }	{ Westchr. pd.
Capt.	John Peterson Smith	
Lieuts.	{ James Howell Gilbert Bradner }	{ Orange
Capt.	John Verplanck	
Lieuts.	{ Gabriel Dickinson Jonathan Haight }	{ Westchr. pd.
Capt.	Reuben Lockwood	
Lieuts.	{ James Holmes Joshua Bloomer }	{ Westchr. pd.

### BAURMEISTER'S NARRATIVE

OF THE CAPTURE OF NEW YORK

SEPTEMBER 1776.

From the original MS. in the possession  
of Hon. George Bancroft.

*In Camp at Helgatte, September 24, 1776.*

I had the honor, on the 2d inst., of dispatching to Captain von Waugenheim a complete relation, to date, of our doings here with the condition, that he should send an exact copy of it to you, mentioning that the continuation would be forwarded to you, with a similar request to communicate it to Captain von Waugenheim. I do so accordingly, and hope the arrangement will not be ungraciously received. The distance and want of time however require that I show my

most humble services in this and no other way. I announced therefore, that the army camped from New Thown to Blockwels peninsula, only the brigade of Major-General Grand remained under the orders of General von Heister at Belfort opposite New York, with the two Hessian brigades of Major-Generals Stirn and von Mirbach, together with Captain Bitter's English artillery brigade, which were posted behind the hostile works, in order to keep the rebels within bounds, in the city as well as in their redoubts thrown up on the side of the city, for which end 1 captain and 100 men, towards noon on the 2nd. of September, were obliged to occupy Gouverneurs Island, upon which were found 10 iron cannons spiked, 4 18- and 6 32-pounders, many unfilled bombs, some thousand bullets, flour and salt meat in barrels. Every 24 hours this post was relieved by the pickets of the English and Hessian regiments; the shore was occupied from Helgatte to Reed-Hurck. Before Helgatte 2 frigates lay at anchor: la Brûne and Niger, both of 32 guns, with a bombarding vessel, and on terra firma, just to the left side of these vessels, a battery was erected of 2 24-pounders, 4 12-pounders and 2 howitzers. Blockwell Island was occupied by 1 captain and 100 men of the English infantry, and in the night of the 3d. of September the frigate Rose of 32 guns sailed out of the fleet up the East River, with 30 boats, leaving New York on the left, and without the slightest difficulty anchored in Whall Bay and Buschwickfeste. All the enemy's cannon were put into a serviceable condition and conveyed to the batteries, which were found in part and also erected on the rising



ground to the left of the village ferry as far as to Gouverneurs Island.

The rebels fired several times from their works upon these batteries, but everywhere without effect, especially at the great fort Bunkers Hill. Their outposts had a regular relief every morning at 6 o'clock and they had their camp in the great wood between Cron Point and Blumenthal. The strongest position of the enemy was along the Harlem River to guard their rear and communications. Often in the night rebels came over to the English camp in small boats, asked to serve, and enlisted in the newly raised brigade, 2000 men strong, of a Colonel de Lancy, whose ancestors settled on York Island, and who had much to suffer from the present rebels. Some 100 men, from the prisoners of the attack of August 27th., are also enrolled in this brigade. On the 4th. of September, the English left their post on Blockwells Island, the rebels occupied it in force, and so strong, that the outposts on the main shore were exposed to a continuous fire, which even the great battery could not silence. The 5th. of September, 5 wagons and the requisite draught-horses were furnished to every regiment, in New Thown also a forage magazine was erected, and the inhabitants of Long Island recognized the royal authority, excepting the county of Suffolk, in which several thousand rebels still remain, not collected together but scattered, ready to fight against us everywhere on the first opportunity; why now Brigadier General Erskine with his strong detachment advanced no farther than 9 English miles beyond Jamaika and on the 6th of September was obliged to re-

turn is not to be divined; it was then, that this best part of Long Island should have been kept for the winter-quarters, for till now wherever the army has been the country is stripped of provisions, cattle and horses, as everything is declared rebel property; there is no longer an English regiment to be found incomplete in horses, and this want will soon no longer appear in the Hessian regiments, as many officers obtain the horses they need for little money and even for nothing. I myself have 3 in this way.

The happiness of the inhabitants, whose ancestors were all Dutch, must have been great; genuine kindness and real abundance is everywhere, anything worthless or going to ruin is nowhere to be perceived. The inhabited regions resemble the Westphalian peasant districts, upon separate farms the finest houses are built, which are planned and completed in the most elegant fashion. The furniture in them is in the best taste, nothing like which is to be seen with us, and besides so clean and neat, that altogether it surpasses every description.

The female sex is universally beautiful and delicately reared, and is finely dressed in the latest European fashion, particularly in India laces, white cottons and silk gauzes; not one of these women but would consider driving a double team the easiest of work. They drive and ride out alone, having only a negro riding behind to accompany them. Near every dwelling-house negroes (their slaves) are settled, who cultivate the most fertile land, pasture the cattle, and do all the menial

work. They are Christians and are bought on the coasts of Guinea, being sold again here among the inhabitants for 50 to 120 York pounds a head; 20 York shillings are such a pound and 37 York shillings make the value of a guinea.

On the 7th the fleet was stationed between Reed Huck and Gouverneurs Island nearer to New York, and the baggage of the Hessian corps, remaining for the chief part on board was loaded upon one transport for the greater convenience of each regiment, whereby there was a great relief from the repeated sending, frequently in vain for want of boats. The Brocklands-Leinen was to be demolished, but on the representation of General von Heister, that this could not be done by soldiers without compensation, especially as it would be the work of four weeks, General Howe recalled this order.

On the 8th preparations were at length made, on the English right wing, to dislodge the rebels from Blockwell Island which was done on the 9th; the English having 5 men killed and 11 wounded. The loss of the rebels was incomparably greater and their resistance obstinate contrary to all expectation; they left at the same time Behenes and Montrevors Islands. These were occupied by the 71st regiment under the command of Brigadier General Erskine, into whose deserted camp the Hessian grenadier brigade and jägers under Colonel von Donop, who had remained inactive below New Thown on the left wing of the English camp, again moved.

Brigadier General Erskine sent word to the rebels, to stop the firing of small arms, and to be content with watchful-

ness on both sides, or else all their houses on the farther shore of the Island of Montrevor (upon which 4 12-pounders were turned) should be battered to the ground, which proposition was accepted and quiet was restored. The river between these posts is scarcely as broad as the Fulda in Hesse, but deeper and full of eddies. The captured General Sullivan presented himself again on this day in good season to Admiral Howe on the man-of-war Aigle, he had arrived in New York from Philadelphia on the day before, with the baggage necessary for himself and some for General Sterling.

September 10th Colonel von Losberg received the information from Admiral Howe, that a boat flying the white flag would arrive from New York at his post, Amboi near Staaten Island, at 6 o'clock on the morning of the 11th, which should be admitted unmolested. At the time mentioned the boat arrived but not alone for Admiral Howe also came, in company with two of his captains, and received, from the New York boat, three of the principal men of the rebel Congress, named: Adams, Franklin and Roderigdam, (*Rutledge*) the company stayed 2 hours. The proposals of the rebels, however, who styled themselves delegates of the united American independent provinces, were scarcely listened to, much less any reply made. A breakfast was partaken of in this time, and without having accomplished anything each party returned the way it came. From this day forward it was plainly to be observed, that the heavy cannon of the New York batteries diminished their fire on Gouverneurs Island, and that their sick were transported

from the city to Pauls Huck. The inhabitants, who had long before taken away their effects, now carried off in the night their last property, even the cattle, out of the city to the main land before New York, and the royalist inhabitants were plundered, maltreated and in part dragged off too. From Fort Bunkers Hill the artillery played little upon our works, but they doubled in the evening their posts along the shore between New York and Cron Point, where General Washington was often to be seen, and provoked the Hessian artillery Captain Krug to fire off 2 cannon at him and his suite, a third shot too would not have been wanting, if the horses of the enemy had been pleased to stay. In the night of the 12th, 36 boats again passed from the fleet undisturbed up the East River past Buschwic to the shore. On this day a frigate with 5 Irish provision ships sailed into the fleet, which left Halifax the 7th of August. The Hessian hospital ship obtained permission to move from the ships to Bruckland, by which many sick were saved, and the number of deaths would never have been so great, if this had been done before.

The dysentery increases the sick, the want of regular bread and the fruit out of season cause this evil. In the night of the 13th of September 40 boats passed before and to the very place, where the 36 boats arrived on the 12th.

On this day General Howe wished to land upon the island of New York, because 18 years ago on this day General Wulff had conquered at Quebec, but also lost his life. The watchword for this end was "Quebec" and the countersign "Wulff," but the frigates were too late for

this attack as they only sailed out of the fleet at 5 o'clock on the evening of the 14th; 4 frigates, all of 32 guns, named Phoenix, Rhobock, Orpheus and Carysfort, moved up the East River and anchored beyond Buschwic. The rebels fired from all sides on this passage, but the vessels under cover of our batteries sailed by without damage. The battery on Gouverneurs Island had the best effect upon the Point of New York, and on the other hand the wooden watch-house on the said island suffered all the injury which the rebels intended for the battery, and not a man was lost. Towards evening, General von Heister received orders to have the brigade of Major-General Stirn march, without baggage and field-pieces, at 2 o'clock in the morning of the 15th, to Bettfort, to the brigade of Major-General Grand, so that together they could march on from there, at 4 o'clock in the morning, to the shore above Whale Bay (*Wallabout*), in order with several English brigades, all under the command of Lieutenant-General Lord Percy, to undertake the second landing. The first landing was of 84 boats, with English infantry and Hessian grenadiers under command of Lieut.-General Clinton. Commodore Hotham conducted this landing, under cover of 5 frigates, anchored close before Kaaps Bay (*Kips*), above Cron Point, and maintained a 3 hours cannonade on the enemy's advanced posts in the great wood. The signal of the red flag denoted the departure of the boats, the blue on the contrary the stoppage of the passage, and if a retreat should be come necessary, a yellow flag would be shown.

The rebels, under direction of General Putnam, drew back during this landing from the shore, to the wood between Cron Point and Blumenthal (*Bloomingdale*), with a broken front, sometimes the left, sometimes the right wing in advance; when however the regiments were collected in line on the shore, and the drums gave the signal for the march, not a rebel awaited our coming in order. They fled through the wood, notwithstanding General Putnam made every effort to bring back the fugitives, but it was in vain, and lucky for him, that he was able to escape on a horse, which he had obtained at Boston from the English light cavalry. One rebel regiment, which the grenadier battalion Block encountered, and which had its skirmishers in advance, gave signs of wishing to surrender, but after a few shots from the skirmishers this battalion of the enemy gave way, ran off after the bulk of the force, and in their retreat shot off their guns, by which the grenadier battalion Block had 2 men killed and 16 wounded; while the enemy lost their Colonel, Major and several Captains, various officers and over 50 men taken prisoners, besides those remaining dead and wounded on the field, the precise number of which I could not learn.

This morning at 7 o'clock the man-of-war *Renomé* of 40 guns sailed out of the fleet with 2 frigates, the *Repulse* and *Pearl*, each of 32 guns, up the North River, and anchored above Blumenthal, the rebels fired upon this passage from Pauls Huck, but without any effect. These vessels however in sailing by fired whole broadsides on the shore of the city of New York, on account of which

the city, together with Fort Bunkers Hill, was deserted by the enemy, and about half-past 10 in the forenoon a white flag was displayed, and at 11 o'clock the Royal Admiral's flag on the point of New York; this caused Admiral Howe to send some 100 mariners into the city, to take possession of it, and to post guards in all the principal streets, by which all plundering was stopped and no one suffered any injury.

On the 16th. the enemy moved into camp before Fort Washington, in quite good order, having the left wing stretched out to Harlem. From Fort Washington an intrenchment ran to Kings Bridge, behind which they could make a farther retreat, under cover of the said Fort. The English light infantry advanced too hastily on this retreat of the enemy, and fell into an ambush of 4000 men, at Bruckland Hill, and if the English and Hessian grenadiers, particularly the Hessian jägers, had not come up to their assistance in good time, not one of these brave light troops would have escaped: they lost 70 killed and 210 wounded. The enemy must have sustained a severe loss, for the jägers had not a shot left and all the Scottish Highlanders had fired of all their ammunition. The jäger Lieutenant Henrichsen was wounded in the left side and 4 other jägers wounded. On the parole of the 17th. General Howe took occasion, in testifying his satisfaction at the successful landing, to recommend prudence as well as valor to this corps, which has hitherto been under command of General Leslie. The English pitched their camp in two lines at Blumenthal. Some baggage and flour-wagons of the enemy were

taken. Major-General Robertson as Governor garrisons New York at present with the 54th and a part of the 5th regiment, and all the mariners have gone back to the fleet. All the houses, which were inhabited and deserted by the rebels in New York, are marked G. R. and thereby confiscated, the government takes possession of all the papers and effects of the enemy, and the fleet is erecting a magazine in the city. Many subjects are returning to the legitimate authority, and on Long Island the villages of Grevesand, New Utrecht, Flattbusch, Brockland and Ferry are filled with the fugitive settlers, most of whom however find their dwellings empty, furniture smashed, not a window left whole and their cattle gone forever.

The royalists are obliged to distinguish themselves from the rebels by red ribbons on their hats. On this day General von Heister with von Mirbach's brigade moved out of Brocklandsleinen to the camp at Helgatte, and received under his command Brigadier General Erskine with the 71st regiment of 3 batalions still posted on the islands Behenes and Montresor, and also the brigade of Major-General Robertson consisting of the 4th, 15th, and 45th regiments. These 4 last named regiments were quartered in the dwellings of the Helgatte country, as all 7 battalions together amount to only 1812 men under arms, from which the weakness of all the English regiments (excepting the foot-guard of 1100 men) may be judged. On the 18th 2 frigates drove 5 rebel ships out of the Heutson River.

The enemy's camp on Pauls Huck dwindled away and the enemy drew back

their posts somewhat on the right wing of York Island. On the 19th the Hessian baggage ships moved into the East River, nearer to the army, and some of the frigates and boats sailed from the fleet up the North River. The vessels were fired upon again from Pauls Huck, but sailed by without replying. In the night of the 20th., at half-past twelve o'clock, the northern part of the city of New York took fire.

Incendiaries appointed for the purpose who were concealed in the city, a boat arriving from Pauls Huck with the like villains, to the number of 40 and a Colonel at their head, favored by the west wind, set fire to this beautiful city in many places at the same time. The wind and the careless though sufficient watch favored its complete destruction by this disaster, nearly 500 of the best houses and one church were the sacrifice to this rebellious fury. There are many villains caught and under arrest, others were thrown into the flames, and one a sworn rebel, whose wife and 5 children could not induce him to give up this incendiarism, stabbing his wife, who was about to extinguish the fire with water, was seized by the sailors, at once stabbed and hung up by the feet before his own house until daybreak of the 20th. The English guard was of much assistance in suppressing the fire, hastening into the city at once, but the sailors did the best part of it, taking care to pay themselves well by plundering other houses near by that were not on fire. It is a real horror to look at New-York in its desolation. Quiet reigned everywhere on the 22d. The 23d Lieut. Gen. Lord Percy marched from the army,

with 2 English and the Hessian brigade of Major-General Stirn, at nine o'clock in the morning without pieces or baggage, to the northern shore of York Island, leaving Blumenthal far to the right, to cross over to Pauls Huck in boats, the strong north-west wind however prevented this expedition, and this corps returned back to camp, though 3 frigates were already stationed before the Jersey shore and were cannonading the enemy's outposts.

On the 23d at 4 in the morning Colonel or Brigadier General Erskine had a visit from 100 rebels in 5 boats, but many were shot before disembarking; 1 Major and 12 men however were captured.

This cost the 71st regiment 4 killed and 8 wounded. On the night of the 24th Gen. Lord Percy led an expedition to Pauls Huck, but the enemy left the camp without waiting for a shot.

I am to present the compliments of General von Heister. Colonel George Orboune, our muster-commissioner has already reviewed us. Major-Gen. Mirbach has had an attack of apoplexy, but he expects to recover; but Major-General Stirn and Col. von Hering are more sick.

With the greatest respect

(Signed) BAURMEISTER.

In the detached Camp,  
at Helgatte, Sept. 24, 1876.

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### POEM BY THOMAS PAINE,

CONTRIBUTED BY RICHARD E. MOUNT ESQ. OF NEW YORK.

*From the Castle in the Air to the Little corner of the World.*

In the regions of Clouds, where the whirlwinds arise,  
My Castle of fancy was built;  
The turrets reflected the blue of the Skies,  
And the windows with Sun beams were gilt.

The rainbow sometimes in its beautiful state,  
Enamell'd the mansion around;  
And the figures, that fancy in clouds can create,  
Supplied me the gardens and ground.

I had grottos, and fountains and Orange tree groves,  
I had all that enchantment has told;  
I had sweet shady walks for the Gods and their loves,  
I had mountains of coral and gold.

But a storm that I felt not, had risen and roll'd,  
While enrapt in a slumber I lay;  
And when I look'd out in the morning, behold!  
My castle was carried away.

I passed over rivers, and vallies, and groves,  
 The World it was all in my view ;  
 I thought of my friends, of their fates, of their loves,  
 And often, full often of you.

At length it came over a beautiful scene,  
 Which Nature in silence had made ;  
 The place was but small, but 'twas sweetly serene,  
 And chequer'd with sun shine and shade.

I gaz'd and I envied with painful good will,  
 And grew tir'd of my seat in the Air ;  
 When all of a sudden, my Castle stood still,  
 As if some attraction was there.

Like a lark from the sky, it came fluttering down,  
 And placed me exactly in view ;  
 When, whom should I meet, in this charming retreat,  
 This corner of calmness—but you.

Delighted to find you in honor and ease,  
 I felt no more sorrow and pain ;  
 And the wind coming fair, I ascended the breeze,  
 And went back to my Castle again.

## EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

LETTERS FROM CAPT. LAURENCE BUTLER  
 TO MRS. JOSEPH CRADOCK.

These interesting sketches of Virginia and the Ohio valley are extracted from the Appendix to the Literary Memoirs and correspondence of Joseph Cradock. The writer who is described as an agreeable young officer, made the acquaintance of the Cradocks at the Hotel de York in Paris, in the year 1784. The hotel was at this time the headquarters of John Adams and a large American party when Capt. Butler arrived with dispatches from his uncle, Mr. Laurence, of London. The intimacy there begun was

not forgotten by Capt. Butler, who appears to have kept his new friends well informed of his movements, not only upon his departure from France in 1783, but for many years after his return to his home on the Rappahanock River, in Leeds Town, Westmoreland County, Virginia.—*Note by Editor.*

*Westmoreland County Virginia,  
 October 15, 1784.*

DEAR MADAM:—I set out from London the 28th. April in a post-chaise to Gravesend to meet the ship in order to set out for my own country—I remained in that town till the 30th, at which time I went on board the ship *Mary Ann*; we weighed anchor that instant and pro-

ceeded down the river; and the next day we passed through the Downs with a fair wind. There was no other passenger than myself, though the supercargo was an American and a very agreeable companion.

I paid thirty guineas for my passage and expected to have had a much better stock laid in than we had, but he was a north countryman and would as soon live on salt beef and potatoes as the finest dainties in the world.

We had a passage of nine weeks, though we should have made it in a fortnight sooner had our captain run to the south and got into the trade winds, which is customary; though the reason was he had never been in America, and it was impossible for the mate or myself to persuade him from making a straight passage as he called it. He was very opinionated as to his own knowledge, though should he ever come to America again he talks of running to the southward.

I have the pleasure of informing you, I found all my relations and friends well. I have been very happy since my arrival in Virginia; I am continually at balls and barbiques. The latter I will try to describe; it is a lamb, and sometimes a sheep, and indeed sometimes a beef, split in two and stuck on spits. A large hole is dug in the ground into which they put coals made of the bark of trees; then they lay the meat over that within about six inches of the coals; and keep basting it with butter and salt water, and turning it every now and then until it is done. We then dine sumptuously under a large shady tree or an arbour made of green bushes. We have a mile race-ground,

and every horse on the field runs two and two together; by that means we have a deal of diversion; and in the evening we retire to some gentleman's house and dance awhile after supper, and then retire to bed. The company stay at the house all night (not like in your country) for every gentleman has ten or fifteen beds, which is sufficient for the ladies, and the men shift for themselves. In this manner we spend our time once a fortnight, and at other times we have regular balls as you have in England.

With the sincerest wishes for your and Mr. Cradock's health and welfare, I am, dear Madam yours with esteem.

LAURENCE BUTLER.

*Virginia, Nov. 20, 1786.*

DEAR MADAM:—I received your very obliging letter dated Paris, Feb. 1786, wherein you gave me a detail of your travels through the southern provinces of France.

I must trouble you with a detail of a journey I took to the western country. This country, I must inform you has not been known to us more than fifteen years; it was discovered by some of our frontier hunters, who, travelling through a mountainous country of upward of three hundred miles, came to this vast, extensive level country which is reckoned the richest land in the world. It borders on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and is inhabited by a vast number of Indians, who are very barbarous. They give no quarter, but sometimes they take prisoners and put them to torture or make them slaves. There are a great number of inhabitants moved to this



country, and settled, though they are obliged to live in forts and work together. Some keep guard while the rest work; but now they have settled for upwards of a hundred miles square, though there is still danger on the frontier, and will be for a number of years, as there are several nations of Indians within a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles. The State of Virginia gave a quantity of land to all the officers and soldiers who served in the last war. I was appointed as one of the surveyors to lay off this land; and my portion as a captain was 4000 acres.

I set off from Westmoreland County to that country, in company with one gentleman, the 4th April 1785; crossed a mountain called the Blue Ridge which is only passable at certain places. It is about 150 miles above where I live. We travelled through a mountainous country of about eighty miles, and crossed a number of little rivers, some of which we were obliged to swim over on our horses, having no ferries, to the foot of the largest mountain in North America called the Alligany. This mountain is 64 miles over, though there are several small rivers in it. When we reached the top of this mountain we found the snow to be three feet deep, which was on the 15th April; and before we got there saw no snow at all. Our horses could hardly travel; and as we descended the mountains the snow grew less and less, and before we arrived at the bottom there was none at all. The rivers in the mountains were very full of water, on account of the snow melting, which obliged us to swim several of them, as there were no boats and but very few inhabitants on those cold moun-

tains. We were obliged to make fires at night, and lay out of doors on the blankets which we carried with us. About the 17th we arrived at a river called the Monongahalia which was about 400 yards wide and runs into the Ohio. We travelled about 300 miles and then fell in with eight gentlemen who were bound for this new country; among them were several brother officers who had served in our army last war. Workmen were engaged to build us a boat forty-two feet long and fourteen feet wide which was finished in two days. We left that place about the end of April; there were ten of us in the boat with as many horses; a shelter was made over one end of the boat to keep the weather off us. The next day about sunset we arrived at a town called Fort Pitt. Having no sails we were carried by the current about 70 miles.

Fort Pitt is a pretty little town in the forks of the Monongahalia and Alligany rivers, which form the Ohio: these two rivers are about 4000 yards wide each, and the Ohio is not more than 500 yards. Behind the town lies a high mountain, and near the Monongahalia is another mountain, which is full of fine pit coal, equal to what is burnt in the city of London. Here we stayed two days and laid in tea, coffee, sugar, &c., for our passage down the Ohio, as this was the last settlement before we arrived at the new country, except some belonging to the several nations of Indians, who, always lying in wait on the shore, very often fire on the boats as they go down, and sometimes board them when they think they have an advantage. We left that place, and were carried down

by the current, as the river was very full. Kept on day and night. The fourth night, about 8 o'clock, we discovered a fire on the shore, which we hailed; and as soon as we hailed the fire was put out. About half an hour after we heard a boat rowing down the river after us. We hailed the boat in English and in Indian, and told them if they did not answer we would fire on them; but they paid no attention. We immediately fired towards them (which did not appear to be more than 150 yards off), though it was so dark we could not see; but after we fired, we heard no more of them. They were Indians, dodging us to find out whether we were armed or not, and if they had found we had no arms, they would have boarded and put us to death. These savages have guns, but are rather afraid to attack a party of white people without they can get an advantage, which they never miss. We stopped as we went down the river, and four of us went on shore, and travelled three miles up the country to a salt-lick, which is called the Big Bone Lick, on account of there being a number of large bones there. I saw a thigh bone which at the big end measured three feet round, and a jaw bone that must have weighed near 50 pounds. A number of these bones have been sent to England and France, and they cannot find out what bones they are. Some say they are elephants' but I think they are larger: there are none of those beasts living in this country at present, as there has not been any seen since this country has been discovered. We killed a number of wild turkeys, bears, deer and buffaloes: the latter I suppose you never

heard of: they are like your cattle, only larger, and have bones growing up from their withers about nine inches; they have a kind of a mane, and the hair on their forehead is about nine inches long; they are reckoned preferable to our beef.

We arrived at Louisville, a town at the Falls of Ohio, in seven days from Fort Pitt, which is 700 miles. The river at the Falls is about a mile wide. The river was very full of water on account of the snow's melting on the mountains, which had raised the water near 40 feet, and made the current very rapid, though in August and September the river is down and the current very gentle. I have heard of a boat being four weeks on her passage down the river in the Fall, though there is always a gentle breeze up the river from eleven o'clock till three in the evening. This river affords a vast quantity of fresh water fish: they have a kind that is called cat, which weighs upwards of 100 weight, and a perch that weighs from eight to twenty pounds weight, which I think is a finer fish than the salmon or sole you have in England. I remained at the Fall a few days, and then traveled up the country to examine the land, which exceeded anything I ever saw, being in general richer than ever I saw a garden. The growth of the trees on the best land are black walnut, wild cherry, honey-locus, black-eye and sugar-tree; of the latter the inhabitants make the greatest plenty of sugar for their own use, as good as ever I saw from the West Indies. I must give you a detail how it is made, though I am not well acquainted, as I did not take much notice; but in February, when the sap rises, they tap the trees, and put ves-

sels under it and catch the liquor, which they boil until it thickens, and then they have a way to grain it, which makes it just like the West India sugars. There are a great number of salt springs, the water of which they boil as they do the sugar, which yields the greatest quantity of salt for the inhabitants. If the Almighty had not been so bountiful in supplying this country with these springs, &c, it would have been very bad for the poor inhabitants, as they would have been obliged to have carried their salt from Philadelphia or Alexandria to Fort Pitt, which is three hundred miles over a very bad mountainous country, and then seven hundred miles down the Ohio by water, which would have made the salt come very high. They have discovered several fine iron mines; and I make no doubt, when the country gets a little cleared of the woods, they will discover gold and silver. This is a very healthy country, and has good water; the climate is moderate, and lies in the latitude of 37 degrees north. It produces tobacco, Indian corn, and every thing but wheat and small grain, which it cannot produce until the land has been worked about ten years; being so strong that it runs all up to straw and no grain. I saw some growing on land that had been worked twelve years successively, and then they were obliged to keep their cattle on it till very late in the spring, when it was seven feet high, and the heads were not half full. It is fine for hemp, flax and cotton, which the inhabitants mostly cultivate, as they make the most of their linen. Also all kind of fruit; fine peaches, apples, pears, &c., grow there in the greatest abundance.

As to their pasturage, the whole wood is one pasture; it is all covered with wild-rye, pea-vines and clover, as high as a man's knees, with many other kinds of grass; and in some places cane or reeds, cultivated by some people for twelve miles, so thick that it is with difficulty a man can pass without opening his way with his hands. The inhabitants lay up no provision for their cattle or horses for the winter, as they do in other countries, for this cane is green all the winter, and the cattle are very fond of it; and, indeed, there is grass there all the winter. They make the greatest plenty of butter and cheese. It is a fine country for horses. They raise very few hogs or sheep, unless they keep them in a close pen near the house, as there are vast numbers of bears and wolves. Though they need not trouble themselves these many years to raise meat, as there is the greatest plenty of buffaloes, which serve for beef; and bears, which answer the same as bacon; and, as to wild turkeys, there is no end of them; and the greatest quantity of wild geese and ducks in the rivers. I took up my board near a little town, called Lexington, about eighty miles from the Falls, where I used to divert myself in hunting the buffalo, bear and deer. I gave up the notion of surveying, as the fees were so low that they would not bear my expences, and very dangerous on account of the Indians; for the land we had to lay off was one hundred and fifty miles from any settlement, and there is not more than two chain carriers, and a marker, to accompany me; which I thought rather dangerous, when there was no profit to be gained.

About the first of June a party of Indians came to a settlement about twelve miles from where I lived, undiscovered, and cut two childrens' throats, and took off their scalps, and fired on their father that was ploughing in the field, and shot him through the leg. About this time a surveyor had been up the river Kentucky surveying, and discovered a camp of Indians, who came down and informed the county lieutenant, who gave out that he wanted volunteers, to go against the Indians. I wanted to see as much of the country as I could; I turned out as a volunteer, and met at the day appointed at the frontier fort. The next day we marched, one hundred and fifty-eight in number, all on horseback, with provisions to last us eight days, and corn in our wallets for our horses. After travelling about fifty miles we came to a very mountainous country; we kept up to the side of the river; the mountains were so steep it was very difficult passing, and we were obliged to lead our horses. The third day after leaving the settlement one of our company's horses fell down a rock about sixty feet, and dragged his master after him; the horse was killed, and the man had three ribs broke, and could not proceed any further; it was dangerous leaving him behind for fear of Indians, but we concluded to carry him up amongst a party of rocks, where there were no eaves leading to these rocks; by that means the Indians could not track them and left two men with him, and ordered them to lay close in the rocks, not to stir out, or make any fire until we returned, when we should call for them; we took their horses and carried them several miles up the river,

and hobbled or tied their feet so close together, that they could not travel, and there we left them, and continued our march. The mountains continued very bad in many places; for miles together the rocks were three hundred feet perpendicular on one side, and not more than six feet wide in some places where we had to pass, and on the other hand fifty or sixty feet perpendicular, into the river. Many times these rocks ran quite down to the river, so that we could not pass; we were obliged to swim the river on our horses, which was one hundred and fifty yards wide; we travelled up this river six days, and came to the Indian camp, which they had just left, as their fire was burning and they left meat behind. We quitted our horses and pursued them on foot, forded the river several times, up to our arm-pits, but could never overhaul them, as the wood was very thick and mountainous; though the swamps they passed were muddy when we crossed them, which proved the Indians not to be far off.

The next morning our horses and selves appearing very much fatigued, and the greatest part of us without provisions we concluded to return; for my part mine was quite gone, and we a hundred and fifty miles from any settlement. I was two days without anything to eat except some Indian corn parched by the fire, which I had provided for my horse. The third day, myself and six more separated from the rest of the company, in order to kill something to eat, and to try if we could not find a better and nearer way home. We turned off from the river; we all had pocket compasses to steer by; we had not travelled more than six

miles before we killed a fine elk; we immediately turned our horses out to graze, and made a fire, and turned to broiling the elk, which eat very fine, although we had neither bread or salt. After feasting an hour, we continued our journey, and in the evening we killed a fine large bear, which we feasted on for supper. The next day we got to the settlement, after travelling upwards of three hundred miles.

I must inform you, the man that had his ribs broken, who was left in the mountains on our way up the river, when we returned, found himself much better; but we had great difficulty to get him back.

I must beg leave to give you an account of the trade of this country, though I am afraid I have tired your patience already. The trade at present is but trifling; they trade to Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, and Alexandria in Virginia, which is eight hundred miles by land; and if they go up the Ohio against the stream, it will be seven hundred miles by water, and eight hundred afterwards by land, over the mountains; what trade is carried on is in the beaver and other furs, and horses. They expect, in a few years, to have a trade with the Spaniards, down the Mississippi to New Orleans, though then they will have at least two thousand miles to go down the river before they arrive there; though their going will be nothing, as there is always a strong current down the river, but they will find it very difficult to return against the current. The extent of that country has not been found out yet though they have been two thousand miles to the westward from the Falls.

The whole country is inhabited with savages, who live by hunting; they never till the land; many of them never saw or heard of fire-arms; they all use bows and arrows.

About a week after my return from the Indian expedition, I began to think of returning home, which is generally performed by land, through a wilderness of upwards of two hundred miles without any settlement, the way back up the river being very tedious, going against the stream. About the first of July I repaired to a place called the Crab Orchard, which is a frontier fort adjoining the wilderness. I remained there a few days until we got a sufficient number of men to pass through the wilderness, as it is dangerous going in small parties, on account of the Indians, who are always laying watch on the road. When they can meet with a small party, they attack and put them to death. At length we set out, in company of one hundred men, well armed, for every man is obliged to carry a gun in this country, and upwards of one hundred pack-horses with furs; when we set out it put me in mind of the caravans passing the deserts of Arabia. It took us five days to pass through this wilderness, and the best part of the time it rained, which raised the rivers so high that we were obliged to swim several on our horses. After we got into the settlement, we separated into small parties, on account of getting provisions, &c. After we had got about twenty-five miles in the settlement, myself and six men called at a tavern in a place called Powel's Valley, where we refreshed ourselves, and left the house about an hour by the sun in the evening, and continued

our journey. We passed over a very high mountain, and encamped at the foot, about four miles from the tavern. About eight o'clock that night a party of Indians attacked the house, killed the man and all four of his children, and carried away the man's wife; there was a man there that made his escape, and came over the mountain to where we were encamped. We returned the next morning to attack the Indians, but they were gone. We buried the man and his four children, and then continued our journey, and arrived at home in about eighteen days from the time I set out; the journey was seven hundred and fifty miles. Some time after I got home, I heard that the poor woman the Indians had carried away had returned, and that she gave an account, that they carried her ten days march through the mountains, and that she made her escape from them, and was thirty days in the wilderness before she got in, and that she lived the whole time on roots until she got out of the woods. I am afraid the account of my journey will not be so entertaining as I would wish, and that your patience is quite worn out, though it may be entertaining to Mr. Cradock.

I am, dear Madam, with great respect,  
your friend and humble servant,

L. BUTLER.

*Westmoreland County, Virginia,*

*March 25, 1788.*

DEAR MADAM:—I received your favours of 4th February, 1786, dated at the Hotel de York, Paris, but since that I have not heard from you or Mr. Cradock. I made a second trip to the Western country last year. When I returned the

first time I gave you a detail of my journey there and back; and likewise gave you an account of the fertility of the soil, &c. I will therefore only add, that the country has improved beyond any man's expectation in the course of two years, and that no country was ever peopled faster. When returning last fall from that country I met upwards of eight thousand souls on the road; and I suppose in the course of the fall, at least thirty thousand went out to that country. I intended going out this last February, but the winter has been too severe, to allow passing the Alligany mountains; therefore I have given up the trip this year.

I am, Dear Madam, your real friend,  
L. BUTLER.

#### NOTES.

PEMBINA—which, we are told, must be pronounced *Pem be naw*—is proposed for the name of a new territory. It is better than "Idaho" (which has no trace of a meaning) and as good, perhaps, as "Arizona," or "Montana." The objection to it is that, while it makes a show of being an Indian name, it is not found, in fact, in any Indian language. It belongs to the jargon—a sort of pigeon-Indian—of the trappers and voyageurs of the last century. The northern Crees call the high bush cranberry (one of the varieties of *Viburnum opulus*), *Niptmindn*, which means "water berry." The French shortened the name to *Pemind*. In the northwest it was soon corrupted to *Pemb-ina*, and in this shape was given to two or three rivers and a lake, near which the trappers found

the berries in abundance. At the junction of one "Pembina" river with the Red River of the North, Lord Selkirk established the trading-post from which has grown the town of Pembina. If the new territory is to be constituted, and if it must be named for the Bush Cranberry, would not the genuine Indian name of the fruit be preferable to one which presents it in an advanced stage of phonetic decomposition?

Hartford, Conn.

J. H. T.

AN EARLY AMERICAN BOOK AUCTION.—A great Number of Scarce and Valuable Books, in various Languages and Arts, will be speedily exposed to sale by Auction, by Samuel Gerrish, at the lower end of Cornhil, Boston; which will be preceded by the Sale of a Collection of Pamphlets of 500 or 600 different Sorts, many of which not common. Some of the Modern Ones will be put up in Lots, 6 or 12, or more, in a Lot, for such Gentlemen as are disposed Charitably to distribute them, who may expect to have them very Cheap.

A Catalogue of which, Alphabetically disposed, may be seen at any time. And also a Catalogue of most of the other Books. The Auction will begin on this Day, being December the 23d at 5 o'Clock in the Evening. Of Books in Folio there may be near 200, in Quarto about 300, and as many in Octavo, &c.—*The Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Thursday, Dec. 23, 1731.

A RELIC OF THE PAST.—The South Carolina Marine Society celebrated the birth of Washington, Feb. 22, 1812. Among the regular toasts we find the

following: "May the productions of a Ropewalk be the neck cloth of him who attempts to untwist the political cable of our Union." W. K.

"SINK OR SWIM, LIVE OR DIE."—These words, used with such effect by the eloquent Patrick Henry, appear in a poem by the Rev. Nicholas Noyes, printed at Boston, July 30, 1707. The following is the line: "Then, Sink, or Swim; or Live, or Die." W. K.

WHALES AT PHILADELPHIA.—*Philadelphia*, April 19. On Monday last two Whales, suppos'd to be a Cow and Calf, were seen to spout and play before this City, several Boats went after them but could not hinder their escaping.—*The American Weekly Mercury*, April 19, 1733.

REVOLUTIONARY DOCUMENTS.—Probably no town in the United States has such a rich treasure of Revolutionary Documents as Huntington on Long Island.

This town, including Lloyd's Neck, was occupied by the British during the whole war, who took by force from the farmers, everything they raised, for the support of the soldiers.

Just before the British left the Island, Gen. Carlton notified the farmers that if they would bring in their bills for damages he would see them paid. Accordingly the town officers requested the farmers to lay before a Justice of the Peace all claims, that he might put them in proper order for presentation to the Board of Claims that sat in New York. Thereupon the farmers appeared

before the Justice, some with verbal statements of what had been taken from them, others had rough memoranda on fragments of paper, while a few had receipts from the British officers, or orders on the Commissary to pay.

The Justice copied all these evidences of indebtedness into a book, filed the original documents in the Town Clerk's office, and had all the vouchers sworn to.

It is quite remarkable that these old papers have not been sold for waste paper or thrown into the fire to have them out of the way, as has been done in so many other places. But here they are a monument of British rapacity and the sufferings of those hard-working farmers. The worst of all was that the Board adjourned before auditing these bills, so that the farmers got nothing.

A perusal of these papers will give a more life-like picture of the times that tried men's souls than anything we have seen. As an illustration, we give a copy of the charges against Col. Tarlton, who was stationed there when not on his Southern campaigns:

"1780—Taken from Annanis Carll by Col. Tarlton or officers under his command a fat beast worth £25. No pay."

"1778 Dec 22—Taken from Zebulon Buffet 3 hogs by Col. Tarlton's party of troops on their march from Smithtown to Jericho worth £16."

"1777 Nov—Zopher Platt's ox-team was pressed by Major Cochran (under Col. Tarlton), to carry boards ripped off his barn from Huntington to Jericho. The Major also took 40 lbs. of butter from his wife, and carried all to Col. Tarlton's quarters, without pay."

"1778 Dec 23—Daniel Blatsly bought 70 fowls at 2 shillings apiece to take to New York market for Christmas. These were taken from him by Col. Tarlton's orders. He also took 2 barrels of cider worth £1—Same time he took from Jeremiah Reeland 4 fat hogs worth £30. Never paid for."

"1779 Oct 7—Half Hollow Hills. Recd of James Oakley a small heifer, weight 248 lbs for the use of the sick of the Provincial Cavalry.

JOHN TUCK, Qr. Mas."

BANASTRE TARLTON

Lt. Col. British Legion.

"1779 Oct—Col. Tarlton was out on a party of pleasure shooting grouse, & came to Timothy Carll's house in person & took a cow out of his pasture that cost £24, & killed her for the use of his troops.—No pay."

Various other illustrations of the hardships that the farmers endured during British rule might be given. X.

THE PASSION FLOWER.—This beautiful flower, now plentiful in the United States, seems to have been named by the Rev. Anthony Sepp, a German Jesuit, while on a voyage to Buenos Ayres, in 1692. The vessel stopped at the isle Meldonato, where some of the passengers went on shore, and returned with "divers sorts of flowers," as the priest records in his diary. "The flowers they brought along with them were not unlike some of our European flowers. But what surprised me most, was a certain flower (such a one as I never met with before in my life) having a thorny crown, a lance, three nails, and the characters



of ropes upon its leaves; which for that reason I gave the name of *the passion flower*."

W. K.

BOSTON OBITUARIES.—Whereas a laudable Custom hath of long standing prevail'd in this Province of recommending, in the Publick Papers, the Virtuous Actions, blameless Lives, and Christian Deportment of Deceas'd Persons, to the worthy Imitation of the Sorrowful Living; and as the same, (we hope) has been attended with a Wish'd for Success, to the Instruction, and Edification of the Surviving Generation. Now in Order to render the same more extensively Effectual; and to soften the Labours of those pious Gentlemen who have hitherto Employ'd their Pens & precious Moments to so Excellent a Purpose; It is humbly Propos'd, That the Endeavours of a Person, lately arrived from Great Britain may merit Encouragement, The said Person having with the utmost Care, and best Assistances prepar'd a Set of Characters, suited to both Sexes, Engraven on Copper Plates, by the most skilfull Hands, with void spaces for Name, Age, Distinction, and Profession, or such Particular and Eminent Qualities, as do not properly fall under the Notice of general description.

P. S. Such as desire further Information may Receive the same by lodging a letter to Mr. C. H. at the Crown Coffee House.—*The Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Thursday Feb. 18, 1731.

W. K.

ADMIRAL HOSIER'S DESCENDANTS IN NEW YORK.—The following memorandum was written about the year 1788, by

Benjamin Palmer, the well-known proprietor of City Island:

"Admiral Hosier's christian name was Francis and he had but one brother his christian name was John and he came over to New York in North America in the year [ ] and lived in the borough town of Westchester in the county of Westchester and province of New York. Admiral Hosier was sent with 20 ships of war against Porto-bello and Carthagenia in South America by orders of the King of Great Britain, in order as was supposed to take them towns from the Spaniards in the year 1726. But when he came to open his orders, he was not to fight nor to fire a gun against them, and it was said he died there through grief on that account—and about the year 1770 a letter was sent from Great Britain to Samuel Hosier in New York concerning said Admiral Hosier's estate which he had in the bank and elsewhere in England. But the war between Great Britain and these states coming on soon after his brother ——— Hosier had received the letter and many houses being burned in the dispute, his house shared the same fate, and the letter was burnt in the house. But there is evidences yet living to make known what was wrote in it, and also to prove that he was the only brother of said Admiral Hosier."

WHITE PLAINS.

DELICATE LEGISLATION.—On Tuesday, January 26, 1790, when the House of Representatives were in committee on the bill for the "Actual Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States," Samuel Livermore, a member from New Hampshire, proposed an amendment to

that part where it was enacted that every male or female, of twenty-one years of age, shall be obliged to render a true account of the number of persons, &c., in their families. Mr. Livermore moved that the word *female* be struck out, and gave for his reason that it would be sometimes indelicate in a marshall to ask a young lady how old she was, or make *too strict* inquiry. The amendment was agreed to.

W. K.

THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN NORTH CAROLINA—This was a volume of Laws printed by James Davis, of Newbern, which has been for many years so great a rarity as to be almost unknown. The only copy I have been able to trace in any public library in the country is that in the Hawks-Niblo Collection, belonging to the New York Historical Society, which I happen to know was cherished by Dr. Hawks as one of the most precious volumes he had. That volume, however, is so imperfect as to furnish little satisfaction to the bibliographer, showing very serious deficiencies besides its want of the title page. From a perfect copy now before me, I make the following description. The title page is as follows :

A | Collection | of | All the Public | Acts of Assembly, | of | The Province of | North Carolina : | now in Force and Use. | Together with the Titles of all such Laws as are Obsolete, Ex- | pir'd, or Repeal'd. | And also, an exact Table of the Titles of the Acts in Force. | Revised by Commissioners appointed by an Act of the General Assembly of the said Province, for that Purpose : and Examined with the | Records, and Confirmed in full Assembly. | Newbern : Printed by James Davis, M,DCC,LI.

The title is followed by a dedication, 1 leaf; the Proprietor's Second Charter, pp. xii : the Proprietors' Great Deed of Grant, 1 leaf : then Laws, pp. 1-353, followed by Table, pp. 8.

Commissioners had been appointed in 1746 to revise and print the laws of the province, but, though very much wanted and desired, the work met with unexpected delay, and a further act of encouragement for the Commissioners to proceed was passed in 1748, which resulted in the completion of the revisal, which was laid before the Houses of Assembly in the following year, when the laws, as revised, were duly confirmed and declared to be in force.

In the same year, 1749, an act was passed for the encouragement of James Davis, to set up, and carry on his business of a printer in the Province of North Carolina. The act provided a salary of "One Hundred and Sixty Pounds Proclamation Money" to "begin and Commence from such time as the said James Davis shall have set up his Press at Newbern \* \* and be ready to proceed on his Business of Printing : and shall Continue for the Space of Five Years, provided the said James Davis shall so long live, and perform the said Services" required by the Act. These services were the printing the Speeches and Addresses at the opening of each Session of the Assembly, the Legislative Journals and Proceedings, the Laws, Proclamations, and other Acts of Government, for the use of the various public officers and members of the Legislature.

Isaiah Thomas seems never to have met with any copy of the volume under

consideration, and his account of the printer was necessarily very imperfect. His errors and omissions have not been corrected or supplied in the new edition, probably from the same cause. Martin, in his *History of North Carolina*, ii., 58, preserves a curious notice of this interesting publication: "In the course of this year [1751] was completed the printing of the first revisal of the acts of assembly: the multiplication of the copies of them, by means of the press, was a valuable advantage: it tended to introduce order and uniformity in the decisions of courts, and by defining the rights of the people, in a degree, put an end to great anarchy and confusion which had hitherto prevailed, from the ignorance of the people and the magistrates in this respect. The work was handsomely printed and bound in a small folio volume: a yellowish hue of the leather with which it was covered, proceeding from the unskillfulness of the tanner, procured it the homely appellation of the Yellow Jacket, which it retains to this day."

E. Y. E.

New York, December 4, 1876.

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**REVOLUTIONARY CARICATURE.**—I send a description of a caricature that may interest collectors. It is a mezzotint fourteen by ten inches, entitled "A Society of Patriotic Ladies, at Edenton, in North Carolina. London, Printed for R. Sayer, & J. Bennett, No. 53 in Fleet Street, as the Act directs 25 March 1775. Plate V." A group of fifteen figures are around or near a table in a room. A female at the table with a gavel is evidently a man, probably meant for Lord North. A lady, with pen in hand, is being kissed by a

gentleman. Another lady, standing, is writing on a large circular, which can be read, "We the Ladys of Edenton do hereby solemnly engage not to Conform to that Pernicious Custom of Drinking Tea, or that we the aforesaid Ladys will not promote ye wear of any manufacture from England untill such time that all Acts which tend to enslave this our Native Country shall be repealed." The other figures are not close around the table, and are emptying tea caddies or looking on. A child and dog are under the table. Compare passage in Bancroft's U. S., Vol. VII., p. 282.

J. C. B.

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**MEXICAN HIEROGLYPHICS.**—Documentos Inéditos—Americay Oceania II. 1864, pp. 47 and 59. Alonzo de Zorita, writing in 1554 to the Emperor, says that the native *escribanos* used them in their lawsuits, and that they were currently read at that time. A Spanish priest, long in the country at that time, understood them. He tried the experiment of letting some leading men translate Spanish into picture writing, and that they did it literally with a division into paragraphs to separate the sentences.

J. C. B.

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**THE MENZIES SALE.**—The bibliographical event of the year was the sale, by Joseph Sabin & Son, of the library of William Menzies, of New York city, Nov. 13 to 21, 1876. It consisted of 2,205 lots, among which many of the rarest of early American books. As an evidence of the growing interest in historic literature, it is interesting to know that the original cost was \$41,000, and

the amount realized by the sale over \$50,000. One of the marked peculiarities of the collection was that it was almost entirely composed of works in the English, to the exclusion of foreign languages. The rare books were taken mainly by New York collectors.

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### QUERIES.

**ORGAN BUILDING IN AMERICA.**—Where when and by whom was the first organ built in America? Mr. Hood, in his *History of Music in New England*, states that "the first organ built in this country was made by Edward Bromfield, Jr., of Boston." He also quotes from the *Panoplist*: Vol. II., p. 194, a description of the instrument by Rev. Thomas Prince. But I have heard it said that there is record evidence of organ building and an organ maker by the name of "Mr. Henry Neering" in New York, as early as 1703.  
E. Y. E.

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**HUGUENOTS IN THE BAHAMAS.**—From documents preserved in the Massachusetts archives, it appears that a body of refugees from the island of Eleuthera, Bahama Islands, came to Boston about the year 1687, having been driven from their homes by the Spaniards. Lands were given to these strangers at Casco Bay, in Maine. The documents referred to contain no mention of their nationality. But an article in the *Boston News-Letter and City Record* (1826; I. 198) gives a letter referring to the settlement of these Eleutherans at Casco Bay, and speaks of them as a body of French Huguenots. Is there any ground for this statement? It is certain that the coming of these peo-

ple to Massachusetts occurred about the same time with the arrival of some of the Huguenots. Peter Baudouin landed at Casco Bay in 1687. Many of the Huguenots went to the West Indies before coming to this continent. Is there evidence (I) that any Huguenots had settled on the island of Eleuthera; and (II) that the refugees from that island who came to New England in 1687 were Huguenots?  
C. W. B.

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**"SWAPPING HORSES."**—Abraham Lincoln's famous story of swapping horses while crossing a stream may be found in *Harpers' Magazine* for October, 1853. Who is the author of it?  
W. K.

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**WAYWARD SISTERS.**—The expression "Wayward Sisters," used frequently during the late rebellion, appears in a tract published by Thomas Gordon, at London, 1720. Is there any earlier mention?  
W. K.

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**PORTRAIT OF GOV. GRISWOLD.**—A portrait in oil of Gov. Roger Griswold, of Connecticut, was once known to exist in Philadelphia. Is there any trace of it at the present time?  
M. J. L.

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**EARLY NEW YORK ARTISTS.**—What portrait painter, or portrait painters, were there in New York prior to 1721?  
X. Y. Z.

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**WASHINGTON'S VISITS TO NEW YORK.**—I once heard an old lady (born in Nov. 1789,) describing the appearance of Gen. Washington, as she saw him at her father's house in New York, some time after the summer of 1795. She stated that

his visit was known to few, and that he stopped at the residence of Sir John Temple, who died in the fall of 1798. As it is usually asserted that Washington was never in this city after the year 1790, it would be interesting to learn what truth there is in the above reminiscence.

I. J. G.

**EARLY DUTCH AND ENGLISH WILLS.**—Where should one search for the record of wills under the Dutch administration, or for those recorded during the first years of English rule in this city. Very few of the latter are to be found in the Surrogate's office of New York; in fact, the earliest will of a citizen is dated, I think, in June, 1668. X.

**MAVERICK FAMILY.**—William Benjamin Nicoll Maverick graduated at King's College (Col. Coll.), New York, in 1762. Was he a descendant of Nathaniel, son of Samuel Maverick, the Royal Commissioner? The only family of the name resident in the city at the time, appears to have been that of Andrew Maverick, a young painter, from Boston, N. E., father of the well-known Peter Rushton M., engraver, and uncle of Samuel M., a victim of the Boston Massacre.

I. J. G.

**VERMONT COPPERS.**—Mr. J. W. Hickcox and Mr. W. J. Prime, in their respective works on coins, attribute a copper coin to Vermont, which is said to bear the image of George III. A writer in the Vermont Collection (I. 316) says that the origin of these coppers is involved in mystery, and yet observes that old dies of the coinage works at Machin

Mills, Ulster county, New York, whence he fancies the coppers may have originated, "could doubtless be very easily obtained." Two of the men engaged in the works were Vermonters. Who can tell anything about the character of those dies, or if they still exist?

DENARIUS.

**MONUMENT TO GEN. WOLFE.**—The exact location is desired of the obelisk which was erected in New York to the memory of Wolfe. M. J. L.

**STEPHEN HOPKINS OF THE MAYFLOWER.**—Can any reader of this Magazine give any information respecting the personal history of Stephen Hopkins, who came over in the Mayflower, 1620? What was his previous history? Did he leave any descendants? QUIS.

**THE FIRST BORN.**—First female in Boston.—Ipswich, Nov. 17.—On Thursday last in the forenoon died here Mrs. Grace Graves, Widow, in the 99th Year of her Age. She was one of the First Female English Children that was Born at Boston in New England; she retained her reason and understanding to a good degree to the last.—*The Boston Gazette*, Monday, Nov. 30, 1730.

According to *Savage's Dictionary*, her parents, William and Ann Beamsley, arrived at Boston, 1632; a child, Ann, was born Feb. 13, 1633, and Grace, the subject of the above notice, Sept. 10, 1635. She married Samuel Graves, a felt maker, of Ipswich. Her elder sister, Ann, married Ezekiel Woodward, of Boston. Who was the first English female born in Boston? W. K.

**THE FIRST NEW YORKER.**—New York, September 15.—On the 30th ult. died at Goshen in this Province, Tunis Dolson, in the 102d year of his age, being the first male person born in this city after it was ceded to the English by the Dutch. —*The New York Mercury*, September 15, 1776.

A child of Theunis Dolsen was baptized Aaltje in the Dutch Church at New York, July 16, 1699. George Dolstone, probably a brother of Theunis, testified Feb. 1691, that he was about thirty-three years old, a mariner by profession, and a housekeeper in New York. A record of his marriage in the Dutch Church to Margaret Starcks is dated July 13, 1688. John and Teunis Dolson appear in the Calendar of Land Papers as proprietors of land in Big Flats, Chemung Co., N. Y. Are any of their descendants living?

W. K.

**ARCHAIC WORDS.**—In the old records of Hempstead, on Long Island, occur several words no longer used, such as: Jodes, horses? Bevel, a slope? Folly, a habitation? Tilsom, tilled land? Haward, hedge-keeper? Sag, an ox? Bank, treasury? Defrayed, rubbed out? Lot, vote? Will some correspondent correct these definitions, if incorrect?

X.

**THE HILTONS OF THE CAROLINAS.**—In the British Museum there is a map, upon which is noted: "Discovery made by William Hilton of Charles towne in New England marriner from Cape Hatterask Lat: 35. 30, to ye west of Cape Roman, in Lat 32. 30, in ye yere 1662 And layd Down in the forme as you see

by Nicholas Shopley of the towne aforesaid, November 1662." Was this the William Hilton mentioned by Mr. Deane in his "Notes" on David Thompson and others (p. 13)? The writer would be glad to learn whether the William Hilton mentioned in the "Notes" had any son named William. According to Lawson's "Voyage to Carolina (pp. 65-73), William Hilton and others made an expedition to the same region in 1663-4. Lawson refers to "a Writing left in a post" at "Cape Fair River," by "those New England Men that left Cattle with the Indians there." William Hilton evidently went to this region twice. Who were these "New England Men?" \*

**WASHINGTON PORTRAITS.**—In 1775 a mezzotint of "the commander-in-chief" was published in London, professing to be "done from an original, drawn from the life by Alexander Campbell, of Williamsburgh, in Virginia." Is anything known of the artist, or of his picture? Will not some of your readers contribute towards perfecting a list of the portraits of Washington which were extant during his life? A few particulars about each painting, or drawing, &c., with the name of the present owner, would much increase the value and interest of such a catalogue.

VIVAX.

**AN INTERESTING RELIC.**—Can any of your readers give information concerning the gold box, in which the "Freedom of the City" was presented by the corporation of New York to Andrew Hamilton, the celebrated Philadelphia Lawyer, for his defence of John Peter Zenger in 1735?

REM.

THE FIRST BROADWAY THEATRE.—Is not the following the earliest notice of any theatre in Broadway?

ADVERTISEMENT.

"On *Thursday, Feb.* the 12th at the new Theater in the Broad Way, will be presented a Comedy call'd the Beaux Stratagem, the Part of Aimwell to be performed by a Person who never appear'd on any Stage before. Boxes 5 s. Pit 2 s. 6."—*Zenger, Feb. 2, 1740.*

E. Y. E.

EVACUATION OF NEW YORK.—When the British evacuated New York city, 25 November, 1783, Genls Washington and Knox and a body of troops marched in. As most of the Continental Army had been disbanded on the 3d November, 1783, the body remaining was small.

Will you please inform me what forces marched into the city as the British embarked.

NEW YORKER.

RELIC OF THE FIRST NEW YORK NEGRO PLOT.—I find the following interesting item among the accounts of the city of New York:

*Citty of New York to Citty Cash,* Dr. May 5th, 1713, - - - - £36. 10

For a Warrant No. 64 for that summe to Francis Harrison, Esqr. High Sheriff of the Citty and County of New York, it being for money by him disburst and laid out for Iron, Iron-Work, Gibbets, Cordidge, Laborers, Fire-wood and others Materials & Expences for the Execution of the severall Negroes Slaves for Murther by them Committed in April, 1712.

E. Y. E.

ADAM'S WILL.—Will some one of your readers inform me where I can find the

following, attributed by Brown (*Hist. C. Breton*, p. 18) to Francis I., just before sending Verrazano on his voyage to America, in 1524: "What! shall the Kings of Spain and Portugal divide all America between them, without suffering me to take a share as a brother? I would fain see the article in Adam's will that bequeathes that vast inheritance to them."

D. C.

COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.—Can you state who have been the Generals-in-Chief of the American Army from June, 1775 to the present day?

INQUIRER.

HARVARD GRADUATES.—What was the first publication made by a Harvard Graduate? Where, when and by whom was it issued?

E. Y. E.

FIRST AMERICAN PLAY.—What was the first play written in America?

E. Y. E.

COLONIAL FLAGS.—What colors or standards were carried by the Continental troops at White Plains, Harlem and Fort Washington? There was then no national flag, but Washington required each regiment to have colors.

COLOR BEARER.

THE FAMILY OF BUTLER.—In the original documents published in this number of the Magazine will be found the letters of Capt. Laurence Butler, of Virginia, to the Cradock Family, in England. He seems to have been a Revolutionary officer and a surveyor. Who was he?

EDITOR.

### FALL PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The fall proceedings of the New York Historical Society have been of unusual interest. Following the example patriotically and appropriately set at Lexington, and worthily continued at Boston and Philadelphia, of commemorating the military and civic events of the Revolution on the spot of their occurrence, the Society in June charged the Executive Committee with the celebration of the one hundredth Anniversary of the action known as the Battle of Harlem Plains. A committee of one hundred of its members, including in its number the chief historic and representative names of the city, was appointed, under whose direction an out-door meeting of the Society was held on the afternoon of Saturday, the 16th September, on the heights of Bloomingdale, the crest of the hill overlooking Harlem Plains, between 117th and 119th streets, and the Ninth and Tenth Avenues, the scene of the principal action. To this meeting, the Governors of all States whose troops were engaged in the battle, the New York State and City officials, representative regiments of the city military, and numerous distinguished guests were invited.

The guests were received at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, where a collation was provided; and were escorted by the officers of the Society to the ground, where platforms, gaily decorated with the Continental, Union, State, and City flags were arranged for their reception. The ground, covered with tents, presented the appearance of an encampment, and

from its elevated position commanding extensive views of the North and East Rivers, was visible from a great distance, presenting a scene of rare and animated beauty.

The officers and their guests arrived upon the field at the appointed hour, three o'clock in the afternoon, and were closely followed by the Seventh Regiment, N. Y. S. Militia, who marched past to the position assigned them, where they halted in military formation. In their rear a large tent had been set up where a generous lunch was provided. At this moment there were not less than ten thousand people present, including a large number of ladies, for whom ample accommodation in seats had been arranged, and the carriage enclosure was also full of gay equipages.

The meeting was called to order by Frederic de Peyster, L.L. D., the President of the Society, who introduced the Rev. Morgan Dix, D.D., Rector of Trinity Church, who invoked the Divine blessing.

The President then addressed the meeting, explaining its purpose and welcoming the guests in appropriate terms, and introduced the Hon. John Jay, the Orator of the Day. Space does not admit of a synopsis even of the graceful and classic address of this distinguished gentleman, who worthily upholds the dignity and honor of his ancestral name. It was printed at length in the *New York Times* of the succeeding day, and with a full appendix, which includes many documents never before made public, has been since published in pamphlet form by the Society. Enough to say, that it was in every way worthy of the occasion and



the assemblage, and has taken its rank among the best of the vigorous and eloquent addresses of this Centennial year of the Republic.

At the conclusion of the oration, the Rev. Richard S. Storrs, D.D., moved a resolution of thanks to the orator, clothed in inspiring and glowing language, and the Hon. James W. Beekman seconded the resolution in a brief review of the services and sacrifices of New York from the first conflict with the Royal troops in its streets on the 18th January, 1770 to its capture in 1776.

The resolution was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted, as also resolutions of thanks to the distinguished guests, the reverend clergy, the officers and gentlemen of the Seventh Regiment, and the owners of the ground on which the celebration was held.

A benediction was then pronounced by the Rev. William Adams, D.D., and the Society adjourned.

Some brief extracts from the newspapers of the day will convey an idea of the picturesque scene and the popular interest in this historic event.

"The demonstration was unique, simple, and patriotic. \* \* \* That a Marathon should fire the patriotism of one who stood upon the classic ground, or an Iona make his piety burn with a brighter ray, was the text of the hour, and it was well borne in mind by the assemblage. They stood, after all, on classic ground themselves, and they needed no better reminder of their loyalty. Beneath their eye lay 'a country well worth fighting for' indeed. To the south was the great emporium of the country's commerce and industry; its freighted

argosies went by within their view on the waters of the East River and Long Island Sound; the ground sloped away to the distant High Bridge on the north, and a little to the left they caught a glimpse of the noble Hudson and the Palisades through two dark-green clumps of woodland."—*New York Times*.

"The whole place was alive with flags and gay with bunting. An immense concourse of people were present. \* \* \* The whole affair was one of the most thrilling and picturesque of the many commemorations this season has drawn forth. The music, the speech, the applause, the flowers, the green sward, the ripe foliage, the waving handkerchiefs, the equipages, the superb toilets, the gay military trappings, and the beautiful national flags waving over all, made up a scene not soon to be forgotten."—*Evening Telegram*.

The first regular meeting after the summer vacation was held in the Hall of the Society, Tuesday, October 3d, when the Librarian, George H. Moore, L.L. D., resigned his position, and Mr. John Austin Stevens was unanimously elected to fill the vacancy, Mr. Moore being at the same time unanimously chosen Corresponding Secretary, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. William J. Hoppin, now in London, as Secretary of the American Legation to the Court of St. James. In tendering his resignation, Dr. Moore alluded in feeling terms to his long connection with the Library, extending over a period of nearly thirty-six years, which his absorbing occupations in his new position of Superintendent of the Lenox Library now compelled him re-

luctantly to sever. A committee was named to report to the Society a suitable testimonial to Dr. Moore. The paper of the evening, "The Huguenot element among the Dutch," read by Rev. Dr. Ashbel G. Vermilye, of Schenectady, is a most valuable contribution to this interesting branch of our literature. Taking up the subject from its beginning, the learned Doctor recited the origin and purposes of the Huguenot movement in France, and its bloody suppression on the fatal day of St. Bartholomew. The period of toleration under the benign reign of Henri Quatre, was rapidly touched upon, and an account given of the subsequent cruel and bigoted revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which had guaranteed their religious rights, and of the consequent scattering of the members of the French Protestant Church over Europe. The influence of the Huguenots over the mind and habits of the people among whom they found refuge was then treated, and the coloring it gave to the thought of Holland, carefully elaborated. This indirect influence was supplemented by a thorough examination of the direct influence of the Huguenot refugees to the Colonies upon American character. This brilliant and instructive study closed with a series of vivid portraits of the most illustrious of the Huguenot faith, from Coligny to Jay. The students of New York history, who know how much of her charity, generosity and amenity is due to the precept and example of our Huguenot element, will be glad to see this valuable sketch in a permanent form.

At this meeting the President of the Society, on behalf of Mrs. Thomson Livingstone, presented a fine three-quar-

ter length portrait of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, in his court dress, as Ambassador to France, painted by John Vanderlyn, and read an interesting sketch of the life of this distinguished gentleman, of whom it is enough to say that he was one of the Founders of the Republic. His public services as Recorder of the City of New York, delegate to the first and second Continental Congresses, member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the State of New York, its first Chancellor, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the thirteen States, and Ambassador of the United States to France; and his influence on the industrial, agricultural, and art movement of the early days of the Republic, were briefly stated, especially his connection with Robert Fulton and his precedent experiments on the motive-power of steam.

This paper is now in course of publication for the Society.

At the regular monthly meeting, held November 7th, Professor Asa Bird Gardner, L.L. D., of the United States Military Academy, read a paper on the "Uniforms of the American Army."

Beginning with a statement as to the origin of the "blue," now the national uniform of the United States Army, he showed of what it had been symbolical, and why the Whig party of the Revolutionary war had such a strong attachment to that particular color. The uniforms of the Provincial troops, during the "French and Indian" and other colonial wars, were briefly portrayed, and also those of the New York Militia and other troops immediately prior to the Revolution. The dress of the Conti-

mentals and militia at Bunker Hill, Long Island, Harlem, White Plains, and Fort Washington, and during the remainder of the war was also described. The cut of the hair and whiskers being a part of the soldier's uniform, was illustrated from Washington's, Marion's, and Wilkinson's orders. The subsequent uniforms were then briefly alluded to. With few exceptions, it appears that, after 1775 and until 1779, brown, as a color, contended with blue for predominance in the American Army. In fact, Congress prescribed brown for the infantry as the most convenient color. When, however, it remitted the entire subject to Washington, he, by General Order, directed that blue should be the national color, and prescribed appropriate facings for different arms of the service. This essay, in its careful preparation, and studied elaboration of details, is of the greatest interest, and will prove invaluable as an authority for students of art as well as history.

At this meeting the committee on the testimonial to Dr. Moore reported a series of affectionate and complimentary resolutions upon his resignation, and recommended that he be requested to sit for a portrait, to be placed in the art gallery of the Society, by the side of "the others of its patrons and friends." It is needless to add that the resolutions and recommendation were enthusiastically adopted. The stated December meeting was held on the evening of the 5th, when the committee on nominations reported the present officers as candidates for re-election for the year 1877.

Mr. Edward F. de Lancey read a paper on "Mount Washington and its cap-

ture, November 16, 1776." This was a fitting supplement to the Harlem Plains celebration, and of great local interest. The novel and interesting features were the documentary proof, for the first time made public, of the treason of Adjutant De Mont, of Colonel Magaw's regiment, who was shown to have taken to Lord Percy plans of the American works, and a description of the heroism of Margaret Corbin, who bravely served a piece of artillery after the death of her husband, the gunner, until herself severely wounded—an American prototype of the Maid of Saragossa. The paper was marked by careful critical investigation and description, and throws new light on this much debated point of our history. We hope to reproduce this paper in a succeeding number.

At the close of the address, Mr. Evert A. Duyckinck read a Memorial of the late Mr. Alofsen, who died in Holland, in October last, which we print as an obituary notice.

The 72d anniversary of the founding of the Society was held in its Hall, on the evening of Tuesday, the 19th December, William Cullen Bryant, 1st Vice President, in the chair, when the Address was delivered by the President, Frederic de Peyster, L.L. D. Subject: "Representative Men of the English Revolution." The subject of the influence of the House of Orange on English politics has been long a study of this learned gentleman, himself a representative of the Holland race, who first settled New Amsterdam.

Having on a previous occasion presented the life and personal character of William, Prince of Orange, afterward

William III. of England, with his position in history, Mr. de Peyster, on this occasion, chose for his theme the eminent men in England, the "Representative Men of the English Revolution," who gave honor and distinction to the reign of that sovereign. After some remarks on the influence of individual men of genius in history, Mr. de Peyster passed to a review of his "Representative Men," taking as the most important fields of inquiry "the spheres of human energy and power which sway the destinies of mankind, to be found in metaphysics, in natural philosophy, in literature and poetry, in theology, in statesmanship, and in arms."

In John Locke he found the foremost man of the period in intellectual philosophy, the legitimate outgrowth of those tendencies in human thought which had culminated in Lord Bacon, and the promoter of a school or tendency which developed itself in the utilitarian ethics of Paley, in the theories of Jeremy Bentham and James and John Stuart Mill, and in the German and English scientific materialism of the present day.

In Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. de Peyster found no less renowned an illustrator of the department of natural philosophy. Reviewing his great discoveries, he remarked: It would be impossible to measure the vast extent of Newton's influence upon scientific progress in England and throughout the world; but it is safe to say that there has been no great scientific discovery, and no triumph of engineering skill for nearly two centuries, which has not been immensely indebted to the methods and instrumentalities devised by him.

The third selection was equally happy, of Swift as the great representative of the literary power of the time; his influence as a political satirist never having been equalled by any writer in the English language.

Dryden, in Mr. de Peyster's review, a fourth really great man, represented the poets of the period. Justice was done to his clearness and powers of expression and the force of his genius, which was to be traced in Wordsworth and Shelley, and was even yet inspiring his most distinguished successors in English verse. In Stillingfleet was found the representative Church reformer of the time; its statesmanship was exhibited in Sir William Temple; and not least of the illustrious list, its military genius in Marlborough, whose brilliant career was traced at some length.

With a brief résumé of the striking points in the career of William himself, Mr. de Peyster concluded his address, noticing particularly the obligations of our own country to his sagacity and forethought in the liberal influences he set at work in our American colonies.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the Orator, and the publication of the address was ordered.

Notwithstanding the remoteness of the Library building from the centres of residence of its members, the meetings of the Society are largely attended, and great interest is shown in its proceedings. Pending its removal to a more accessible and favored locality, measures are contemplated, we understand, for the holding of its meetings in a larger and more commodious hall, and a more convenient situation.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y Post office.)

**MEMOIR OF LIEUT. COL. TENCH TILGHMAN, SECRETARY AND AID TO WASHINGTON,** together with an Appendix, containing Revolutionary Journals and Letters, hitherto unpublished. 8vo, pp. 176. Albany, J. MUNSSELL, 1876.

This well edited and handsomely printed volume is a welcome and valuable contribution to our revolutionary history. It opens with a simple and graceful memoir of this patriotic soldier and worthy gentleman, whose rare fortune it was to have been one of the military family of Washington, and the business associate of Robert Morris, the financier of the struggle for independence. The appendix includes Mr. Tilghman's Journal as Secretary of the Indian Commissioners, appointed by Congress to treat with the Six Nations at German-Flats, New York, in 1775, and extracts from his correspondence with Washington, Knox, Duer, and others.

**THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC.** A Review of American Progress. 8vo, pp. 506. New York. HARPER BROTHERS, 1876.

This compact volume is one of the best contributions to our Centennial literature, being a collection of the interesting papers which have appeared in Harpers' Magazine, each of which treats of American progress in some branch of literature, political and social science, mechanics, agriculture, and art. Written by the most competent authorities in each department, selected with care by these skillful publishers, and thoroughly classified and indexed, it will be found a valuable text and reference book.

**BATTLES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1775-1781. HISTORICAL AND MILITARY CRITICISM, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION,** by HENRY B. CARRINGTON, Colonel United States Army. 8vo, pp. 712. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York, Chicago and New Orleans.

This volume, dedicated by permission to General Sherman, is purely military, and, therefore, passes out of the range of mere literary criticism. Its purpose is to give a summary of the engagements of the Revolution, from Lexington to Yorktown, based upon official reports. No good military account of the revolutionary campaigns

has yet appeared, and no doubt this volume will be welcome to students. We would have been glad to find some account of the growth of the artillery service, which the French at Yorktown confessed was equal to their own. The volume is illustrated by plans and topographical illustrations, which are mainly reproductions of maps engraved abroad during the war, and familiar to all students. An examination of those copied from Sauthier shows numerous errors, some of which originated with himself. They should be corrected in a future edition. The book shows great and patient labor on the part of the author, and is written in an agreeable style. The index and references leave nothing to be desired. The printing and presswork are creditable to the publishers.

**HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,** BY MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB. 8vo. A. S. BARNES & Co. Parts I to VIII published by subscription.

The need of a correct history of New York City has long been patent to every student. Mrs. Lamb's work will go far to fill this vacancy, although not intended, we judge, for their use alone. Written in a pleasing, familiar style, it is full of warm pictures of persons, places, and historic scenes, and abounds in anecdote and details of the early life of the colony. It will find a place on the tables of our New York families, and prove interesting and instructive to both old and young. Beautifully printed on delicately toned paper, and profusely illustrated, this handsome volume is equal in style and execution to the best holiday books of the year. It will be completed in thirty-two numbers, each of which contains, in addition to numerous smaller cuts, representing the antiquities of New York, a full-page wood cut of some historic scene.

**BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MAJOR-GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY,** by GEORGE W. CULLUM, Brevet Major-General of United States Army. 8vo, pp. 16. Privately printed.

This sketch is one of the contributions to the Authors' Congress, held at Independence Hall, July 1, 1776. It is a soldier's appreciation of this "noble martyr to liberty." As was to be expected from this accomplished and scholarly gentleman, this concise and interesting pamphlet exhausts the subject. We hope that the rest of the authors will follow this excellent example, and give to historical students the benefit of their labor and research in American biography.

**COMMEMORATION OF THE BATTLE OF HARLEM PLAINS ON ITS ONE HUNDRETH ANNIVERSARY**, by the New York Historical Society. 8vo., pp. 98. New York. Published by the Society. 1876.

An elegant monograph, containing the Oration of John Jay, with an appendix of historical documents, some of which are here for the first time printed; a fine reduction of Sauthier's map of the field of battle, and the Proceedings of the Society.

**THE STARS AND STRIPES—THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WHEN, WHERE AND BY WHOM WAS IT FIRST SALUTED. THE QUESTION ANSWERED.** 8vo., pp. 26. Concord, N. H. 1876.

Issued by the Secretary of State of New Hampshire, B. F. PRESCOTT, this pamphlet shows that the first salute to the Stars and Stripes was by an officer of the Dutch Republic.

**HISTORICAL SKETCH OF NIAGARA, FROM 1678 TO 1876**, by ALBERT H. PORTER. n. d. 8vo., pp. 51.

This pamphlet gives the history of Niagara, past and present, and is illustrated with a map.

**REPRESENTATIVE MEN OF THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION.** An Address delivered before the New York Historical Society at the Celebration of its Seventy-second Anniversary, December 19, 1876, by FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, LL. D., President of the Society. Published by the Society. 8vo. New York, 1876.

Printed in sumptuous style, illustrated with portraits of WILLIAM and MARY. A pleasing and instructive sketch, the author having made this period the subject of careful investigation.

**A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON**, read before the New York Historical Society, October 6, 1876, by FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, LL. D., President of the Society. 8vo. New York, 1876.

A succinct and complete account of the services of this eminent man, whose name is intimately connected with the foundation of the Republic. It contains a valuable appendix of a letter addressed to the editor of the *Literary and Philosophical Register*, entitled "an Historical Account of the application of Steam to the propelling of Boats." It appeared in that periodical for January, 1812, and is known to have been from

the pen of Chancellor Livingston. The sketch of Mr. de Peyster does not enter into the controversy as to the claims of Fitch, Fulton, Livingston and Stevens to the merit of having secured to this Country this powerful agent of commerce and civilization. A carefully prepared study of this vexed question is much needed.

The pamphlet is prefaced by a photo-lithographic portrait of Livingston, by Vanderlyn, and is in the best style of our well-known printer, Mr. John F. Trow.

**THE NEW ENGLAND GENEALOGICAL AND HISTORICAL REGISTER.** January, 1877. 8vo., pp. 140. Boston, 1877.

We gladly welcome the first number of the 31st volume of this well conducted and valuable quarterly. Its leading article is a sketch of the Life of President Millard Fillmore, by Rev. Dr. Hosmer, illustrated by a portrait on steel. Among the twenty-one papers which make up this number, we notice especially an account of the autograph copies of Keys' "Star Spangled Banner," by Rear Admiral Preble, who has made the National Flag a study for years, and a Report of the Committee on Heraldry of the Society on the Seals attached to the Jefferies collection of manuscripts, prepared in the most careful manner. We hope this example may be followed, particularly in New York, which is rich in family papers still scattered and undescribed. The family history of the Holland Hugenots and English settlers of this State is full of material. We have reason to know that the Wills and Deeds on record in the public offices of New York City are a mine of wealth to the genealogical and heraldic enquirer.

No library of American History should be without a complete set of this *Register*, which, since its first appearance, has gathered up and placed in permanent form the scattered and decaying records of the civil, literary and political life of the people of New England.

It is published under the direction of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, 18 Somerset Street, at three dollars a year. The accomplished John Ward Dean is the Editor.

**AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, OF BALLSTON CENTRE, N. Y.**, by the Pastor, ALEXANDER S. HOYT. 8vo., pp. 71. Ballston, N. Y., 1876.

Delivered on the occasion of Centennial anniversary of the founding of the Church, September 22, 1775, and supplemented July 2d and 9th, 1876. Like all local publications of this character, it contains a mass of detail, of family history, always valuable.

## OBITUARY.

SOLOMON ALOFSEN.—*Memorial notice read*

*by Evert A. Duyckinck, Esq., before*

*N. Y. Hist. Soc., Dec. 5, 1876.*

On the 10th of October, 1876, died at Arnhem, Holland, Solomon Alofsen, having nearly completed his sixty-eighth year. He was born of a family of good standing, in the city of Amsterdam, Netherlands, November 22, 1808.

His parents were Roclof Alofsen and Sijtje Gonzal. He came to America early in life, as Secretary of Legation to the Dutch Embassy at Washington, in which capacity he remained till the recall of the Minister, Van Polanen, whom he had accompanied. He then came to New York, subsequently taking up his residence at Jersey City. He married a lady of this place, — and became thoroughly an American citizen. He was for a time Secretary of the Illinois Central Railroad, having his office in New York, and continued interested in the railway investments of the country.

Apart from his business occupations, he was always greatly devoted to historical studies, particularly in the early relations of his native country to the portion of the United States where he had made his home. He was for a time Treasurer of the New Jersey Historical Society, and was ever an active member of the New York Historical Society, being elected a resident member in 1858, and became a life member in 1867. On several occasions he contributed papers read at the meetings of the latter, and made valuable donations to its collections. Among these were several historical medals, relating to America, struck in Holland, accompanied with explanatory memoranda. His papers and communications read at the meetings were chiefly with reference to ancient manners and customs of the fatherland, and especially the traditions which belonged to the period of the colonization and settlement of New Netherlands. One of these, concerning the history of St. Nicholas and his festival, was accompanied with various decorative illustrations.

Mr. Alofsen, in 1867, presented to the Society the portrait of the Hon. Roger Gerard Van Polanen, accompanying the gift with a sketch of the life, character and public services of his distinguished friend. Mr. Alofsen was also a member and liberal supporter of the American Ethnological Society.

After forty years' residence in America, Mr. Alofsen, induced by family considerations, returned to Holland, by way of Paris, making his home at Arnhem, where he passed the remainder of his days. He still, however, kept up a con-

stant correspondence with his old friends in New York, and became a medium of communication in literary and historical matters between the two countries. He collected American books and documents of a public character, exhibiting the development of the country, many of which he presented to the Library of the city of Amsterdam.

He was also much occupied with the formation of a distinguished American Collection of Books, his private library, which failing health and other circumstances induced him to dispose of during the last years of his life. This collection, of which an admirable catalogue was printed, embracing four thousand five hundred lots, was sold at Utrecht, in June, 1876. The library was chiefly composed of books relating to history and biography, works on diplomacy and the literature of Holland. The section occupied with the history of America generally and the United States in particular, was remarkable for the spirit of detail which he carried into these, his favorite studies. Genealogy and the study of coins and medals, with the wide field of Ethnology occupied much of his attention. Of the literature of the War for the Union he was a diligent collector.

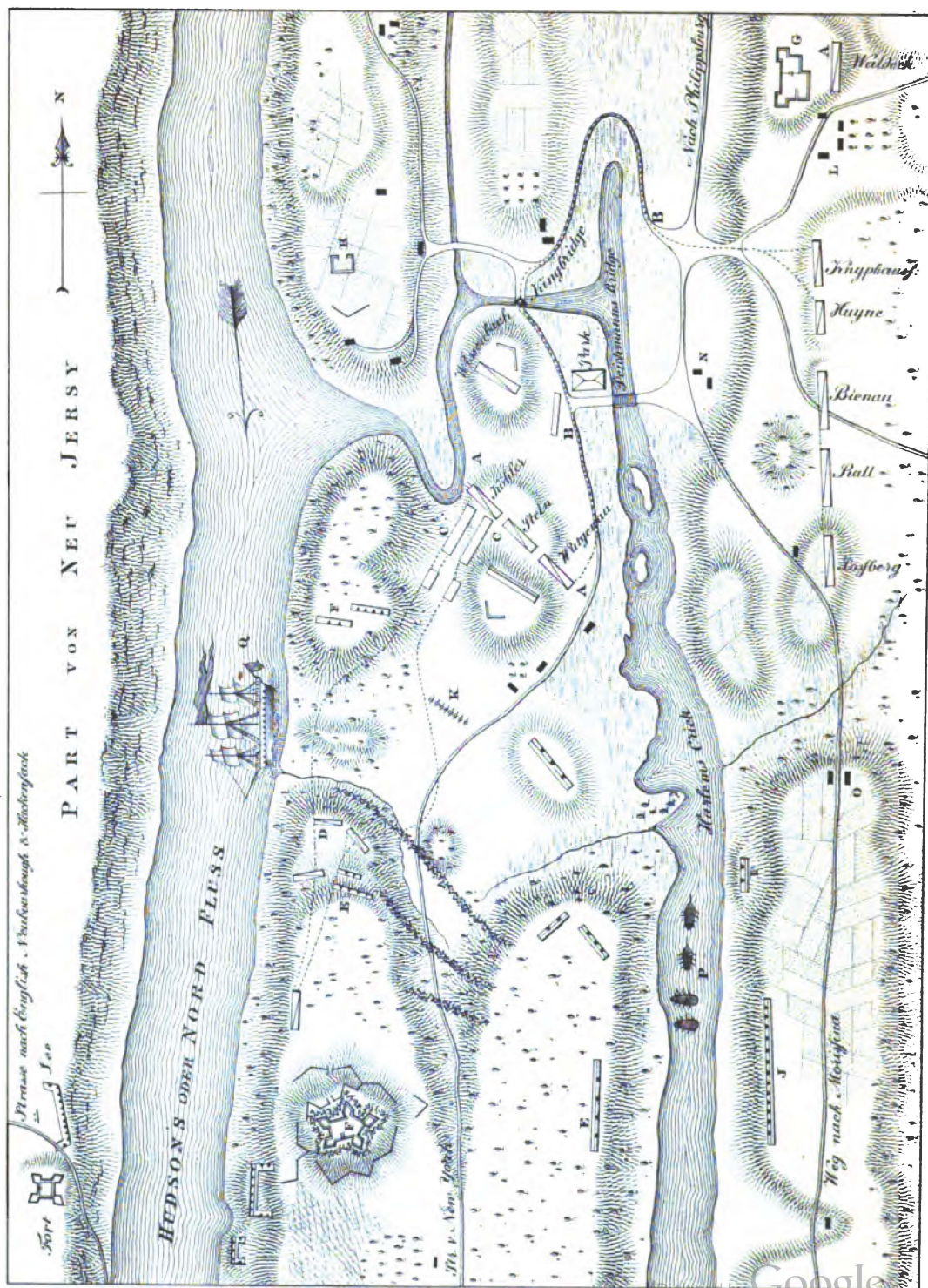
One of the last incidents which engaged his attention, of a public character, was the celebration of the sixth centennial of the existence of the city of Amsterdam, an event which was celebrated in that place by a striking exhibition of its antiquities, in paintings, works of art, curiosities, etc. This was under the auspices of the Royal Antiquarian Society of Amsterdam, of which Mr. Alofsen was one of the four foreign honorary members, a distinction which he pointed to with pride to the end, looking upon America in the light of his home. This celebration, which occurred in the spring of 1876, was preceded by another of like character, in the previous October, in commemoration of the endowment by Florent V. of Holland, of "the people of Amstellodame with freedom of toll," the record of this event being the first known document in which Amstellodame is mentioned. A bronze copy of the medal struck by De Vries, issued on occasion of this celebration, was presented by Mr. Alofsen to the New York Historical Society. Mr. Alofsen, in one of his latest letters to a friend in New York, wrote that he might yet unexpectedly revisit the city, so strong was his attachment to it.

He did not long survive the sale of his library, his death occurring suddenly in apoplexy. He will long be remembered by his friends in America for his simple, straightforward character and by his general benevolence, no less than by his devotion to American historical pursuits, of which the catalogue of his collections remains an enduring memorial.





# Knyphausen's Attack on Fort Washington November 16, 1776.



## EXPLANATION OF MAP.

Photo-lithographic fac-simile of a copy taken from the original in Cassel for Professor Joy, now in the possession of J. Carson Brevoort, Esq.

TRANSLATION OF THE LEGEND ON THE MAP.—The attack which His Excellency the Hon. General Lieutenant von Knyphausen, with eight Battalions of Hessians and one Battalion of Waldeckers, on the 16 November 1776, made on Fort Washington, taking it and a quantity of Ammunition and Provisions, and 2,600 American Prisoners.

*A* Camp before the Attack. *B* March of the said Regiments for King's Bridge. *C* Formation of the Columns of which one on the right and another on the left. *D* The Riflemen *E* Enemy's Line of Batteries. *F G H* Fort Washington, Fort Independence, Speak-Devil Fort garrisoned by the Enemy. *I* Our Batteries. *K* Hessian Field Artillery. *L* Quarters of His Excellency. *M* Do. of General Major Schmidt. *N* Do. of General Cleveland. *O* Do. of Colonel Rall. *P* Landing of the English Brigade on the feint. *Q* Frigate that made a strong cannonade at the beginning of the attack.



# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## MOUNT WASHINGTON AND ITS CAPTURE ON THE 16TH OF NOVEMBER, 1776.

**F**OUR of the military events of the American Revolution occurred upon the island of New York:—1st The landing at Kips Bay, and the occupation of the city, by the British army, on the 15th of September, 1776; 2d The action of Harlem Plains on the succeeding day; 3d The capture of Mount Washington two months afterwards, and the evacuation of the island, and 4th The victorious entry of Washington, on the 25th of November, 1783.

A century ago, the 16th day of November 1776, took place the storming and capture of Mount Washington, with its fort, garrison, armament and stores, by the army of Sir William Howe, who had been just made a Knight of the Bath for his victory, a few weeks before, at Brooklyn Heights. It was the first and the last great battle ever fought on the island of Manhattan since its settlement by Europeans. It was a terrible disaster to the American arms, and a heavy blow to the cause of the colonies. It gave to the British army and to England undisputed possession of the city and harbor of New York, the leading city and chief seaport of America; a possession which it was never after in the power of the colonies even to threaten successfully, much less regain.

It struck instantly from the then rapidly dissolving army of Washington nearly three thousand effective men. By the same blow, practically, Fort Lee, on the opposite side of the Hudson, with its guns and most of its stores, was taken, and New Jersey thrown open to the strong, well appointed, victorious troops of Howe, with nought to oppose them but the broken, dispirited, deserting, half clad regiments of Washington, dwindled down to less than three thousand men.<sup>1</sup> "In ten days," wrote Washington to his brother John Augustine, three days after the capture, "there will not be above two thousand men, if that number, of the fixed.

<sup>1</sup>Washington to Lee, 21 Nov. Force 5th series, vol. iii pp. 78-9. Letter of Matthew Tilghman. Ibid. p. 1053.

established regiments on this side of Hudson's river to oppose Howe's whole army, and very little more on the other to secure the Eastern colonies and the important passes leading through the Highlands to Albany and the country about the lakes." No wonder he exclaims in the same letter, in the full confidence of fraternal love, "I am wearied almost to death with the retrograde motion of things, and I solemnly protest, that a pecuniary reward of twenty thousand pounds a year would not induce me to undergo what I do; and after all to lose my character, as it is impossible under such a variety of distressing circumstances, to conduct matters agreeably to public expectation, or even to the expectation of those who employ me, as they will not make proper allowances for the difficulties their own errors have occasioned."

Whence and why this disaster? Who was responsible? Was it the commandant of the post, the General in charge of Fort Lee with whom that officer acted, or was it the Commander-in-Chief himself?

Perhaps no questions growing out of any single event of the Revolution were discussed with more vigor at the time, or have given rise to more controversy since, than these. Each of the three officers, Washington, Greene, and Magaw have had their enemies and opposers, friends and defenders.

Two facts, utterly foreign to the capture as acts of war, or rather of military science and forecast, had much to do with the old opinion;—the bitter antagonism to Washington in the Continental Congress, and the intense antipathy between the officers and men from New England and those from all the other colonies. These facts, or their causes, are only mentioned, because they should always be borne in mind in considering the military affairs of the Revolution, and especially those of its first two years.

The throwing of his army into Westchester county at Throg's Neck, by Sir William Howe on the 12th of October, 1776, forced Washington to evacuate New York Island, with the fortified camp at Kingsbridge, and to retreat to the north along the line of the river Bronx, to avoid being outflanked and surrounded. At the time Washington was at the Roger Morris House—his well-known head-quarters—and the bulk of his army lay in its neighborhood, while a strong force held Kingsbridge and the adjoining hills in Westchester county.

The northern part of the island of Manhattan is a narrow, high, rocky, wooded region of singular natural beauty; unique as a feature in modern cities, and precisely such a spot as in an ancient Greek city would have

<sup>1</sup>Force 5th series, vol. iii, p. 766.

been chosen for its Acropolis. Separated from the rest of the island by the plains of Harlem on the south, and extending thence to Kingsbridge on the north, a distance of about four miles, its average width is only about three-fourths of a mile. Bordered on the east by the narrow winding, umbrageous Harlem, and on the west by the magnificent Hudson, the two united by the historic inlet of Spuyten Duyvel, it rises from these rivers in sudden, rocky, forest clad precipices, nearly a hundred feet in height, which for well nigh three-fourths of its circumference are almost inaccessible. These natural buttresses support an irregular plain, the surface of which rises toward the centre to an eminence on the side of the Hudson two hundred feet above its waters, and to another on the side of the Harlem of almost equal height, between which lies the most level part of the entire region. This towards its northern end sinks into a narrow valley or gorge, through which runs the road to Kingsbridge. Besides the Kingsbridge, which connected the island with the mainland of Westchester, there was another bridge, a short distance south east of it, called Dyckman's bridge. Opposite these bridges the rocky bluffs recede to the west for nearly a mile, leaving between them and the Harlem river a small plain, on which rise two or three low hills. At the southern end of this plain was a little branch of the Harlem called Sherman's creek, still in existence, directly above and south of which rises the high eminence on the Harlem above-mentioned, then termed "Laurel Hill," and since, and now, "Fort George."

The highest eminence on the Hudson, which was southwest from Laurel Hill, was selected by Colonel Rufus Putnam, in the summer of 1776, as the site of a large earthwork fortification for the defence of and to aid the obstructions intended to close the Hudson against the passage of ships, which, after the Commander-in-Chief, was called "Fort Washington."

The term "Mount Washington" was given in 1776 to the entire elevated region above described. It is so-called in the letters and documents of that period, though sometimes styled "Harlem Heights;" and in the same sense it is here used, although in our day the appellation has become restricted to the small part of the region immediately adjacent to the old fortification. That fortification—and that only—is here called "Fort Washington."

Directly beneath the eminence on which Fort Washington stood, a low cape, or rather promontory, called Jeffrey's Hook, throws itself out into the waters of the Hudson, making the river narrower there than from any other point on the Manhattan shore. Between this "Hook" and the



Jersey shore extended a line of sunken vessels and *chevaux-de-frise*, intended to obstruct the passage of the river. On the summit of the Palisades, opposite Fort Washington, was erected about the same time another fortification to defend the Jersey end of the obstructions, called "Fort Constitution" and subsequently "Fort Lee," in honor of General Charles Lee. This latter was therefore dependent on the former, and was of no value without it. Both forts together commanded the river and the communication between its two sides, or, in a larger sense, between New England and the colonies west and south of the Hudson.

Jutting out into and rising above the Harlem plains, at the extreme south eastern extremity of Mount Washington, was a lofty and almost perpendicular promontory, now blasted away, called "The Point of Rocks." It was surmounted by a strong battery, and commanded "the King's Highway," or "the Road to Kingsbridge," from the city of New York, and was the American post nearest to the British lines.

The American lines ran from the Point of Rocks westwardly to the Hudson river, along the southern face of Mount Washington, lower and less precipitous there than any where else, and northeastwardly along its high southeastern face to the Harlem river.

A slight depression in the latter face, as it approached the Harlem, afforded a passage for the road to Kingsbridge as it ascended from the Harlem plains, forming the well-known "Break Neck Hill," a short distance to the east of which road stood the house of Colonel Roger Morris, occupied by Washington as his headquarters. A few weeks before, Roger Morris and his fair wife had retired to the Highlands, little dreaming that his old friend and companion of "the last war," and his wife's old admirer, was to become the next master of their beautiful home.

East and west of the Point of Rocks, in exposed places, the Americans had thrown up light breast works and facing the Hudson some small batteries, the largest being upon Jeffrey's Hook. But their main works were at Mount Washington and south of the Fort—three distinct lines of fortifications running across the island from river to river.

The middle line was located about a third of a mile south of the Morris House; a thoroughly completed strong work, with redoubts, bastions, and curtains, and a well made line of intrenchments. The extreme southern line was placed about a third of a mile further to the south, but it was not so well built, nor in as favorable a location; while the northernmost one, very near the Morris House, and about the same distance to the north of the middle line, was vastly inferior, and in some parts never wholly completed.

Upon its north side Mount Washington had no intrenched lines whatever. On the summit of Laurel Hill was a small battery and redoubt, and at the northern brow of the long hill, on which Fort Washington stood—above what is now styled Inwood—was another redoubt and battery of three guns, to aid in protecting the river obstructions by an enfilading fire. The round wooded hill on the south side of the entrance to Spuyten Duyvel was crowned by another small work of a similar character mounting two guns.<sup>1</sup> From this first mentioned battery and hill, down and across the gorge occupied by the Kingsbridge road to Laurel Hill, ran two or three lines of *abatis*, or felled trees, hastily made by the Americans after they retired on the 2d of November from Kingsbridge.

Fort Washington itself was a large earth work fortification of five bastions, without supporting breastworks, except a single one on its north side. It was erected in July, 1776, by the Pennsylvania battalions or regiments under Brig. Gen. Thomas Mifflin; the fifth of which commanded by Colonel Robert Magaw, and the third by Colonel John Shee: The last named officer, in September, went home on furlough, and never again rejoined his regiment, which thereafter was commanded by Lambert Cadwallader, its Lieutenant Colonel.<sup>2</sup> These regiments arrived in New York at the end of June, 1776, full in numbers but deficient in arms, the latter having only 300 guns, and the former but 125<sup>3</sup>—a want subsequently remedied. The fort had been laid out by Colonel Rufus Putnam, Engineer-in-Chief, built under his directions at Washington's request, and was intended to cover the communication with New Jersey in connection with Fort Lee, on the summit of the Palisades on the opposite or Jersey side of the Hudson, which was erected at the same time by General Hugh Mercer and the troops under his command.

It had no casemates, barracks nor well, and when invested, contained but small supplies of provisions, or fuel, or stores of any kind requisite to stand a siege of any length. With the exception of a wooden magazine and some offices, it had no interior construction and was, in fact, simply a large, open earth work.<sup>4</sup> How many guns it mounted is not now known. The British return of ordnance of all sizes

<sup>1</sup>Howe's Dispatch. Force 5th series, vol. iii, p. 924.

<sup>2</sup>Graydon's Memoir, Littell's ed., p. 181. Cadwallader was commissioned Colonel of this regiment by the Continental Congress on the 25th of October, 1776. See Commission Penn Archives, vol. v., p. 53.

<sup>3</sup>Mifflin's letter to Washington 5th July 1776. Force 5th series, vol. i, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup>Graydon, 186.



captured at Mount Washington was forty-seven,<sup>1</sup> of which probably much less than one-half were mounted in the fort.

The summer of 1776 was of great heat, and these Pennsylvania troops were drilled hard, as well as worked hard. About a fourth were always on the sick list. Excepting two days service on Long Island, immediately following the battle of the 27th of August, and some short marches into Westchester, just after their return from Brooklyn, they saw no service in the field except upon Mount Washington.<sup>2</sup>

The American army lay encamped on Mount Washington from the beginning of September 'till the 13th of October, 1776, a period of about five weeks.

At the latter end of September, Mr. James Allen,<sup>3</sup> of Philadelphia, second son of Chief Justice Allen, and Dr Smith, the Provost of the College in that city, paid a visit of curiosity, merely, to the seat of war. In the manuscript diary of the former there is an account of his visit to Mount Washington at this time. From Amboy, where he saw his old friends Generals Dickenson and Mercer, he went to Bergen, and lodged with another friend, General Roberdeau, who commanded that post. "Thence," says the diary, "to Fort Constitution, now Fort Lee, commanded by my old acquaintance, General Ewing, with whom I dined, and same day crossed the river to Head-quarters. General Washington received me with the utmost politeness. I lodged with him; and found there Messrs. Jos. Reed, Tilghman, Grayson, Moyland, L. Cadwallader, and many others of my acquaintance, and was very happy with them. Nothing happened while I was there except an attempt of our army to bring off grain from Harlem, in which they did not succeed, and which had well nigh brought on an engagement. Next day I re-crossed the river to Fort Lee, and came through Hackensack in company with Captain Charles Craig, and thence through Morristown to Union, where I found my wife and child, and Mrs. Lawrence,"<sup>4</sup> the latter lady being his wife's mother.

Ten days before this visit, on the 18th of August, says General Heath, not a single cannon was mounted beyond Mount Washington.<sup>5</sup> On the

<sup>1</sup>Force 5th series, vol. iii, p. 1058.

<sup>2</sup>They were recruited in the early part of 1776, and so well drilled in Philadelphia, prior to being sent to New York at the end of June, as to receive mention from Washington himself.

<sup>3</sup>James Allen, the second son of Chief Justice William Allen, of Pennsylvania, was a prominent lawyer of Philadelphia and a member of Assembly for Northampton county. He was a brother-in-law to Governor John Penn and to James de Lancey, of New York, the head of that family, eldest son of James de Lancey who died Governor of New York in 1760.

<sup>4</sup>MS. Diary of James Allen.

<sup>5</sup>Force 5th series, vol. i, p. 1030.

19th William Duer was ordered by the New York Convention to consult with Washington on the subject of aiding him to obstruct the river opposite Mount Washington.<sup>1</sup>

On the third of September Washington ordered Mercer to lay out and build additional works at Fort Lee.<sup>2</sup> The very same day Colonel Rufus Putnam stated in his report to the Commander-in-Chief of that date, that with both sides of the river fortified as he recommended, and the forts and batteries well filled with guns and ammunition, and the river obstructed by sunken vessels, if the enemy "attempted to force this post, I think they must be beaten."<sup>3</sup>

On this same third of September also, it strangely happened General Nathaniel Greene wrote Washington that remarkable private letter urging in the strongest terms the burning of New York and its suburbs, and the evacuation of the island, closing it with this request—"should your excellency agree with me in the first two points, that a speedy and general retreat is necessary, and also, that the city and suburbs should be burned, I would advise to call a general council on that question, and take every general officer's opinion upon it."<sup>4</sup>

Washington, singularly enough, had already submitted the question of destroying New York to Congress the very day before;<sup>5</sup> and Hancock, also on this same 3d day of September, replied to him, that Congress, on considering his letter of the 2d, "came to a resolution in a committee of the whole house that no damage should be done to the city of New York."<sup>6</sup>

The Commander-in-Chief agreeing to Greene's suggestions, did call a council of general officers on the 7th, and they decided to defend and not to destroy and evacuate the city, by a majority vote. The minority were for a total and immediate removal from the city, "nor were some of the majority," says Washington to Hancock, "a little influenced in

<sup>1</sup>Journals N. Y. Prov. Cong., vol. i, p. 579.

<sup>2</sup>Force 5th series, vol. ii, p. 140.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. 139. The obstructions proved futile. On September 13 some of the *chevaux de frise* having been floating with the tide some days before, the N. Y. Committee of Safety wrote George Clinton on the subject, and on the 17th ordered Capt. Thomas Greenhill to make a survey of the landings, etc. of Mount Washington and report, and on the 21st ordered six vessels purchased by Greenhill and delivered to Capt. Cook at Mount Washington to be sunk. On October 3d, Cook was cutting timber for the *chevaux de frise* up the river, and was written for to sink the vessels, 2 sloops, 2 brigs, and 2 large ships, which got there about the 25th of September. Journals Prov. Cong., pp. 624, 628, 639, 663.

<sup>4</sup>Force 5th series, vol. ii, pp. 182-3.

<sup>5</sup>Force 5th series, vol. ii, pp. 182-3.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. p. 135.

their opinions, to whom the determination of Congress was known, against an evacuation totally, as they were led to suspect Congress wished it to be maintained at every hazard."<sup>1</sup>

This decision did not suit Greene, nor apparently Washington, and on the 11th of September the former, with six Brigadiers, presented a written petition signed by them all, to the latter, requesting him to call *another council of war to re-consider the question*. Washington assented, and called it for the next day, the 12th, at McDougall's quarters; when ten generals, Beall, Scott, Fellows, Wadsworth, Nixon, McDougall, Parsons, Mifflin, Greene, and Putnam, voted to re-consider and evacuate; and three, Spencer, George Clinton, and Heath, to adhere and defend. The record of this council thus closes: "It was considered what number of men are necessary to be left for the defence of *Mount Washington* and its dependencies—agreed, that it be eight thousand."

This is the first official mention that Mount Washington was to be defended, and it is noteworthy that so large a number of men was then deemed necessary for that object. From this summary of the official action of Congress, Washington and the Council of War, we learn why Mount Washington was occupied and held.

Pursuant to the decision of the Council of War just mentioned, the evacuation of the island begun on the 13th, continued on the 14th, and was interrupted on the 15th of September, 1776, by the landing at Kip's Bay and the taking of the city by the British. After the action of Harlem Plains the succeeding day, the two armies lay encamped opposite each other, separated by those plains. The British lines extended from Horen's Hook, on the East river at 90th street, along the heights at McGowan's Pass (the north end of the Central Park) to the end of the high ground on the south side of the western end of the Harlem plains at 125th street, while the American lines occupied the whole of the southern and eastern side of Mount Washington, facing the northern side of those plains, from the Harlem to the Hudson.

Such were the positions of the two armies when Howe suddenly, on the 12th of October, in a dense fog, threw all his army upon Throg's Neck, nine miles up Long Island Sound, with the exception of a force under Lord Percy sufficient to hold the British lines just mentioned, and the city of New York.

Washington, as before stated, was at the Morris House. Late in the day an express from General Heath advised him of the landing, the news

<sup>1</sup>Force 5th series, vol. ii, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. 325, 328, and 330.

of which had reached the post of that officer at Kingsbridge. He instantly ordered a detachment, made up of his best troops, to Westchester to oppose them.<sup>1</sup> Among these was the regiment of Prescott of Pepperell, the hero of Bunker Hill, to whose lot it fell singularly enough, for the second time, to aid mainly in forcing Howe from a peninsula, by defending with success the road and Mill Dam leading from Throg's Neck to Westchester village.

So unexpected was this movement of Howe, that the very day before it took place—the 11th—General Greene, from Fort Lee, wrote Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island, “our army are so strongly fortified and so much out of the command of the shipping, we have little more to fear this campaign.”<sup>2</sup> General Greene however, the same day, as soon as he heard of it, at 5 o'clock P. M. of the 12th, wrote Washington of the fact, and offered if he desired them three brigades and his own services.”<sup>3</sup>

The 13th Washington spent chiefly in a personal reconnoissance of southern Westchester. The next day, the 14th, he formed his army into four divisions, under Major Generals Lee, Heath, Sullivan, and Lincoln, which the following day, the 15th, moved into Westchester county. The same day, the 14th, he formed two other divisions to remain on the island under Major Generals Spencer and Putnam; the former to take charge of all Mount Washington south of the northernmost of the fortified lines from river to river, near head-quarters, and the latter the rest of it on the north of that line. General Putnam, says the order, “will also attend particularly to the works about Mount Washington and to the obstructions in the river, which should be increased as fast as possible.”<sup>4</sup>

General Lee had arrived from the south the day of his appointment, and after making a brief stop at the fort which bears his name, crossed the river to Mount Washington, stopping long enough, however, to write this short note to General Gates, with his views of things as he found them: “I write this scroll in a hurry. Colonel Ward will describe the position of our army, which in my own breast I do not approve—*inter nos* the Congress seem to stumble at every step. I do not mean one or two of the cattle, but the whole stable. I have been very free in delivering my opinion to 'em. In my opinion, General Washington is much to blame for not menancing 'em with resignation unless they refrain from unhinging the army by their absurd interference.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Force 5th series, vol. ii, pp. 1014 and 1025.

<sup>2</sup>Force 5th series, vol. ii, p. 997.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p. 1015.

<sup>4</sup>General orders Oct. 14.

<sup>5</sup>Lee papers, vol. ii, p. 261.

Lee was outspoken in condemnation of the policy of leaving and holding a garrison in Fort Washington, but he and those who thought with him were overruled in the council of war, held on the 16th at his own head-quarters in Westchester. Washington and all his Major Generals and Brigadiers were present to the number of sixteen, except Greene. The command of the latter being in New Jersey was the probable cause of his absence. At all events he was not there.

This council agreed that "*Fort Washington* be retained as long as possible." The record gives no votes but simply the result. It is, therefore, not officially known who was on one side and who on the other.<sup>1</sup> And here a most important point requires attention, and that is the limited extent, at this time, of Washington's powers as Commander-in-Chief. He did not have, nor exercise, the independent "one man power," which by all military rules belongs to that command.

He could not overrule the council of war if he saw fit, and act on his own independent judgment, as Commanders-in-Chief usually do. Receiving his appointment from Congress the year previous, in virtue, as he himself has told us, of "a political necessity," that body was unwilling to vest in him the power referred to, and he was thus compelled to carry out the decisions of his council of war, no matter whether he individually did, or did not, approve them. Not until Congress at the very end of December, 1776, when Cornwallis was overrunning New Jersey, on the eve of their flight to Baltimore, and in fear of their own existence, vested in him the powers of a dictator, did he possess the full prerogatives of a Commander-in-Chief. From the hour when he drew his sword under the great elm at Cambridge as leader of the armies of America, till that action of Congress he was, in all important steps, subject to the will and the decision of a majority of his own general officers. This fact must especially be borne in mind in the matter of Mount Washington.

By the 20th of October all the troops left on the island of New York under Spencer and Putnam had been withdrawn, except the regiments intended to garrison Mount Washington.<sup>2</sup> These were Magaw's fifth and Cadwallader's third Pennsylvania battalions before mentioned.

Putnam, before leaving, had requested of Greene a re-inforcement from Fort Lee. The latter sent him, as he tells Washington in a letter of the 24th, between 200 and 300 of Durkie's regiment, and also sufficient

<sup>1</sup>Force 5th series, vol. ii, p. 1117.

<sup>2</sup>Harrison to Congress. Force 5th series, vol. ii, p. 1137.

provisions for the garrison.<sup>1</sup> Harrison, however, writing for Washington the same day, from White Plains, tells Hancock that there "are about 1400 men at Mount Washington and 600 at Kingsbridge."<sup>2</sup> But Colonel Lasher, the officer in command at the latter post, wrote General Heath on the 26th that he only had 400 men and 6 artillery men.<sup>3</sup> On the 27th Lasher had orders from Heath to quit the post, burn the barracks, and join the army at White Plains, and either do this himself, or communicate with Magaw, as he pleased. He obeyed and executed the orders himself.<sup>4</sup>

The same day, which was Sunday, an attack was made by Lord Percy on Mount Washington by land, at the same time that two men-of-war attempted to pass it and go up the river. The latter were severely cut up by Magaw's artillery, and one of them, badly crippled, had to retire.<sup>5</sup> The British troops moved down from their lines at McGowan's Pass to Harlem Plains and began a fire with field pieces, which the Americans returned from their fortified lines and batteries. It was a mere artillery duel, had no effect, and was apparently intended as a feint.<sup>6</sup> The cannonade was heard at White Plains.<sup>7</sup> This affair was probably one great cause of Greene's confidence in Fort Washington, and of his desire a fortnight later to hold it. He was present in the fort, and with Magaw, during the firing on the ships. The whole contest was over by three o'clock in the afternoon, when he returned to Fort Lee and wrote an account of it to General Mifflin,<sup>8</sup> and the next day sent another to the President of Congress. "From the Sunday affair," he wrote Washington on the 29th, "I am more fully convinced that we can prevent any ships from stopping the communication."<sup>9</sup>

Two days afterwards, Greene asked Washington's opinion as to holding, not the fort only, but all Mount Washington, in these words: "I should be glad to know your excellency's mind about holding all the ground from the Kingsbridge to the lower lines. If we attempt to hold the ground, the garrison must still be re-inforced, but if the garrison is to draw into Mount (Fort) Washington, and only keep that, the num-

<sup>1</sup>Force 5th series, pp. 1202, 1203, 1221.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. 1239.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. 1263.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. vol. ii, p. 1264.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. vol. ii, pp. 1263, 1265.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. 1266.

<sup>7</sup>MS. Letter of General Sullivan to his wife.

<sup>8</sup>Force 5th series, 1263, 1269.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid. 1281.

ber of the troops on the island is too large. \* \* \* I shall re-inforce Colonel Magaw with Colonel Rawling's regiment, until I hear from your excellency respecting the matter. The motions of the grand army will best determine the propriety of endeavoring to hold all the ground from Kingsbridge to the lower lines. I shall be as much on the island of York as possible, so as not to neglect the duties of my own department."<sup>1</sup> What Washington's answer was we shall hereafter see. He was then at White Plains, expecting an immediate attack by Howe's whole army.

That high and beautiful region of south eastern Westchester, from Pell's Hill on the west to Heathcote Hill on the east, never glowed with more brilliant autumnal hues than on the 28th of October 1776. The white tents of the Hessians gleamed brightly in the morning sun, amid the glades and slopes of those fair hills which, rising from the shores of Long Island Sound, form the coast line of the old Manors of Pelham and of Scarsdale. Martial music woke the echoes of the woods, and its sounds were borne on the soft autumn breeze over the blue waters of the Sound, far toward the distant hills of Long Island. The stirring scenes of camp life, companies drilling, groups of officers, prancing horses, busy adjutants passing to and fro, and a few brilliant young aids gathered under the over-hanging porch of a quaint old stone house with low walls and a high roof, the flag above which marked it as headquarters, formed a picture that had never before been seen by the descendants of the Huguenot exiles who then dwelt on those lovely shores. They beheld with singular interest the marked features, dark, striking uniforms and strange arms of the Germans. Some of the older, perhaps, as they heard the guttural tones of the strangers, so different from their own musical tongue, recalled the days, a century before, when their own grandfathers, under the golden lilies of Louis Quatorze, had aided in the conquest of Alsace and Lothringen from the very people whose grandchildren stood before them.

Arriving in New York harbor a week before, this second Hessian contingent had been transferred to boats and sloops, and landed directly at New Rochelle, where they had since been recovering from the effects of their long sea voyage. They were six regiments from Hesse Cassel, and one from Waldeck, all soldiers trained in the tactics of the great Frederick.

The obloquy which American historians have naturally, perhaps, cast upon "the Hessians," as these Germans auxiliaries were, and still

<sup>1</sup>Force 5th Series, 1294.

are, generically styled, has deceived us much as to their real character. The men were the same people precisely as the 150,000 Germans whom we now find in this city of New York—such orderly, thriving citizens, and who have made New York the third or fourth German city, for population, in the world. They were drawn, as is our German population now, to use an Americanism, from the “masses” of the fatherland.

Their officers, however, were of an entirely different class, and one of which we have few, or none, here now. They were *all noblemen*. None but nobles could hold commissions under any German sovereign then, any more than they can now. The military services of Germany and Austria are the most aristocratic in Europe in 1876, as they were in 1776. As far as birth was concerned, the Hessian officers as a whole in Howe's army were superior to the English officers as a whole. A rich middle class Englishman could buy a commission for a son, and it was often done, by favor of the Horse Guards, for the express purpose of making the youth “a gentleman.” But in the German services such a proceeding was not tolerated. The youth must possess the aristocratic prefix of “von,” or “de,” or he could not aspire to a commission under the sign manual of his sovereign, and those sovereigns exceeded twenty in number. The Hessian officers in America were polite, courteous, well-bred gentlemen, educated soldiers, and in the social circles of the time great favorites. As military men they were the best in Europe at that period. And of this we can have no stronger proof than the fact that to one of these very “Hessian,” or “German” soldiers did the continental army owe all the tactics and discipline it ever possessed—Baron de Steuben.

The victorious guns of Howe had hardly ceased on Chatterton Hill, ere he dispatched an order to Lieutenant-General Baron von Knyphausen, the commander of the Hessians, to move from New Rochelle toward Kingsbridge. Leaving the Waldeck regiment as a guard, von Knyp-hausen marched with the rest of his command the next day, took post at Mile square, and on the 2d of November encamped on the New York island at Kingsbridge—the Americans retiring to Fort Washington at his approach.<sup>1</sup>

Why Howe did not attack Washington at White Plains after the brigades from Percy joined him, neither he, nor any one else, has ever satisfactorily explained. After his return to England, he told the committee of Parliament which investigated his conduct that he *had* intended an attack on Washington's right, which was opposite to the

<sup>1</sup>Howe's Dispatch, 30th Nov. Force 5th series, vol. iii, p. 923.



Hessians under de Heister, but that he had "political reasons, and no other, for declining to explain why that assault was not made."

He retired from White Plains very suddenly in the night of the 5th of November, 1776, and his army had been moving some time on the road toward Dobb's Ferry before the fact was discovered by the Americans. "The design of this manœuvre is a matter of much conjecture and speculation, and cannot be accounted for with any degree of certainty," wrote Washington to Hancock on the 6th, and he called the same day a council of war, which unanimously agreed immediately to throw a body of troops into Jersey, and station 3,000 men at Peekskill to guard the Highlands. This was a perfectly natural conclusion. "Howe has but two moves more, in which we shall checkmate him," wrote Charles Lee, but without saying what they were.<sup>1</sup>

One was evidently to New Jersey, and the other to Mount Washington. Why did Howe choose the latter? That he intended originally to throw his army into Jersey from Dobb's Ferry and march for Philadelphia, leaving Washington to follow him as best he might—first, however, detaching and leaving behind a sufficient force to hold Westchester, and to keep in check, or invest, Mount Washington—is most probable. This would explain his order to von Knyphausen on the 28th, and the subsequent order of the 3d to Grant, to march the next day, the 4th, with the sixth brigade to de Lancey's Mill on the Bronx at West Farms, send the fourth brigade to Mile square in the same town, and the Waldeck regiment from New Rochelle to a bridge, three miles above de Lancey's Mills, on the same stream.<sup>2</sup>

Washington and his council of war evidently thought he would do so, hence their unanimous vote to throw an army into Jersey and to secure Peekskill. The record of that council shows that neither "Mount Washington" nor "Fort Washington" were even mentioned.<sup>3</sup> A striking fact, when we know from a letter of the Commander-in-Chief himself, written the day the council met, that all "communication with Mount Washington has now been cut off for two weeks."<sup>4</sup> Reed, on the same 6th of November, says: "Opinions here are various; some think they are falling down on Mount Washington; others that they mean to take shipping up North river and fall upon our rear; others, and a great majority, think that finding our army too strongly posted they have changed their whole

<sup>1</sup>Howe's Narrative, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Letter of Wm. Whipple to John Langdon. Force 5th series, vol. iii, p. 555.

<sup>3</sup>Howe's Dispatch.

<sup>4</sup>Force 5th series, vol. iii, p. 543.

<sup>5</sup>To Pennsylvania Commissioners, Nov. 6, 1776. Force 5th series, vol. iii, p. 546.

plan, and are bending southward, intending to penetrate the Jerseys, and so move on to Philadelphia."

Howe suddenly and certainly did "change his whole plan." He himself said his reason for not attacking Washington at White Plains was a political one, but refused to divulge it. His successes in the campaign so far had not been decided ones. He had not been able to crush the rebellion in a single great battle as he hoped, and he found he must ask the Ministry in England for more men and materials. Though they were not his political friends, still, they had given him his command, and must be placed in a position to do so with ease and honor. And an occurrence utterly unexpected had just transpired by which he could not only do this, but at the same time win great applause for himself, and strike a blow deadly, if not fatal, to the rebellion, and that too with no risk of failure and little of loss.

He had good cause "to change his whole plan," as Reed expressed it. And that cause was *the treason of a commissioned officer of the American army*. Four years before Arnold's attempt to betray West Point, a similar but more successful traitor betrayed Mount Washington. *On the 2d of November, 1776, the Adjutant of Magaw, the commandant of the fortress, passed, undiscovered, into the British camp of Lord Percy, carrying the plans of Fort Washington, and full information as to its works and garrison, and placed them in the hands of that officer.*

It was Percy's duty, of course, instantly to send the plans and the Adjutant to Sir William Howe, then at White Plains. As he could only do this by way of the East river, or the North river, it probably was the evening of the 3d of November before Howe received them, and they may possibly not have reached him till the 4th. The British commander now saw not only how he could certainly capture Mount Washington, but how he could do it without much loss, send the ministry in England a glowing account of forts, guns, and men taken, deprive Washington of a large force of his best troops, seize the communication between New York and Westchester, and destroy that between the eastern and southern colonies across the Hudson, on which both had so long relied; he acted accordingly.

Alexander Graydon, a captain in Cadwallader's regiment, who was taken at Mount Washington, says, in his striking "Memoirs of his own Times," given to the world in 1811, "Howe must have had a perfect knowledge of the ground we occupied. This he might have acquired from hundreds in New York, but he might have been more thoroughly informed of everything desirable to be known from an officer

of Magaw's Battalion, who was intelligent in points of duty, and deserted to the enemy about a week before the assault." The same thing is intimated in one or two of the German accounts of the capture of Mount Washington.

What these writers thought a possibility, is now an *absolute certainty*. The evidence too, is of the most conclusive character—that of the traitor himself—in a letter of his own, over his own signature, stating the treason in plain, undeniable terms.

Sixteen years after the fall of Fort Washington, in order to obtain a small amount due him by the British government, he wrote the following letter, the contents of which were to be used in obtaining payment of his claim from certain British officials in Canada. It is addressed to the Rev. Dr Peters, a clergyman of the Church of England, originally of Hebron, and the author of the History of Connecticut. In Dr Peters' possession, and that of two gentlemen of this city, father and son, the elder of whom married a ward of Dr Peters, who resided with him, and died in his house, both well-known members of the bar, this letter has remained until recently placed in the hands of the younger, the author of this article. Its authenticity is therefore beyond a cavil.

It is given, with its errors of grammar and style, precisely as written.

REV. SIR :

Permit me to Trouble you with a Short recital of my Services in America which I Presume may be deem'd among the most Singular of any that will go to Upper Canada. On the 2d of Nov'r 1776 I Sacrificed all I was Worth in the World to the Service of my King & Country and joined the then Lord Percy, brought in with me the Plans of Fort Washington, by which Plans that Fortress was taken by his Majesty's Troops the 16 instant, Together with 2700 Prisoners and Stores & Ammunition to the amount of 1800 Pound. At the same time, I may with Justice affirm, from my Knowledge of the Works, I saved the Lives of many of His Majestys Subjects,—these Sir are facts well-known to every General Officer which was there—and I may with Truth Declare from that time I Studied the Interest of my Country and neglected my own—or in the Language of Cardinal Woolsey had I have Served my God as I have done my King he would not Thus have Forsaken me.

The following is a Just Account due me from Government which I have never been able to bring forward for want of Sr. William Erskine who once when in Town assured me he'd Look into it but have never done it otherways I should not have been in Debt.

This Sir though it may not be in your Power to Get me may Justify my being so much in Debt, & in Expectation of this Acct being Paid, together with another Dividend, from the Express words of the Act where it Says all under Ten Thousand pound Should be Paid without Deduction, I having received only £464 which I Justified before the Commissioners :

Due for Baw, Batt. & Forrage	-	-	-	-	-	-	£110. 7.0
For Engaging Guides Getting Intelligence, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	45. 9.7
For doing duty as Commissary of Prisoners at Philadelphia Paying Clerks Stationery, &c.							16.13.8

£182.10.3

The last Two Articles was Cash Paid out of my Pocket which was Promised to be Refunded by Sirs Wm Howe and Erskine.

I most Humbly Beg Pardon for the Length of this Letter & Shall Conclude without making Some Masonac Remarks as at first Intended, and Remain

London }  
Jany 16th }  
1792. }

Rev'd Sir with Dutiful Respect  
Your most obedient and Most Hum'l Serv't.

WILLIAM DEMONT.

P.S. the Inclosed is a true account of my Debts taken from the Different Bills received.

Such was the treason of William Demont. Originally entering Magaw's battalion in Philadelphia as an ensign by the appointment of the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, he was by the same body appointed its Adjutant on the 29th of February, 1776, and went with it to New York at the end of June in that year. This position gave him Magaw's confidence, and when, on Putnam's departure to join Washington's army, that officer was left in command of Mount Washington, it also gave him the fullest information of the post, and of every thing that was done or intended to be done in relation to it. What the two words *Baw*, *Batt*. evidently abbreviations in the first line of the account mean is not known; they are given as written.

Graydon mistakes both the time of his desertion and his name. He left a fortnight before the capture, and not a week. He gives the name as "*Dement*," and so it also appears in the printed proceedings of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, and in the Army Returns. But, if this is not a printer's error, he subsequently changed the last vowel, for he writes it himself, unmistakably, "*Demont*." Of his subsequent career little is known, except that during the British occupation of Philadelphia he acted as a Commissary of prisoners. From that time until he appears in London in 1792, writing the above letter, nothing has been learned of him, nor has it been possible as yet to trace him after that date. Nor yet whether he obtained his claim. Probably he could exclaim:—

"It is the curse of treachery like mine  
To be most hated where it most has serv'd."

Sir William Howe's course shows that he acted on Demont's plans and information; for, reaching Dobb's Ferry on the 6th of September with his army, he the next day dispatched his park of artillery to Kingsbridge, with a strong escort, to join von Knyphausen. And the first step after its arrival was to place batteries in position on the Westchester side of the Harlem river, to cover selected points of attack on the New York side. The next three days were occupied by the necessary preparations for an assault, and in sending a brigade of Hessians to von

Knyphausen, whose own headquarters were also on the Westchester side of Harlem river. About the 9th or 10th of November a deserter named Broderick came one cold rainy night over to Captain Graydon's while he was on guard at the Point of Rocks, who told him "that we might expect to be attacked in six or eight days at furthest, as some time had been employed in transporting heavy artillery to the other side of the Haerlem, and as the preparations for the assault were nearly completed." On the 12th Howe's whole army marched to Kingsbridge, and encamped the next day on the high ground on the same side of that river, with its right on the Bronx and its left on the Hudson. On the night of the 14th, undiscovered by either Magaw or Greene, thirty boats, chiefly from the transport fleet under Captains Wilkinson and Malloy, passed up the North river, and through Spuyten Duyvel to the Harlem river.

Howe had determined on four separate assaults upon Mount Washington; the first and main one by von Knyphausen and the Hessians from Kingsbridge, aided by the man-of-war Pearl lying in the North river; the second by boats across the Harlem river with English troops upon Laurel Hill; the third by Scotch troops under Colonel Sterling, also by boats across the Harlem river, upon the hill inside the American lines of fortification near the Morris House; and the fourth by Earl Percy, with English and a few German troops to march from the lines at McGowan's pass upon the American lines to the southward of Mount Washington. Batteries on the Harlem river opposite the chosen points of attack covered them completely.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the British plan of attack.

What were Greene at Fort Lee, and Magaw at Mount Washington, doing all this time? And what was the action of the Commander-in-Chief?

Washington on the 5th of November replied through his Secretary, Harrison, to Greene's request of the 30th of October above mentioned, for his "mind" as to holding all Fort Washington, "that the holding or not holding the grounds between Kingsbridge and the lower lines depends upon so many circumstances that it is impossible for him to determine the point. He submits it entirely to your discretion and such judgment as you shall be able to form from the enemy's movements, and the whole complexion of things. He says, you know the original design was to garrison the works and preserve the lower lines as long as they could be kept, that the communication across the river might be open

<sup>1</sup>Howe's first Dispatch, Nov. 30. Force 5th series, vol. iii, pp. 921, 925.

to us, and the enemy at the same time should be prevented from having a passage up and down the river for their ships.”<sup>1</sup>

On the 7th Washington writes personally to Greene: “We conceive that Fort Washington will be an object for part of his (Howe’s) force, while New Jersey may claim the attention of the other part. To guard against the evils arising from the first, I must recommend you to pay every attention in your power, and give every assistance you can, to the garrison opposite. \* \* \* If you have not sent my boxes, with camp tables, and chairs, be so good as to let them remain with you, as I do not know but I shall move with the troops designed for the Jerseys, persuaded as I am of their having turned their views that way.”

Surely this was full authority to Greene to reinforce Mount Washington if he saw fit, and as surely Washington did not expect it to be the object of Howe’s “views.” The next day (the 8th) he heard of the passage of three British vessels up the North river, and thereby convinced of the inefficiency of the obstructions therein, wrote Greene: “What valuable purpose can it answer to attempt to hold a post from which the expected benefit cannot be had? I am, therefore, inclined to think it will not be prudent to hazard the men and stores at Mount Washington, but as you are on the spot leave it to you to give such orders as to evacuating Mount Washington as you judge best, and so far revoking the order given to Colonel Magaw to defend it to the last.”

This, though a strong opinion, still left it to Greene’s judgment, and the latter replies on the 9th, after visiting the post the evening before: “Upon the whole I cannot help thinking the garrison is an advantage; and I cannot conceive the garrison to be in any great danger. The men can be brought off at any time, but the stores may not so easily be removed, yet I think they can be got off in spite of them, if matters grow desperate. This post is of no consequence only in conjunction with Mount Washington. I was over there last evening; the enemy seem to be disposing matters to besiege the place; but Colonel Magaw thinks it will take them till December expires before they can carry it.”

Two letters passed from Greene to Washington—the one on the 10th and the other on the 11th, and the only reference to Mount Washington in either is the closing line of the latter, “the enemy remains quiet there this afternoon.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Harrison’s Letter. Force 5th series, vol. iii. p. 519.

<sup>2</sup>Force 5th series, vol. iii, p. 557.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p. 602.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. p. 619.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. p. 638.

Washington wrote no other letter to Greene after that of the 8th. On the 10th he left White Plains, where he had been all the time, at 11 A. M., and rode to Peekskill. The 11th he spent in an reconnoissance of the Highlands, and on the 12th, after writing two letters,<sup>1</sup> crossed the North river to the ferry landing below Stoney Point on his way to the army in Jersey. The same day Greene wrote President Hancock; "I expect General Howe will attempt to possess himself of Mount Washington, but very much doubt whether he will succeed in the attempt. Our troops are much fatigued with the amazing duty, but are generally in good spirits."

As Washington crossed the Hudson he saw the three British men of war, which had come up on the 7th, quietly riding at anchor in the Tappan Sea. The obstructions and *chevaux-de-frise* from which so much had been expected had been passed with ease. They were absolute failures. The British ships neither went over them nor through them, but around them, close in, on either the eastern or western shore, one of the largest vessels, which it was proposed to sink, in consequence of a blunder bilged and went down far from her destined position, and part of the *chevaux-de-frise* found after the capture, having apparently never been used.<sup>2</sup>

On the 14th November Washington wrote a long letter to the President of Congress, dated at "General Greene's Head-quarters," beginning, "I have the honor to inform you of my arrival here yesterday," in which he discussed at length various subjects of public concern, but remarked casually on the movements of the enemy that, "it seems to be generally believed on all hands that the investing of Fort Washington is one object they have in view," and closed with the words, "I propose to stay in this neighborhood a few days, in which time I expect the designs of the enemy will become disclosed, and their incursions be made in this quarter, or their investiture of Fort Washington, if they are intended."

This shows clearly that both Washington and Greene were in doubt on the 14th, the day before Mount Washington was summoned to surrender, whether it was to be attacked or not.

On the 15th, the day of the summons, Washington wrote two letters to the Board of War, one dated, "General Greene's Quarters," on an

<sup>1</sup>One to General Lee, and the other—a very full one—of instructions to General Heath. Mount Washington is mentioned in neither. Ibid. 656, 657.

<sup>2</sup>Force 5th series, vol. iii, p. 653.

<sup>3</sup>British return of ordnance and stores taken from 12th of October to 20th of November, 1776. Force 5th series, vol. iii, p. 1058-9.

exchange of ladies, and the other dated "Hackensack," on an exchange of prisoners with the enemy, but alludes in neither to Mount Washington.<sup>1</sup>

The arrival undiscovered, of his boats after midnight of the 14th, completed Howe's preparations, but the next day proving unfavorable, he postponed the attack to the 16th. A short time after noon on the 15th, a mounted officer, with two or three companions under a white flag, crossed Kingsbridge, and slowly ascended the heights towards Fort Washington. The American commander sent down to meet him Colonel Swoope of Pennsylvania. The officer proved to be Lieutenant-Colonel Patterson, the Adjutant-General of the British Army, who bore a summons to Colonel Magaw to surrender at discretion or suffer the consequences of a storm, which by military law is liability to be put to the sword if taken, and he required an answer in two hours.

Magaw at once dispatched a note with the intelligence to Greene at Fort Lee, saying to him at the same time, "we are determined to defend the post or die." He then replied to the summons this brave answer, addressed "To the Adjutant General of the British Army.—Sir, If I rightly understand the purport of your message from General Howe, communicated to Colonel Swoope, this post is to be immediately surrendered, or the garrison put to the sword. I rather think it is a mistake than a settled resolution in General Howe, to act a part so unworthy of himself and the British Nation. But give me leave to assure his excellency that actuated by the most glorious cause that mankind ever fought in, I am determined to defend this post to the very last extremity."

ROB'T MAGAW, *Colonel Commanding.*

On receiving this note, Greene instantly ordered Heard's brigade "to hasten on," directed Magaw to defend to the last, and then in a letter dated "Fort Lee, 4 o'clock," sent enclosed Magaw's dispatch announcing Howe's summons to Washington, who was at Hackensack, arranging for the reception of the American Army then crossing into New Jersey. In his communication Greene said, "the contents will require your Excellency's attention." Washington immediately started for Fort Lee; arrived there he found that Greene was on the New York side, and himself embarked to cross the river to the fort about 9 o'clock at night, "and [in his own words,] had partly crossed the North River, when I met General Putnam and General Greene, who were just returning from

<sup>1</sup>Force 5th series, vol. iii, p. 699.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. 699, 700.



thence, and informed me that the troops were in high spirits and would make a good defence; and it being late at night I returned."

The morning of the 16th November, 1776, broke bright and fair. The mists in the deep valley of the Harlem had not yet risen when Lieutenant-General von Knyphausen, at the head of his Germans, marched from their camp on its Westchester side across Kingsbridge, and joined a small body of the same troops that had lain upon the island.

He had made a special request of Sir William Howe that the main attack might be made by himself at the head of German regiments only, and it had been granted. Forming his troops, consisting of detachments from his own corps, von Rahl's brigade and the Waldeck regiment, 3,000 in all, according to Graydon, into two columns, the right nearest the Hudson under Colonel von Rahl, and the left under Major-General von Schmid, the whole commanded by himself, he pressed forward about seven o'clock supported by a terrific cannonade from all the British batteries, intended to confuse the Americans as to the real point of the main attack. But receiving word from Howe that all was not quite ready, he rested quietly till the final arrangements for the other assaults were made. The sun had risen well above the Westchester hills on the eastern edge of the valley, when a gun from the British battery farthest down the Harlem suddenly threw a shot into the American lines south of Fort Washington. Then pushing forward a battery of Hessian field-guns far enough to engage the American batteries on the hill above what is now called Inwood, he put his columns in motion, each preceded by an advance guard of about 100 men. Von Rahl on the right, passing through the break in the hills forming the present entrance to Inwood, close along the Hudson river, pressed through the woods up the northern end of the long hill on which Fort Washington stood, supported by the guns of the Pearl frigate, which lay opposite the break, and fiercely attacked the American battery and redoubt on its crest, defended by Colonel Rawling's regiment of Maryland riflemen, under himself and Major Otho Williams, and some Pennsylvania troops. The pass was steep, narrow, covered with woods, and well defended. The greatest gallantry was shown on both sides. Again and again the Germans attacked, and again and again were repelled. Fighting behind intrenchments, the Americans had the advantage of position; the Germans that of numbers. Many were killed on both sides, but far more of the latter than the former.

The American guns, only three in number, served rapidly and well, did great execution. But courage and numbers finally prevailed over courage and intrenchments, and the Germans, with a shout, at last car-

ried the crest of the hill, and drove the Americans, whose rifles at the last had become almost too foul for use, from their works.

Von Schmid's column, with which von Knyphausen himself was, took a more easterly route, and attacked the same position a little nearer the Kingsbridge road, but having to penetrate a triple *abatis* of felled trees, and to go through a thick undergrowth covering the declivity, they were somewhat delayed; but forcing their way through, von Knyphausen in person leading and helping to break down the obstructions with his own hands, the two German columns united upon the summit of the hill, and completed the discomfiture of the Americans, who retreated along its flat top to the fort.

Just as the Germans became fully engaged the English regiments of light infantry and guards, four in number, under Brigadier-General Mathews, supported by the First and Second Grenadiers and the Thirty-third foot, under Cornwallis, in thirty boats, under cover of a tremendous fire from the British batteries on its Westchester side, crossed Harlem river to Sherman's Creek. Though met with a sharp fire, they instantly ascended the face of Laurel Hill, high wooded and precipitous, the fallen leaves, yet moist with the rain of the preceding day, rendering the footing still more difficult, and drove from the battery on its brow and its summit the Pennsylvania troops (the last reinforcements sent over from Fort Lee) whom Magaw had detailed to defend it. Though defeated and forced to retreat, they made a brave defense. Colonel Baxter (their commander) being killed, sword in hand, at the head of his men. About eight o'clock Earl Percy with two brigades, one English and the other Hessian under von Stein, began the attack upon the lines to the south of Mount Washington. With this corps was Sir William Howe himself, who animated the troops by his presence and personal bravery. The American lines were defended by Colonel Lambert Cadwallader at the head of his own, and Magaw's Pennsylvania battalions and some broken companies from Miles' and other regiments, chiefly from Pennsylvania. Driving them from a small outwork and the first fortified line across the island, Percy rested, extending his line however to the North river.

As soon as he obtained this advantage orders were sent to Colonel Stirling (whose attack, originally intended as a feint, was now changed into reality), on the Harlem river, who with the Highlanders, supported by two battalions of the Second Brigade, instantly crossed the river in boats and landed at the foot of the hill, near the Morris House, inside of the American lines. Magaw, who had remained at the

centre of the position with a few men, in order to direct all the operations, at once sent about a hundred men to oppose them, and Cadwallader also dispatched about one hundred and fifty for the same purpose. They poured a heavy fire into Stirling's boats as they reached the shore, killing and wounding many men, but failed to stop his landing, as they were only aided by a single eighteen pound gun. Leaving behind their Major, named Murray, a man so fat he could not keep pace with them, the Highlanders, in kilt and tartan, rushed up the ascent with such speed and dash that they actually made prisoners of about a hundred and seventy of the Americans. Hearing his calls, some of his men then went back and helped their stout Major to the top of the hill.

When Stirling's fire was heard, Percy again quickly advanced, and Cadwallader, after a short and brisk contest at the second line, finding himself in danger of being cut off by the Highlanders, retreated to the Fort, into which the flying Americans had crowded in disorder as they were driven from their respective lines of defence.

Knyphausen's columns having neared the fort first, and taken a commanding position within a hundred yards of its west side, he sent a second summons to surrender, which was received by Cadwallader and referred to Magaw.

The fort itself does not seem to have fired at all. It was in fact so crowded by the fugitive Americans that they would have been slaughtered in masses had it been defended and stormed. When they first began to crowd in Magaw endeavored to animate them, urging them again to man the lines, but in vain. They could not again be rallied.

When Washington from Fort Lee saw the success of the German attack, he sent Captain Gooch over the river with a note to Colonel Magaw to try and hold out till night, when he would endeavor to relieve him and bring off the garrison. Gooch rowed across, delivered the note, and returned in safety with the answer. But his mission was too late. Magaw had proceeded so far in his negotiations for a surrender that he could not withdraw. After much parley, he signed articles of capitulation with General von Knyphausen and Colonel Patterson, the British Adjutant General, by which safety of persons and baggage was guaranteed, and the fort then surrendered to the British, who subsequently, in honor of the gallantry of the Germans and their commander, changed its name to Fort Knyphausen.

Demont's treason had done its work, and the flag of England again waved over the entire island of New York. Twenty-eight hundred and eighteen prisoners, including officers, forty-three guns, and a large quan-

tity of military stores, including "200 iron fraise of four hundred weight each, supposed to be intended to stop the navigation of Hudson's River," fell into the hands of the victors, besides 2,800 muskets, 400,000 cartridges, 15 barrels of powder, and several thousand shot and shell. The loss of the Americans was four officers killed and three wounded, and fifty privates killed and ninety wounded, a total of one hundred and forty-seven. The British loss was seventy-eight killed and three hundred and eighty wounded, a total of four hundred and fifty-eight; of which that of the Hessians alone was fifty-eight killed and two hundred and seventy-two<sup>1</sup> wounded, including officers, being in all three hundred and thirty. The British forces engaged were, according to Graydon, three thousand under von Knyphausen, eight hundred under Stirling, and sixteen hundred under Percy. Mathews' numbers he does not give, but as there were seven regiments, of only about five hundred effective men each, they may be set down as thirty-five hundred, making a total force of eighty-nine hundred. Sir William Howe's dispatch gives merely the names of the regiments engaged, not their numbers.

In the defense of Mount Washington Magaw seems to have disposed of his men to the best advantage, considering its great extent and his numbers, especially as he had to make his full dispositions after the British plan had developed itself; and he did his duty faithfully.

Washington's private judgment was opposed to holding the post after the retreat from New York, but he was governed by the wishes of Congress and the decisions of his Council of War. When the British ships last passed up the river in spite of the obstructions, he strongly advised, and also authorized, Generals Greene and Magaw to abandon the post, *but did not command it to be done*. He was present, too, at Greene's quarters at Fort Lee and at Hackensack from the 13th, when he found his advice had not been followed, to the 16th, and during this time could easily have ordered the post abandoned and the garrison withdrawn, if he had seen fit. On the other hand, General Greene was for holding the fortress throughout from the very first. After the last passage of the frigates he was left to use his own discretion whether to abandon it or not by the Commander-in-Chief, and he exercised that discretion by holding it, as he had a perfect right to do. Neither General should be censured at the expense of the other—each did what he thought was for the best under the circumstances, and neither dreamt

<sup>1</sup> Force iii, 925, British returns of ordnance and stores taken. Ibid., 1058, Howe's dispatch.

that he had treason to contend against. The loss of Fort Washington was due to the first traitor of the American Army, William Demont.

There were instances on both sides in this action of humor and gaiety, as well as of intrepidity and valor, in the midst of danger. One instance of the latter must be mentioned, which has rarely been equalled or surpassed. In one of the Pennsylvania regiments was a soldier named Corbin, who was accompanied by his wife. His post was at one of the guns in the battery on the hill attacked by the Hessians, where the battle raged hardest, hottest, and longest; for it was between two and three hours before the Germans succeeded in carrying that position. In the midst of the fight Corbin, struck by a ball, fell dead at his wife's feet as she was aiding him in his duties. Instantly, without a word, she stepped into his place and worked the gun with redoubled skill and vigor, fighting bravely till she sank to the earth, pierced by three grapeshot in the shoulder. Though terribly wounded, she finally recovered, but was disabled for life. A soldier's half-pay and the value of a soldier's suit of clothes, annually voted her by the Continental Congress while John Jay presided, was all the reward that the first woman who fought for American liberty ever received for such heroic love, courage, and suffering.

Thirty-two years afterward Spain's glowing, dark-eyed daughter, erect in the deadly breach, fiercely defending her native city against the French invader, and hurling vengeance on the slayers of her lover dead at her feet, burst upon the world never to be forgotten. The deed of Augustina of Aragon, the Maid of Zaragoza, was not nobler, truer, braver than that of Margaret Corbin of Pennsylvania. Byron's immortal lines are as true of the one as of the other:

" Her lover sinks,—she sheds no ill timed tear,  
Her chief is slain,—she fills his fatal post;  
The foe retires,—she heads the sallying host:  
Who can appease, like her, a lover's ghost?

E. F. DELANCEY.

NOTE.—This account is an extended statement of one of Mr. E. F. DeLancey's editorial notes in the first volume of the History of New York during the American Revolution, written at its close by the Hon. Thomas Jones, of Queens county, Long Island (giving a Loyalist account of the war), now in press, and soon to be issued by the New York Historical Society.

## PIERRE DAILLÉ.

The first Huguenot pastor of New York brought a distinguished name to grace our annals. Jean Daillé, author of the *Apology for the Reformed Churches* (born January 6th, 1594; died April 15th, 1670;) was one of the most erudite scholars and theologians of his day. For more than forty years minister of the Protestant congregation of Char-enton, near Paris, he exercised a vast influence as preacher, controversialist, and leader in ecclesiastical affairs. He left one son, who died in 1690, without male issue.

This honored name was a recommendation in itself; and it may have been as a kinsman of the great Daillé that our refugee was introduced to his cotemporaries in the New World, and enjoyed their marked consideration. But precisely how Pierre and his brother Paul stood related to their famous namesake has not yet been ascertained. It is thought that they may have belonged to a branch of the same family, seated at Châtellerault, in Poitou. That city, one of the strongholds of Protestantism in France, was the birth-place of Jean Daillé, and there one of his brothers lived, and left descendants. It is noticeable that several of our refugees were from Châtellerault. Louis Carré, principal among them, was related by marriage to the Dallié family. His coming to New York in 1688 may have been determined by the fact that Pierre was already settled here as pastor of the French church.

As early as the year 1652 the French refugees in and about New Amsterdam had become so numerous that the Consistory of the Reformed Dutch Church found it expedient to make special provision for their religious wants. Samuel Drisius was called from the charge of the Dutch congregation in London to assist Domine Megapolensis, and to minister to the French as well as to the English. Drisius preached for a while to the Huguenots and Vaudois settlers on Staten Island. His monthly visits to them, however, were probably discontinued after the first few years, owing to his protracted ill-health.

In 1682 Domine Henricus Selyns came from Holland to take sole charge of the Dutch Reformed Church of New York. With him, or soon after him, Pierre Daillé arrived here. An eminent authority states that he was engaged by the Consistory of that Church to come and preach to the French. This is altogether probable, as we find him at

once associated with Selyns and occupying his pulpit. The fact also that his brother Paul was residing, some years later, in Holland, leads us to think that the Consistory's call may have found him there. The first mention of him that we find occurs in a letter addressed by Selyns to Increase Mather and other ministers of Boston. He writes from New York, May 8-18, 1683:

"I am alone, and alone am ministering in sacred things to this and circumjacent churches; \* \* \* except the reverend Domine Peter Daillé, who forsook France on account of persecution, and who preaches (to the French), and Domine Peter Van Zuuren, who proclaims the oracles of God in certain country places. These are men of pure life and faith. \* \* \* We each, as long as we may, contend for true piety and religion, and whilst, alas! the world rages, and assaults the Church, pray that God may preserve it, and restrain those who would disturb its peace."

To Selyns we are indebted also for another and more particular notice of the Huguenot pastor, contained in a letter written October 21-31, in the same year, to the Classis of Amsterdam:

"Domine Peter Daillé, late professor at Salmurs, has become my colleague. He is full of fire, godliness and learning. Banished on account of his religion, he maintains the cause of Jesus Christ with untiring zeal.

The academy of Saumur, the most celebrated of the four great Protestant schools of France, was still in existence. But its downfall, which occurred two years later, was already foreshadowed by the fate of its sister academy of Sedan, destroyed by order of Louis XIV. in 1681. Saumur had been for eighty years "a torch that illuminated all Europe." Its course of instruction was very complete. There were two professors of theology, two of philosophy, a professor of Hebrew, and one of Greek, and a principal having the oversight of all. We do not know which of these chairs Daillé occupied; but as Saumur was noted for the care taken to admit to its corps of instructors none but men of tried and recognized capacity, the fact of his connection with this academy seems to bear out the statement of Selyns as to his learning.

Daillé was now not far from thirty-five years of age. His first wife, Esther Latonice, was probably living at this time. A few months after his arrival in New York we find him interested in the purchase of a plot of ground, perhaps the site of the "French minister's house" mentioned in the following summer. This plot of ground was situated "on the west side of the Broadway or street in the passage or lane that goes to the Halfe Moone." As Daillé was an alien, the purchase was made

for him by one Isaac Deschamps, "likewise known by the name of Saviat Broussard," who had long been a resident of the city.

Two congregations were already worshipping harmoniously in the Dutch church within the fort. The larger one was of course the Dutch Reformed congregation, numbering over three hundred communicants. Since the cession of the province to England in 1664, Anglican services had been conducted in the same building by the chaplain of the British forces. Between Domine Selyns and this chaplain, the Rev. John Gordon, very friendly relations seem to have subsisted. With their accustomed liberality, the Dutch Consistory now admitted a third congregation to worship in this sanctuary. The flock gathered by Daillé was the smallest of the three in point of numbers; but from the outset it comprised some of the leading families of the city; Paul Richard, Gabriel Minvielle, Nicholas Du Puis, Samuel Du Fuert, who had been members of the Dutch congregation, were regularly dismissed to join the new "French church;" while undoubtedly the Bayards, the Montagnes, the D'Honneurs, Francois Rombouts, and others, who remained in the church of their adoption, were frequently to be found among their Huguenot countrymen, listening to the impassioned oratory of the new preacher. Upon the return of Andros as Governor to New York, "understanding and speaking both Low Dutch and French," he attended the ministrations both of Selyns and Daillé. The French service was held during the intermission between the morning and afternoon services of the Dutch Church.

Daillé's parish was by no means limited by the bounds of the little town which lay at the southern end of the island of Manhattan. From Staten Island, from Bushwick, from Hackensack, from Harlem, the scattered families of Huguenots came to worship with their brethren in the city, and especially to be present on occasions of marked solemnity. Twice every year also Daillé took his journey up the Hudson river and the valley of the Wallkill to the Huguenot village of New Paltz, there to meet the Du Bois, the Hasbroucs, the Beviers, the Doyans, the Frères, and Guimars, who had founded that distant settlement. In fact, almost the earliest trace of his ministry in America is to be seen upon the records of the ancient Reformed church of New Paltz, where it is related that on "the twenty-second of June, 1683, Monsieur Pierre Daillé, minister of the word of God, arrived in the New Palatinate, and preached twice on the following Sunday, and proposed to the heads of families that they should choose by plurality of votes an elder and a deacon, to assist the minister in the conduct of the church."



The brief notices of Daillé which have heretofore appeared (Doc. Hist. of N. Y., iii. 1167; Col. Hist. of N. Y., iii., 651, *note*) refer to some differences with his congregation, leading to his removal from New York to Boston. As to the nature of these differences nothing has been known. We have been curious to inquire into them, and are now able to present the principal facts relating to this subject.

Daillé had been preaching for two or three years in New York, when one Laurent Vandenbosch, a Huguenot clergyman, made his appearance. He came from Boston, where in 1685 he was officiating as pastor of a small band of French refugees already gathered there. The magistrates and ministers of Boston seem to have found him a troublesome character. The burthen of his offense was that he demeaned himself haughtily toward his brethren; that he joined several persons in marriage without the usual publication of banns; and that when rebuked and threatened with imprisonment, he repeated this irregularity. Compelled to leave Boston, he came to New York; those who had watched his erratic course prophesying that he would be a cause of schism among the French here. So it proved; for, beginning with an act of interference with the Consistory of Daillé's congregation, Vandenbosch ended by drawing off a large portion of the flock, and organizing a separate church, of which he became the pastor, on Staten Island. "Contrary to pledges given," writes Daillé, "and to all that is honorable and just, he has snatched away to himself two-thirds of the membership of our church residing in the country; so that our church which, before the coming of Vandenbosch, was closely joined together, and, so to speak, one heart and one soul, is now rent asunder."

The division seems to have lasted some years; though Vandenbosch's career on Staten Island soon came to an end. In 1687 he removed to Kingston; two years later he was suspended by Selyns and other ministers, and went to Maryland. The close of the separation seems to be indicated by Domine Selyns in 1692, when he reports to the Classis of Amsterdam that "the two French churches have been united." There can be no reason to doubt that this statement refers to the city and country congregations, temporarily estranged from each other through the intrigues of Vandenbosch. Nothing indicates that any rupture occurred in the city congregation during Daillé's ministry, or that his relations to it ceased to be friendly previous to his removal to Boston. That removal, as we shall see, was due to other causes.

Pending this rural secession, the city church had grown to importance. Two considerable bodies of refugees had come to swell its num-

bers. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes on the twenty-second day of October, 1685, not only drove from France many thousand who had remained in the kingdom notwithstanding the severities which preceded that measure; but its effects were speedily felt in the French possessions in the West Indies, where hundreds of Huguenot families were settled. In 1687 several of these families arrived in New York. The names of Pintard, Le Roux, Robers, Bouteiller, L'Hommedieu, belong to this emigration. In the following year Louis Carré and others arrived from England, where they had first taken refuge, and where most of them had become naturalized as British subjects. With these additions the French Church of New York received new life and strength, and took the rank which it long held as a highly respectable corporation.

Near the close of the year 1687, Pierre Peirét, a Huguenot pastor, arrived from London and became associated with Daillé as his colleague; Peirét, who was the senior, officiating chiefly in the city, while Daillé continued to look after the members of the flock who lived at a distance. His half-yearly visits to New Paltz are still recorded; the last of them appears to have been made in April, 1694.

Meanwhile the refugees had left the Dutch church in the fort, and had built themselves a "temple" near by, in Marketfield street or Petticoat lane. New York has scarcely another street that retains so much of a quaint, antique character, as this short and narrow passage leading from Whitehall to Broad street. With no great effort of imagination we picture to ourselves the train of worshippers flocking to their sanctuary, Bible or Psalter in hand. In their own distant country not a solitary house remained where they and their fathers had sung and prayed. At Châtelleraut, the home of Carré and perhaps of Daillé also, the order was given to the Protestants, on the 15th of May, 1685, to demolish their church within a fortnight from that day. Of a hundred and sixty families professing the Reformed faith, among the wealthiest and most industrious of the town, only four person remained, by the beginning of the following February, who adhered to that faith. The rest had fled from the kingdom, were lying in prison, or had been enrolled among the "converts" of the dragonnade.

The church in Marketfield street was occupied by the autumn of the year 1688. It stood on the south side of the street, about half way between Whitehall and Broad streets, upon a lot twenty-eight feet wide, and not quite fifty feet deep. A "common alley" over three feet in width on the west side was taken from the lot. The capacity of this modest building was increased four or five years later by the addition

of a gallery. In this church Daillé officiated occasionally in the Sabbath services, and at the Wednesday morning lecture. And here Peiret continued to preach until his death, which occurred in 1704, before the occupation of the new church in Pine street.

Daillé appears in a very favorable light in connection with the troubles attending Leisler's administration. Disapproving of the violent measures taken to support his usurpation, he "went to the Commander and exhorted him to meekness;" but both he and his colleague, Peiret, were roundly abused by the dictator, and were even threatened with imprisonment. Notwithstanding this, upon Leisler's downfall, the Huguenot pastor was active in the endeavor to prevent his execution. "If our three ministers," wrote certain members of the Dutch church in New York to the Classis of Amsterdam, "had done the same as Domine Daillé did, \* \* \* who does not see that this murder could have been prevented?" For "when he was in prison, and condemned to die, he did all his devoir to dissuade Governor Slaughter from the execution, urging him not to let Leisler die." More than that, Daillé used his influence with the French in New Rochelle and on Staten Island to unite with him in petitioning the government on Leisler's behalf. For this he was cited before the Assembly, and narrowly escaped the punishment visited upon some others, who were imprisoned by order of the Council as promoters of disturbance.

Daillé's ministry in New York closed in 1696, when he was called to the French church in Boston. He appears to have returned to this city the next year, to take to himself a second wife. The marriage license of Peter Daillé, minister, and Seytie Duyshensh (?) is dated August thirteenth, 1697. He came to New York again in 1712, when, on the twenty-eighth of December, "after the morning sermon, Monsieur Pierre Daillé baptized Louis Rou, son of (pastor) Louis Rou and Marie Le Boyteulx, his wife." The sponsors were Louis Carré and Marie Fleuriau, two of the exiles from Poitou who had followed the Huguenot pastor—as we conjecture—to these shores.

His removal to Boston seems to have been due to the fact that the "country congregations" near New York no longer needed his services. Staten Island was now supplied with a pastor, De Bon Repos, who also succeeded Daillé in the charge of the church at New Paltz.

Released from these duties, he went to the scene of his last useful labors, where on the twenty-first of May, 1715, the faithful servant of God ceased from his self-denying work.

Daillé had lived to enter upon his sixty-seventh year. His third wife

(Martha) survived him. In his will no mention is made of children by this marriage, or by either of the preceding ones. He leaves the residue of his estate, after certain bequests, to his "loving brother Paul Daillé in Holland, and to his heirs and assigns forever." In the original document a blank space left after this brother's name is filled by a different hand with the words "*Vaugelade, near Amsfoort.*" Hoevelaken, a village four miles to the northeast from Amersfoort, is perhaps the place intended.

All the facts that have come down to us regarding this Huguenot pastor go to prove that he was a worthy representative of the race and order to which he belonged, and that he was honored with the esteem and confidence of good men in his day. The Boston News-Letter, announcing his death states, with more than usual discrimination, the virtues that endeared him to his countrymen, and to the community in which he lived so long:—

"BOSTON, May 23, 1715.—On Monday morning last, the 20th current, Dyed here the Reverend Mr *Peter Daillé*, Pastor of the French Congregation, aged about 66 years. He was a Person of great Piety, Charity, affable and courteous Behaviour, and of an exemplary Life and Conversation, much Lamented, especially by his Flock."

CHARLES W. BAIRD.

JOURNAL OF  
COL. RUDOLPHUS RITZEMA.  
OF THE FIRST NEW YORK REGIMENT  
AUGUST 8 1775 TO MARCH 30 1776

From the original in the Collection of the  
New York Historical Society

*August ye 8th, 1775.*—Sailed from New York with 4 Companies of the first Regiment of New York Forces under my Command.

*August ye 10th.*—At 3 A. M. arrived & disembarked the Troops in Albany; at 9 of the Clock A. M. eodem Die marched to the half moon & encamped—The March was a good Seasoning to our young Soldiers, from the excessive Rain, & the gentel Wading thro' the Sprouts—this was no unpleasing Sight. The Men in good Health & of good Appearance.

*August ye 15th.*—Struck our Tents & marched to Stilwater.

*August ye 17th.*—To Saratoga.

*August ye 19th.*—To Fort Edward—having been detained in an extraordinary Manner from the Want of Waggon, owing to the Mismanagement of the Commissary General W. L. Esqre.

*August ye 20th.*—To Skeensborough without our Tents.—these & the Baggage being sent under an escort to Fort George in order to be sent to Ticonderoga—our Rout this way being caused by the want of boats at Lake George.

*August ye 21st.*—Embarked at South Bay & arrived safe in the Evening at Ticonderoga—here everything bore an unmilitary Appearance—the Fortifications in Ruins & not repairing—the N. E. soldiers without order or discipline—Milites Rustici indeed!

*August ye 28th.*—At 6 P. M. my 4 Companies, Waterbury's Regiment & Mott's Artillery Company, under the Command of Brigadier General Montgomery embarked for Crown Point—About 10 at night obliged to disembark, occasioned by the Darkness of the Night & the hard Rain—laid in the woods all night without our Tents.

*August ye 29th.*—At Crown Point—here also every Thing in Ruins & Confusion abounding—A bad omen to our future Operations—The Intent of our Embarkation is for the Isle au Noix, in order to intrench there & make some Redoubts to prevent the Vessels belonging to the Garrison of Fort St Johns, which we were informed were nearly finished, from entering the Lake.

*August ye 31st.*—High & contrary Winds detained us here 'till this Morning, when we embarked for our intended Station & encamped in the Evening in Willsborough Bay on the Lake abt 30 Miles from the Point.

*September ye 1st.*—At grand Isle about 33 Miles from Willsborough Bay—encamped there in a Cove—At Night an Express from General Schuyler, with orders to go to the Isle du Motte, & abide his coming there.

*September ye 2d.*—At Isle du Motte & encamped there near a fine sandy Beach proper for Batteaus in Case of a Storm—very few Settlements along either Shore of the Lake; the Country hereabouts very low & marshy—At night another Express from General Schuyler, that he was extremely ill &c—There Mr. Gillilan paid us a Visit—Various Reports abt the Part the Indians in general intend taking—Several of the St Francis Indians

in our Camp, who appear to be friendly—So Success attends us no Doubt of their continuing so.

*September ye 4th.*—Early this Morning we were joined by General Schuyler and his Suit. Major Zedwitz of our Regiment with Mott's Company joined us this Day.—5 Companies of our Regiment now with us—About Noon the whole Army embarked, a previous Disposition of the Batteaus, for an orderly March being first made—This Day's March was extreemly regular & in the Evening the Boats being formed into one Line landed in a regular Manner without any opposition on the Isle au Noix.

*September ye 6th.*—The General ordered the whole army without one Piece of Artillery, save two twelve Pounders in the Bows of the Gondolais, to embark for St Johns.—About 3 of the Clock P. M. we landed within a mile & an half of St Johns Fort under the Command of General Montgomery, General Schuyler being unwell remained with a Guard in his Batteau—coming down the River several shot were fired at us from the Fort without doing us any Hurt.—Having marched about a quarter of a mile thro' the woods and Marshes we were attacked by a large Body of Indians & Regulars in Ambush, who killed 9 of our men & wounded as many more. After firing about 15 Minutes the Indians &c. returnd into the Fort. We killed 7 Indians & wounded 15—Capt Tice who was out with the Indians was wounded in the Thigh.—On our Side Major Hobby & Capt Mead of the officers were wounded—Tho' much exposed escaped—In the Evening several Shells thrown at us from the Fort, which induced the general to order the Men to

reimbark (tho' they had built a pretty good Breast work) & go a mile & an half higher up the River to be free from the Shells &c.—here the Men again disembarked & made another Breast work.

*September ye 7th.*—The General ordered the Army to embark which they did unmolested & to proceed to the Isle au Noix.—This day it was given out in Orders that the Intent of our Embarkation was to apprise the Canadians of our being come to their assistance—*peut être.*

*September ye 10th.*—Went from Isle au Noix with General Montgomery with 800 Men towards St Johns and landed about 8 o'clock P. M. at the Upper Breast Work unmolested. The Intent of our Embarkation was that I should march with 500 Men round the Fort and occupy the Road leading from the Fort towards Chamblee in order to cut off the Enemy's Communication with the Country. Accordingly in the Evening, about 9 o'clock, I marched off, with 140 men belonging to our Regiment, with 2 Capts & 4 Subalterns, 60 men of Hinman's Regiment & 300 Men of Waterbury's, and had with the Van Guard [with whom I was] scarcely reached the lower Breast Work, when I thought I heard a firing in the Center, on which I returned with Lieut Van Slyck of the Albany Regiment to the Head of the Division, and found Hinman's Men who were in Front with Major Elmore in their Station, but all Waterbury's Men with their officers run off towards the Upper Breast Work from which we had marched—On this, I walked on and found the New Yorkers, at least the first Division of them, under the Command of Capt

Weisenfels, attempting with fixt Bayonets to stop the New England Men in their Flight, but in Vain, for they made their Way thro' the Water up to their Waists. In this general Confusion, when I found it impossible to rally the Men, I went to the General to know his Pleasure, he ordered me, after driving the fugitive Rascals who had got into the Breast Work out of it, to attempt the rallying of them again, which with the assistance of some good officers I with much difficulty effected, and then posted myself in the Center & ordered the whole with Major Elmore in Front to march, which they did, but had not advanced a quarter of a mile from the Breast Work, when the same Gentry, who had caused the Confusion before, threw us into a second only because the Enemy had thrown a few Shells among us, so that one half of the Division retreated towards the Upper Breast Work, & the other half consisting of Hinman's Men & the Yorkers with a few of Waterbury's with myself advanced to the lower Breastwork, which we took Possession of after killing one Indian, & one Canadian & wounding several others. Here I remained till three of the Clock in the Morning, when I received orders from the General to march down to him with the Men I had with me.

*September ye 11th.*—In the Morning the General called a Council of War to consult, whether it was expedient or not, in our present Situation to proceed—who were unanimously of Opinion that we should go forward. On this the Men were ordered immediately to fall in & form themselves, which was obeyed with seeming Alacrity, when Waterbury's Men, with a certain Capt of another Corps,

on a Report that the Enemy's Schooner was coming up the Lake, again betrayed a dastardly spirit, and betook themselves without being ordered so to do, to their Batteaux, which none of the Yorkers followed, but remained in their Ranks & shewed a ready Spirit to proceed. This infamous Conduct so much dispirited the General that he ordered the whole to embark and to proceed to Isle au Noix.

N.B. On the second Retreat I wounded several of the New England Men for quitting their Ranks & would have fired on some of them if Doctor Williams had not prevented me.

At the Isle au Noix, in which we were employed in repairing the old Breast Work & making a Boom across the Lake 'till

*September ye 17th.*—The whole Army amounting to about 1500 Men under General Montgomery [General Schuyler from his ill state of Health being gone to Ticonderoga] embarked again for St Johns—About Noon we landed at the Breast Work nearest the Enemy. The General detached Col Bedel with his Corps to occupy the Road, leading from St Johns to Chamblee, in order to cut off the Enemy's Communication with the Country, which they effectually accomplished.

*September ye 19th.*—A Bomb Battery within 600 yards of the Fort began erecting which was finished ye 21st.

*September ye 21st.*—Col Flemming in Capacity of Deputy Adjutant General, Capt Lamb's Artillery Company & Capt Goforth & Quackenbos with their Companies of our Regiment joined the army.

*September ye 24th.*—Capt Mott's Affair happened—The 12 Cannon we brought with us from the Isle au Noix remained

in the Bottom of the Batteaux, save that two of them were mounted on a Battery within a mile of the Fort, which never annoyed the Enemy in the least. We remained in a supine state all to throwing a few Shells from the Bomb Battery in ye Fort till

*October ye 9th.*—When Capt Weisenfels erected a two Gun Battery of four Pounders on the East shore opposite to the Fort—At this the Enemy seemed much exasperated & were not sparing of their Shells & Ball in order to make us quit—however, it had a contrary Effect upon us, as the General after holding a Council of War, ordered Colonel Clinton on,

*October ye 13th.*—To take his Regiment to the East side & add two nine Pounders more to the Battery already erected there—With this Battery a pretty smart Fire was dayly kept up at the Fort and Vessels, which much annoyed the Enemy & eventually destroyed their Vessels—The Enemy Dayly exerting themselves to the utmost to annoy us in our Camp & at our two Batteries by throwing dead Shot, Shells & Grape incessantly amongst us—Sometimes a hundred Shells a Day & three Times the number of Shot, which happily did us little or no hurt, not having lost above six Men in the whole.

*October ye 16th.*—Major Brown was with Lieutenant Johnson of the Artillery Company detached with 300 Men & one nine Pounder to attack Fort Chamblee, which on

*October ye 18th.*—We obliged to capitulate. Major Stopford & six or seven other officers with 83 Privates & 100 Women & Children of the 7th Regiment taken Prisoners—124 Barrels of Powder 600c Cartridges, six Royals & a large

Quantity of Provisions & military Stores found in the Fort.

*October ye 23d.*—The Prisoners taken at Chamblee were escorted by Capt Willet & his Company of our Regiment to Ticonderoga, in order to be sent to Connecticut, where they are to remain till an accomodation takes place between G. B. & the Colonies, or till they are exchanged.

*October ye 24th.*—Capt Varick's Company of our Regiment joined us—no firing from our Side this Day—many dead Shot from the Fort in our Camp.

*October ye 25th.*—St Crispin's Day—O Agincourt!—one of Capt Mott's Men killed and another wounded in their Tent by a dead Shot—The General began to remove the Cannon & mortars from the Batteries on this Side.

*October ye 26th.*—No firing on either side—Brigadier General Wooster with 400 Men joined the army.

*October ye 27th.*—A few Shot from either side—General Wooster marched to the North Side.

*October ye 28th.*—Our Regiment and Waterbury's with Lamb's Artillery Company marched around the Fort to the North side of it to join the rest of the Army there—Our whole Strength now on this Side—save Clinton's Regiment with a few Gunners on the East, to guard & fire the Battery there.

*October ye 29th.*—In the Evening I was ordered with 200 Men to erect a Battery [the Ground for which having been previously laid out by the Engineers] within 250 Yards of the Fort—In the Morning the Breast Work & Ambresurs compleated—The Fort kept a heavy Fire upon us all Night—But happily no Lives lost.



*October ye 30th.*—The whole Army busily employed in moving the Cannon, Mortars, Ball & Shells to the Battery & preparing for a Cannonade.

*October ye 31st.*—An Express from Colonel Warner at Longue Isle with Intelligence that he had the Day before repulsed Governor Carleton, who had made an Attempt to land on this side with 800 Men in order to raise the Siege of St Johns—The Governor it is said lost 20 Men killed & 50 wounded—two Indians & two Canadian Merchants taken Prisoners—The Governor retreated to Montreal.

*November ye 1st.*—Our Gun & Mortar Battery on this side was opened, consisting of four 12 Pounders & six Royals which together with the four Gun Battery on the East side kept up an incessant Fire on the Fort all Day, which did great Execution & knocked every Thing in the Fort to Shatters.—In the Evening General Montgomery sent a Flag to the Fort with a Letter to Major Preston by one of the Prisoners taken by Colonel Warner informing him of Carleton's Defeat & that he had now no longer Reason to flatter himself with Relief from that Quarter, & that therefore to prevent the farther Effusion of Blood which a needless & obstinate Defence would cause, especially as we had been informed by Deserters of the scanty State of Provisions in the Garrison, he demanded a Surrender of the Fort—The Major in Return to the General's Message, sent Capt Stewart of the 26th with a Drum into our Camp, that the General should have an Answer to his Letter in the Morning—that in the mean Time Hostilities should cease on both Sides.

*November ye 2d.*—Capt Stewart of the 26th and Capt Williams of the Royal Train came about Eight o'Clock in the Morning into our Camp with an Answer from Major Preston to General Montgomery's Letter demanding to wait four Days to see whether no Relief would come to them in that Time, if not, that then they would make Proposals for a Surrender—To this the General replied that from the advanced Season, &c he could not give the Time required & that the Garrison must immediately surrender Prisoners of War, otherwise, if any fatal Consequences should ensue from their Obstinacy that they must charge themselves with it—The General also referred them for the Truth of Carleton's Defeat to another Prisoner on Board of our Sloop—& informed them that whenever they choose to recommence Hostilities they should give the Signal by firing a Cannon without ball.

At Noon the same Gentlemen returned to our Camp with the Articles of Capitulation, some of which were agreed to & others rejected or amended, the sum of which was that the Garrison should march out of the Fort with the Honors of War, lay down their Arms on the Plain South of the Fort & be Prisoners of War, the Warlike Stores &c to belong to the Continent—& that Possession of the Fort should be given to Morrow Morning at 8 o'Clock—this was agreed to by the Garrison & accepted of.

*November ye 3d.*—Detachments from all the Corps in the Army under the Command of Major Dimond took Possession of the Fort—& the Prisoners embarked in Batteaux for Ticonderoga—The 7th & 26th Regiment with about 50 Canadian

Volunteers made Prisoners amounting in the whole to about 700 Men, two Schooners & a large number of Batteaux & Indian Canoes with a great Quantity of Warlike Stores & a good Park of Artillery, among which is 14 Brass Field Pieces & 2 Brass 24 Pounders, 2 Brass Howitzers & 20 Mortars &c.

*November ye 5th.*—Marched from St. Johns to Lapraire—here the Army remained till

*November ye 11th.*—When General Montgomery with Waterbury's the Second & fourth Regiment of Yorkers crossed the River St Lawrence to Isle St Paul.

*November ye 13th.*—The General with a Detachment of the Army entered into Montreal—there was no Resistance made—General Carleton with his Soldiers, Scotch Emigrants, and French Tories, having made his Escape the Night before on Board of Eleven Vessels, with Intention to reach Quebec.

*November ye 14th.*—Our Regiment came into Montreal. This Week the General employed in new modelling the Army & in permitting such as were desirous of returning to their Homes to do it—Most of the New England Men embraced the Opportunity—a few under the Command of General Wooster only remaining.—The Yorkers in general resolved to see an End to the Campaign. Also employed in new & warm cloathing the Men who are to remain—The General received several Expresses from Col Arnold that he had invested Quebec—That the Enemy had burnt the Suburbs of St Johns—That the City was in an ill State to make a long Defence.

*November ye 19th.*—An Express from Col Easton at the Sorrel where he had

erected an Eight Gun Battery, that he had obliged Governor Carleton with his Vessels to retire up the River.

*November ye 20th.*—Carleton made his Escape in the Night down the River—The same Day the Fleet surrendered to us on the Terms granted the Garrison of St Johns—Among the Prisoners are General Prescott, Major Campbell, St Luke La Corne, Cpts Frazier & Anstruther, Tom Gambol & Major Hughes with about 500 Soldiers & Canadians—The Enemy destroyed the Powder on board the Vessels—there were an immense Quantity of Stores on Board the Vessels.

*November ye 22d.*—Prescott with his Officers & Men, landed from on Board the Vessels without the Market Gate & laid down their Arms—& were immediately sent across the River to Lapraire in order to proceed to New England.

*November ye 28th.*—The six Months for which the Men of our Regiment were enlisted being nearly expired, agreeable to general orders they were enlisted anew to the 15th of April next, & General Montgomery appointed me full Colonel of the Regiment.

—General Montgomery embarked for Quebec: He took with him, on Board the Gaspee Sloop of War and the Mary Schooner, Part of Capt Lamb's Artillery Company—Cheesman's & Weisenfels' Companies of my Regiment—one Company of the second & two of the third Regiment. He also took with him four field Pieces & six Mortars; the Cannon, Mortars, Shells, Shot & Powder were to meet him at the Sorrel from Chamblee—Just before the General embarked he informed me that I was to remain at Montreal at the Request of General Woos-

ter to assist him in the Duty of the Garrison.

*December ye 1st.*—Major Zedwitz with Mott's, Varick's & Quackenboss's Companies embarked on Board another of our Prize Vessels in order to join General Montgomery.

In the Evening of this Day General Wooster ordered me with a Party of 150 Men, on a Supposition that St Luke La Corne, Major La Combe and other Militia officers together with Capt Frazier and Monsr de Chambeau were complotting Measures for the Destruction of our Garrison, to go to Longuille and examine the Papers of Monsr De Chambeau & Capt Frazier & all other suspected Persons, and on finding any having such a Tendency to secure their Persons and order them either to Lapraire or to conduct them hither—My orders were also to seize the Arms and Ammunition if there was any Collection of them. On Examination found nothing having any evil Tendency, on the contrary all Peace and Quietness. Then proceeded to Boucherville where I apprehended St Luke & Major Campbell, whose Houses and Papers I examined, as also those of many of the Inhabitants, but finding Nothing that had an inimical Tendency I dismissed the Inhabitants & sent St Luke to Lapraire and ordered Major Campbell to this Place and conducted the Major of Militia with one of his Captains & Courville a Lawyer to Montreal. Capt Goforth with Major Nicholson and some New England officers attended me in this nocturnal Expedition.

*December ye 6th.*—Nicholson was ordered to Cognewaga to conduct St Luke hither, whither it was said Colonel Bedel

contrary to the General's orders had conducted him.—On the Major's arriving there with Major Campbell St Luke's son in Law, the whole Information appeared false & St Luke who was ill was ordered to take up his former Quarters at Boucherville.

*December ye 19th.*—The whole Tribe of Cognewaga Indians, with their Wives and Children, amounting to between 300 & 400, waited on General Wooster & presented him with a Belt of Wampum, promised to maintain a strict Friendship towards us—One of their antient Chiefs on presenting the Belt said: *That as we were Countrymen he trusted the Supreme Being would never suffer that Belt to be tarnished while the Sun and Moon endured*; & farther that they were ready at any Time to send their young Men to our assistance—The General thanked them for their Profers of Friendship, that he would maintain them in their ancient Rights & protect them against all their Enemies, &c.

*January ye 3d, 1776.*—Mr Antill arrived here Express from Quebec with Intelligence that General Montgomery on the 31st Ultimo between the Hours of 5 & 7 in the Morning (after a previous Disposition of his small Army) made two Attacks upon the lower Town, under a feigned one upon the Upper—The Feint was conducted by Capt Browne with 94 Men; one of the real attacks by the General himself at Drummond's Wharf below Cape Diamond with 466 Men; the other by Colonel Arnold with the Men he brought with him by the Way of Kennebec & Capt Lamb's Company of Artillery amounting to 560 Men thro' St Roques at the other End of the lower Town; the

General forced his Way thro' the first Picquet or Barrier without receiving a Shot—at the next, he was received with a heavy Fire of Musquetry & two field Pieces which caused Cheesman's Company to fall back in some little Disorder, while the General was endeavoring to rally these Men he received his Coup de Grace as also his Aid de Camp McPherson & Capt Cheesman of our's—The General was shot thro' the Head & both his Thighs—After the Death of the General Colonel Campbell led off the General's Detachment. Colonel Arnold with his Party passed thro' St Roques and approached near a two Gun Battery well piquetted in without being discovered; his Men forced the Piquets & carried the Battery after an Hour's Resistance; in the Attack the Colonel was shot thro' the Leg and was obliged to be carried off; after gaining the Battery his Detachment pushed on to a second Barrier which runs from Limeburner's Wharf into the lower Town of which they took Possession, where they maintain themselves in the Houses without any possibility of being supported, so that they must either carry the Town, be made Prisoners or be cut to pieces.

*January ye 4th.*—Capt Melcher arrived Express with an Account that Arnold's whole Detachment had surrendered themselves Prisoners, having lost about 100 Men killed & wounded.—The Enemy took our Mortars & two Field Pieces. Capt Lamb is wounded in the Eye—many of the officers killed & wounded whose Names are as yet unknown.

*January ye 29th.*—General Wooster sent me from Montreal to consult with General Schuyler at Albany about the

best Means to be put in Practice for a speedy Reduction of Quebec & for establishing the York Battalions on a permanent Footing.

*February ye 5th.*—After an agreeable Passage over the Lakes I arrived at Albany & addressed myself to General Schuyler, who after conversing with me, deemed the Matters I mentioned to him of such Importance to the Colonies, that he could not determine upon them, but referred me to the Continental Congress, for which he gave me Dispatches & enforced the Subject of our Conversation.

*February ye 11th.*—Arrived at New York & waited upon General Lee & the Committee of Safety—General Lee coincided in opinion with me, & also enforced the Propriety of the Measures I proposed to the Congress.

*February ye 12th.*—Departed for Philadelphia—where I arrived

*February ye 14th.*—And immediately delivered my Dispatches to the President of the Continental Congress—The Congress appointed a Committee to confer with me—Before whom I laid the following Declaration, & enlarged occasionally upon each Head.

*February ye 16th.*—"That the Army in Canada (exclusive of the late Reinforcements) does not exceed 900 effective Men—that their Time of service expires the 15th of April next, or sooner if Reinforcements arrive, when I imagine most of the Men would insist on going Home—that I conceived it impracticable to form these Men into two Battalions, agreeable to a late Resolution of this Congress, as they are composed of the Remnant of the different Troops of New York, Jersey, Connecticut & the Bay, &

of too opposite Characters ever to form a useful Corps.

Second. That it is absolutely necessary that the Army in Canada consist of 8 or 10,000 Men, & that they be enlisted for so long Time as they may be wanted—to enable the Colonies to do this with grèater Ease to themselves, two Regiments of Canadians might be formed & marched into these Colonies, where they would act with Vigor & be bro't to proper Discipline—Here they would not dread the Anathemas of the Church nor the Frowns of their Noblesse.

Third. That Dugan (tho' a Barber) has more Influence over the Canadians than either Livingston, Hazen or Antill—that he was extreamly serviceable to us the last Campaign—that the taking of Chamblee was altogether his own planning & that we were much indebted to him for his Assiduity in transporting our Cannon down the Rapids to the North Side of St Johns & after the taking of it to the Sorrel & Montreal.

Fourth. That General Wooster is extreamly anxious that some General Officers be immediately sent to his Assistance.

Fifth. That as the Artillery Company we had in Canada with their Captain are Prisoners, & the one since formed there only engaged to the 15th of April, two Companies of Matrosses be sent there with some able Officers, who not only understand firing Cannon, but are able to compose the various Works necessary for a tolerable Train, such as Fuses, quick Match, Fireballs, &c.

Sixth. That an Engineer is much wanted—the northern Army having suffered much from the want of a tolerable one.

Seventh. The Difficulty the Congress has laboured under in supplying the Army in Canada with Specie, from an Aversion the Canadians have to paper money, renders it necessary that some Expedient be devised to remove it—that nothing would tend to facilitate it more than that Merchants should go from the English Colonies to Canada with proper Assortments of Sutlers' Goods, such as Hosiery, Shoes, coarse Linnens, Soap, Rum, Sugar, &c.

Eighth. That a few Artificers, namely Armourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Harness Makers, Wheelrights, with a proper person to superintend their Conduct be forthwith sent into Canada—it being impossible for an Army to be without them.

Ninth. That a few Pieces of heavy Artillery with a suitable Proportion of Ball—two large Mortars with Shells &c, agreeable to an Estimate in the Hands of this Committee, be forwarded with all Speed into Canada.

Tenth. As the York Regiments which have been in Canada the last Campaign are nearly broke up and many of the Officers still desirous of continuing in the service, that they be preferred in the new Levies in the Province of New York to others—That they would feel much as if they were neglected after so fatiguing & expensive a Campaign."

The Committee after having made their Report to the Congress informed me that the Congress intended complying with the Requisitions I had made.

*February ye 21st.*—Left Philadelphia.

*February ye 24th.*—Arrived at New York where I was given to understand, that four new Regiments were to be raised & that the old Regiments, the Remnant of

them, agreeable to the Resolution of the Continental Congress above mentioned, were to be formed into two, of which I was to have one, & Clinton the other, & that therefore the Provincial Congress had made no provision for the Canada officers in the new Regiments; well knowing the Impracticability of the intended Measure of the C. C. & that it had superseded their former Order, I resolved by the Advice of General Lee (who was then to command in Canada but afterwards sent to Virginia) to remain here & not to return to Canada till such Time as I knew whether I should be provided for in the new Levies or not.—In the meantime I exerted myself to the utmost in Favor of the Canada officers.

*March ye 21st.*—I received a Letter from Mr Jay, one of the New York Members of the Continental Congress, requesting me immediately to come to Philadelphia, with which I forthwith complied & arrived there

*March ye 24th.*—When a Committee of Congress was appointed to confer with me, the Result of which was, that I was appointed Colonel of the 3d Regiment of Yorkers & received my Commission accordingly from the President. The Regiment is to continue during this unhappy struggle in Service.—This removed all my Objections to the Service.

*March ye 30th.*—Arrived at New York.

*Note.*—The writer (son of Dominie Ritzema of New York), one of the N. Y. Com. of One Hundred, 1 May, 1775; appointed Lieut. Col. of First N. Y. Reg., Alex. McDougall, Col., June 30, 1775; ordered seizure of King's Stores, N. Y., July 12, 1775; was broken by court-martial in 1778, and joined the British.

## NARRATIVE BY PASTOUR DE COSTEBELLE

OF THE FRENCH EXPEDITION AGAINST ST.  
JOHN, NEWFOUNDLAND 1705.

From the original MS. in the possession  
of George H. Moore, I.L.L.D.

PLAISANCE 22 October 1705

MONSEIGNEUR :—I have received the letter which your Highness did me the honor to write to me by the Kings Ship La Loire. In joining Monsieur de Subercaze in the enterprise undertaken against the enemy's coast I had no idea that any danger to the post of Plaisance could arise in my absence and therefor had only to consider how I should endure the fatigues of a march which seemed to me only possible to robust savages accustomed to this kind of exercise; my ordinary disposition, Monseigneur, to do all in my power to show to your Highness the true zeal I have always felt for the service of the King, soon determined my resolution and I found no difficulty insurmountable; I have not neglected to inform him by the first ship which left this port of the details of this action and I now make to your Highness a succinct repetition in duplicate of the report I had the honor to address to him.

Monsieur de Subercaze having made every necessary preparation for an enterprise of this nature, we left the foot of the great bay of Plaisance the 15th January 1705 with a detachment of 450 armed men including Soldiers and Canadians filibustiers of the country and savages; all the fatigues of the march and the camp, although severe beyond conception, seemed to be mitigated by the ardors and resolution which our entire troop, although hurriedly

scraped together, displayed in surmounting the greatest obstacles. Each man carried 20 days provisions, his arms, cooking utensils and a tent for each mess, through impracticable forests and roads. We forded four streams, more dangerous from the broken ice in their rapid currents than from their depth of water, although the tallest men found it much above their waists; we marched after this fashion fatiguing to the most hardy until the 22d day of the present month without meeting any obstacle upon our route serious enough to interfere with the due speed requisite to an expedition of this nature. The following night there was a heavy fall of snow drifted by a wind so cold and violent that we were forced to remain for three days in the same camp when our provisions begining to fail us and in our uncertainty as to our distance from any hostile settlement we sent out some French and savages in search of the coast whence we supposed the sea might be seen; the best informed of those sent out reported that they had seen the Bay of Beboul which lay only three leagues distant.

The 26th the wind and the snow holding up, after having covered the earth with all that the northern climate has most terrible to the traveller, we took up our march to the settlements of Beboul, finding it impossible to move directly on St Jean without incurring the risk of all perishing by hunger; at two in the afternoon of the same day we made our appearance in the midst of the settlement when all the English fell on their knees before us without firing a single shot; we found there provisions enough to ensure us against any further fear of famine.

When Monsieur de Subercaze had ar-

ranged every thing in the manner which seemed to him best to secure the safety of the march, which he was to resume, on the 28th at the hour of noon we started again intending to camp about half way on the road to Petit-Havre distant some six leagues from Beboul and three from St Jean.

The snow was so deep, the woods and the mountains so rough and an excessively cold wind so filled the air with icicles that the most robust suffered inconceivable fatigue in this days march. After taxing my strength to the utmost limit, which it is capable of reaching on such occasions, I was compelled to encamp a quarter of a league in the rear of the Commander losing the file in the darkness of the falling night and in the blinding snow, a circumstance Monsieur de Subercaze would certainly have noticed if he had not been carried away by his habitual ardor; It would have been much more prudent to have gone into camp at least a full hour before nightfall as it was not possible, in such a march as this, that his rear guard should not be at least a league behind the head of the column. I do not attribute to this distance of ground, Monseigneur, the unfortunate accident which befell me that night; it was my unlucky star which robbed me of the opportunity of showing to your Highness of what advantage my presence might have been in an enterprise of the character of that we were about undertaking; In saying this I wish in nothing to detract from the merit and courage of Monsieur de Subercaze; I was deprived of this opportunity, Monseigneur, by the carelessness of a sailor who in chopping down a tree directly opposite my tent let it fall

upon my body ; In the fall I was covered with an avalanche of snow. I remained two whole hours in the hands of my servants without any sign of consciousness ; when at last I came to my senses I felt the painful effects of this violent shock and found that I could move neither legs nor arms, and I should certainly have died on the spot but for the assistance of the savages who carried me the second day after to Petit-Havre where I remained for three weeks in a dying state ; Your Highness will do me the justice to believe that to the severe pain of my body was joined the disappointment of my ambition at finding myself almost at the gate of St Jean, after having endured all the fatigue of the campaign, yet unable to share with my fellows the glorious fruits of the war

Monsieur de Subercaze started early the 31st of January with the picked men of his detachment, leaving behind him about 40 to guard the prisoners taken at Beboul and the place he was leaving. The state, in which I was, not allowing of my following him, I made ineffectual offers to the savages of all the money they could ask of me to convey me to St Jean (the Fort not being yet attacked) ; They were the only persons capable of such an undertaking over roads, so rough as those they would be compelled to take, but no reward would induce them to it as they had nearly broken down under the efforts they had made to bring me to where I was ; hence I can only inform your Highness by the report of others of what passed at the attack which our troops made on the settlements of this post ; it has been confirmed to me however by the common voice of the officers that at a time when

our troops should have marched in the best order they scattered without knowing where they were to come together again, (all this I attribute to the severity of the cold and the darkness of the night), the situation of the fort was imperfectly ascertained, nothing was known either of the condition of the enemy, owing to which no effort was made to profit by the advantage this glorious surprise offered against the fort itself ; no one was in the place where he ought to be as no one knew in what direction it was his duty to go ; this moment lost, for reasons of which the leaders knew nothing, was a moment which could not be recovered for the attack of the forts ; all that remained was to quarter upon the inhabitants who made no resistance, to plunder and burn their houses and return empty handed, after remaining to no purpose until the 5th of the month of March, harrassing the garrisons of the large and small forts which held out bravely, firing bomb and cannon shot upon the barracks of our troops who sustained the heaviest of the enemys fire with a firmness which could not be exceeded by the best troops of the kingdom ; in this following the example of their officers who greatly distinguished themselves on this occasion and to whom Monsieur de Subercaze will not hesitate to render the full justice which is their due.

The loss in killed and wounded on our side does not exceed 15 men ; The death of the Sieur Chevalier de Lo of the company which I have the honor to command is the greatest loss our garrison has sustained, he being an officer of merit and ability ; If, considering the treachery of Monsieur le Chevalier du Pin towards me, which I would take pains to conceal



had he not shown himself unworthy of the favor he has received from your Highness, I venture to ask the vacant post of ensign in my company for the Sieur Bernard de Piedmarin, I shall see in the granting of this request that your Highness does not cease to honor me with his good will.

Monsieur de Subercaze after having reduced to ashes, all that he thought it his duty not to spare in the harbor of St Jean, left there with his entire detachment the 5th of the month of March, pushing along the enemy's coast as far as Fournillon in order to leave nothing that could be burned or destroyed; The inhabitants of this last named harbor having had information of our march appeared at first disposed to defend their territory but this pretended resolution did not long hold out and on the approach of our troops they surrendered at discretion; When this post had shared the fate of its neighbors, Monsieur de Montigni was detached at the head of the Savages and part of the Canadians to march to Carbonnière and Bonneville and destroy all the habitations he should find; which he did without the loss of a man, so great was the terror of these people; there only remaining on the coast from the north east to the southwest Fremouse and Rognouse which were both deserted; we returned in this direction by short days marches burning as we went every thing which could be of service in the reestablishment of the Fisheries which is the only wealth of the country; the 23d of March we arrived at Plaisance whence Monsieur de Subercaze has since despatched numerous parties of Canadians, Filibusters of the country and Savages who have desolated all the English

settlements to the very northern extremity of this island.

In consequence of the different advices we have received that the English were preparing to attack Plaisance, with a large squadron of men of war and a large number of troops for debarkation, Monsieur de Subercaze has changed the destination of the King's ship *La Loire* and stopped its voyage from Acadia. The same reason has delayed the departure of the Canadians and Savages for Quebec.

Whether the enemy should make his appearance or not our platforms and batteries were in such bad condition that all the inhabitants and the crews of merchant vessels were employed ten or twelve days in repairing them; but even now it can only be said that they are not quite as bad as they were before; all the officers of the garrison displayed on this occasion their entire devotion to the King's service in vigilance and assiduity in the work.

The great number of merchant vessels captured by the enemy on their way from Europe to Plaisance has completely ruined the trade of the settlements, salt having failed at the very moment when the fishery was most successful and that which had been hitherto used having been sold to private individuals at prices so ruinous to the buyer that it is not to be doubted that if your Highness does not order the vessels coming to the fisheries to bring a large amount of salt in excess of their own needs, the inhabitants will be driven to abandon the colony or to abandon their trade until there be plenty again.

The Sieur Jean d'Aye, a bourgeois from St Jean de Luz residing at Plaisance and

having warerooms generally well stocked with supplies necessary to the settlers, being about to return to France on one of his vessels to make arrangements to fulfill the contracts he has made to supply different inhabitants of this colony with all that they may require for the coming fishing season; such as salt and other useful and necessary goods, I think it my duty on this occasion to inform your Highness and to entreat him in the interest of the public good to give every despatch and a prompt clearance to the vessels he intends sending to Plaisance, there being no surer convoy for the passage than to leave France, at the end of the month of February, a season when the Privateers are few in number and no longer dare to hold the sea.

Your Highness will permit me to repeat what I have had the honor to lay before him for many years, to which he has replied with exceeding kindness and justice, that the King did not give the preference of this government to Monsieur de Subercaze because of any dissatisfaction with my services and that when the occasion served, his Majesty would mitigate this piece of bad fortune by giving me some more advantageous post; By what gate Monseigneur may I hope to escape from this exile, to what command may I aspire unless you recall me to France and give me such a rank in the Marine Corps as I feel I should have deserved if I had remained in that service; that of Captain of a Ship of War Monseigneur in the post where I am, would withdraw me with honor from the long captivity in which I have lived until now; The Marine service is not familiar to me, but enough so for me to feel sure that six months of application will

fit me thoroughly for this command. Remove me I entreat you Monseigneur from a residence in which with all the patience of Job I could not be happy; I am no longer of an age to show any impatience in any service to which the King calls me; on the contrary no one has ever been more submissive and more attached to him than I am, but the pain which I endure since the unfortunate accident which befell me last winter during the march to St Jean makes it impossible for me any longer to endure the severity of this climate; with these new causes of discontent, without fortune of my own, or chance of advancement can you Monseigneur, in a situation so distressing, refuse to my long and arduous services the Cross of Chevalier of the Order of St Louis; I beg of your Highness to honor me with this ray of glory; I will prove to you my eternal gratitude.

We have reduced all the settlements of the English coast of Newfoundland to such extremity of distress that there is no reason to believe that they will ever be able or dare to attempt to reestablish themselves there so long as the war lasts; all who do not return to England are flying to St Jean where they are building a new fort beneath that which was not attacked, which is apparently destined as a place of retreat for the inhabitants.

It is not to be doubted, unless the English are very hard pressed in Europe, that they will next campaign fit out a large squadron of vessels to succor their own colonies and destroy that of Plaisance; they must do this or their entire coast will be wholly deserted;—In this conjuncture I do not see how the Court can without risk of losing this post, avoid sending a rein-

forcement of troops to the garrison ; it would be much better if they were marines ; at least so long as the war lasts ; the immediate necessity not calling for fresh recruits ; moreover that will not put the King to the charge of a new loan for this expenditure.

Two men of war arriving in this port in the beginning of the month of June, or still better that of May, could make a serious campaign in defence of Plaisance ; they could complete the ruin of the enemies trade ; cruising on the coast before the arrival of their squadron, which could be easily learned from the prizes, and without exposure of our vessels to a superior force we could defeat their projects ; this plan Monseigneur for the defence of this post seems to me to deserve a serious consideration.

I have still another favor to ask of your Highness, that is to grant me a furlough to return to France if the war end in Europe. There are some family affairs for which my presence is absolutely necessary ; but those of the King's service are in my view so much to be preferred, and so preferred by me, that I venture to assure your Highness that no one can be more devoted to it than I shall be the rest of my life. While never ceasing to pray for the health and prosperity of your Highness I am with all possible respect Monseigneur

Your very humble,

and very obedient servant,

DE COSTEBELLE.

*At Plaisance this 22 October 1705.*

*Note.*—De Costebelle first went to Placentia in 1685 in command of twenty-five men—commandant in 1690, Governor in 1709, transferred to and Governor of Isle Royal in Cape Breton in 1713.

## EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

LETTERS FROM CAPT. LAURENCE BUTLER  
TO MRS. JOSEPH CRADOCK.

### PART II.

*Westmoreland County Virginia*

*March 25 1789*

DEAR MADAM :—Upon the 4th of February last I had the pleasure of receiving your obliging letter, dated Gumley-house July 8th and 10th of August 1788, which beleive me, dear Madam, gave me great pleasure. There is not the least danger of letters miscarrying as we have stages established from one end of the Continent to the other, which carry the mail as regular as in England.

You were so obliging as to give me a description of your journey from Paris to Flanders and Holland, which must have afforded you great satisfaction in sailing through the canals, with neat villages and gardens on each side and through the streets of Amsterdam to the doors of your hotel.

I am very sorry that I did not make that tour through Flanders and Holland, as I intended when I had the pleasure of seeing you in Paris. I should have been much delighted with Amsterdam, and the Hague, from the description you give me of them.

Every thing is very still in this country, except our frontiers, which are frequently visited by the Indians, who kill a family or two and steal a parcel of horses, and then clear themselves before our people can collect though we very often follow them by their track and overtake them.

We have adopted a new form of government in the United States, with a

Senate and Congress and a President and Vice-President : the President is voted in by all the States, who is to serve four years, and I have the pleasure to inform you that our illustrious Genl Washington is appointed to that post, who did not lose a vote in all the States. I hope by the time he has served his four years out, he will leave every thing in a proper channel.

Believe me, dear Madam, with every respect, your most obedient servant,

LAURENCE BUTLER

*Westmoreland County Virginia*

*April 15 1790*

DEAR MADAM :—I have been in a bad state of health ever since I saw you in Paris. I went last summer to Bath, over the mountains about two hundred miles from this, but did not receive any benefit from the waters. My complaint is bilious ; and I am advised by the doctors to go to another spring, which is called the Sweet Spring, over the mountains near three hundred miles from this, and lying wide from Bath about one hundred and fifty miles. I intend to set off about the 1st of June, and remain there the whole season, that is, until October. If it had not been for my indisposition, I should have been settled in the Kentucky country before this, as I have four tracts of land of a thousand acres each in that country, and one of them I wish to settle on, which lies near two miles on the river Ohio. That river is near half a mile wide, and there is a creek that runs through the centre of the land, which is about fifty yards wide, and very deep, well furnished with fish and wild fowl. This

land is on the frontiers, though I expect in a few years it will be quite safe from the Indians who frequently invade these frontiers. That country has not been settled more than 15 or 16 years ; they have settled so rapidly that they can raise 20,000 fighting men, all riflemen. Their towns increase very fast with good buildings, as they have plenty of limestone in that country which answers the purpose of oyster shells for lime ; they have a number of very good houses from two to four stories high, built of stone and some of brick. There is a town in that country which has fifteen or twenty capital stores in it ; which is a great many for such an infant country.

The produce of our country is very high, except tobacco, which is very low ; our wheat has sold as high as half a guinea per bushel, and our Indian corn, which always sold for about 2s, now sells for 4s and other grain in proportion. It is owing to the scarcity of grain in Europe. There is a merchant living in my neighborhood, who has bought up about 50.000 bushels of Indian corn and about 10.000 bushels of wheat. We have a great crop of wheat on the ground ; double as much as ever was in a year before ; and, should it please God not to send any disaster amongst it, there will be a vast quantity to export, as I expect there will be a great demand in France for grain.

Believe me, dear Madam, to be, with great respect your most obedient servant

L. BUTLER.

*Westmoreland County Virginia*

*April 20 1791*

DEAR MADAM :—The revolution in France has driven upwards of a thousand

of that nation, some of family and fortune, to Virginia. They have bought a large tract of country on the river Ohio, where they have marched out and settled in a body. I believe Congress has furnished them with a few troops as a guard against the savages. This land that they have settled on lies about sixty or seventy miles above where my land lies. You mentioned in your letter that you would, by the aid of a map, visit me in idea on the banks of the Ohio. We have no accurate maps of that country at present, as we, I mean the officers to whom this land was granted by the State of Virginia for their services in the army last war, have named the different creeks emptying into the Ohio, which are quite different from the names laid down in the former maps. I have not seen a map of that country since we located our lands, and named the creeks.

I wish much to be settled in that country, as I am remarkably fond of shooting and fishing, though I am afraid it will be some time before I can venture there, as the Indians have been very troublesome of late. Congress last fall sent a small army, consisting of 120 regulars and about 1200 militia troops, against a nation called the Shawonees. When they approached the towns they found them deserted. The General ordered the houses to be set on fire when about 300 were burnt; they also burnt about 20000 bushels of corn. The General then set off back to the settlement, and marched about eight miles. He then detached about 60 regulars and 340 militia back to the towns to see whether the Indians had returned and to give them battle if they should see them. When they got to

the towns, they found a large body of Indians, consisting of the Shawonees and two other nations, whom they attacked, and fought for several hours; but at last the Indians' superiority in numbers forced our troops to retreat. Out of the 60 regulars we had 50 killed and about 130 militia killed and 30 wounded. This is the account given Congress by the General. Oh! what a pity such a parcel of brave men should be butchered and the General within eight miles with 1100 men. The Indians suffered a good deal in the action, though we cannot ascertain the number. I expect in the course of this summer, or next fall, there will be another expedition against the Indians, which I think will drive them a good way back. There were about 500 men sent against another town called the Wabash the same time the others went against the Shawonees. They destroyed the town and took several prisoners without the loss of a man.

I am happy to inform you I have much recovered from the different springs which I visited last summer or from the pureness of the air. I left home the 1st of June last, and arrived at the Warm Springs about the 12th of the same month, which is about 210 miles about 100 of which are very mountainous. The water of this spring is about milk-warm and impregnated with sulphur and fixed acid. These waters are reckoned good for the rheumatism. I remained there about ten days, and then called at the Hot Spring which is about five miles from the former. The water is so hot that it is difficult to bathe in it. These waters are reckoned better for the rheumatism than the Warm Springs. There is a cold spring so near.

this hot spring, that you may put one hand in the hot and the other in the cold spring. I made no stay there, but continued my journey, and arrived the next day at the Sweet Springs, which are about 45 miles from the Warm Springs. We had a good deal of genteel company, from the different parts of the continent and some from the West Indies, considering how far it lies in amongst the mountains. We had a regular ball every week besides tea parties. Our accommodations I cannot say were so good as we had at the Hotel de York in Paris, as there was only one inn and upwards of two hundred people, besides their servants to accommodate; though I cannot but say we had a plenty of good eating, notwithstanding our great appetites, which the waters create. Our lodgings were in log-cabins with mattresses and some beds to lay on. The log-cabins are generally built about 20 feet long and about 16 feet wide with round logs piled up on each other like a pen: after they get them about seven feet high they keep laying them up and drawing them in which forms a roof. After this they cover it with slabs or boards about four feet long without the help of a nail; then they lay a plank of floor and then they sop the body of the house between the logs with mud to keep the air out; after this gets dry they generally whitewash the whole house inside and out. In each of these cabins there are generally about three people lodging; and thus we are accommodated at the Sweet Springs. The reason we are not better accommodated is that these springs have not been much frequented on account of their laying so far in among the mountains and until these few years past

very dangerous on account of the Indians; and another reason is, that the land and springs belong to one person.

I expect it will be better in a few years as there is petition drawn up, to be handed to our next General Assembly, praying for a town to be laid off. If that should take effect we shall have many inns which will make it much more comfortable for visitors.

The waters of the Sweet Springs are impregnated with vitriolic acid, two kinds of salts, fixed acid, lime, magnesia and a small proportion of iron. I remained at the Sweet Springs about ten weeks, where I found great benefit; I then crossed the Alligany mountains, which divide the eastern waters from the Mississippi, and went to a Sulphur Spring, where I stayed about a fortnight. That spring is the strongest impregnation of sulphur I ever saw. In walking round the spring my buckles would turn quite black, and the towel I wiped with, after bathing, smelt so strong when carried to the fire that I could not bear it near me; indeed where the waters run through a gutter into the bath, you might scrape a handful of pure sulphur from the gutter.

I must beg leave to give you a description of some curiosities which I saw last summer in my travels. The first is a natural bridge over a creek which I think a great curiosity. The height of the bridge is 270 feet about 45 feet wide at the bottom, and about 90 at the top; its breadth in the middle is about 60 feet but, more at the ends; and the thickness of the mass at the summit of the arch is about 40 feet, and part of this thickness is constituted by a coat of earth that gives growth to many large trees. A

person might cross this bridge without knowing he was on it, if he did not look to the right or left, as the trees are growing on both sides of you. Nature has been very bountiful in fixing this bridge where it is, as, if it was not there, travellers would not have a road over the creek on account of the steepness of the hills and would be obliged to go many miles round. The second is a falling spring; about three quarters of a mile from its source it falls over a rock 200 feet; the sheet of water is broken in its breadth by a rock in two or three places but not at all in its height: between the sheet and the rock at the bottom I walked across quite dry. The third is a cave called Madison's Cave; it is in a hill about 200 feet perpendicular height, the ascent of which on one side is so steep that you may pitch a stone from the summit into the river which washes the base; the entrance of the cave is on this side, about two thirds of the way up; it is about six feet wide and about five feet high; it extends into the earth about 300 feet, branching into subordinate caverns, sometimes ascending, but generally descending; at length it terminates into two different places at basins of water of unknown extent and which I suppose to be on a level with the water of the river. The vault of this cave is of solid lime-stone from 20 to 50 feet high.

I received so much benefit from the springs last Summer that I intend going again this year. I shall set off about the 15th next month, and shall remain at the Springs and in the mountains until the middle of October.

I am, Madam, with respect your most obedient servant

LAURENCE BUTLER.

*Westmoreland County, Virginia*

*May 15. 1792*

DEAR MADAM:—I have paid a visit to the Sweet Springs, but the accommodation was so wretched I could only stay six weeks. The year before last I stayed about ten or eleven weeks, as I was then better accommodated. I thought I found great benefit from the waters the first season, but last year I was never clear of a cold the whole time I was there. The springs belong to one man, and so far remote from any navigation that every thing is very high and the proprietor will not suffer a town to be laid out, so that there is only one tavern, and sometimes there are four or five hundred persons there at a time. We had a good deal of genteel company, many of whom came five hundred miles; We had a regular ball every week.

I set off in a fine day to Bath which is about two hundred miles off; there are several very good inns where a man may have a room and bed to himself. I shall spend two or three months there as it is a very agreeable place; and a good deal of genteel company attend it. There is a ball-room as large as the new one at Bath in England though I cannot say it is so elegant. They have regular balls twice a week. The actors generally attend Bath where there is a play-house erected. I have not moved to the Western Country yet as the Indians are very troublesome: we were defeated the year before last by them; the last year our army suffered very much as we lost forty or fifty fine officers and about six or eight hundred men. We have established forts upwards of 100 to 150 miles in their country and within forty-five miles of one of

their towns. The action that was fought last fall was within 15 miles of their town. We are making preparations to go against them again this summer or fall when I hope we shall have better success than we had the last two campaigns. I am very anxious to go myself, but my health will not permit; therefore I must decline.

In your last letter you kindly mentioned, that if it was recommended to me to try a change of climate, and I should come to England, you and Mr. Cradock would be happy to see me at your seat, and that you looked on yourself as a tolerable good nurse, and would be happy in serving me in that way. I hope, Madam that you and Mr. Cradock will accept of my sincere thanks for your politeness &c. but I never accept to see England again. Your most obedient servant,

LAURENCE BUTLER.

*Westmoreland, Virginia.*

*April 26 1793*

MY DEAR MADAM:—I return you many thanks for your kind letter. What a revolution has taken place in France since I had the pleasure of your good company in Paris: surely the whole nation is mad! I am really distressed for the death of the king, as America was the cause of his losing his head. Had he never sent his troops to our assistance last war, they never would have known what liberty was; but on their returning from a country of freedom to that of slavery, they instilled the notions of liberty in their fellow-citizens which roused them to do what they have done. O how I pity that beautiful woman the Queen, and royal family! They are still kept

in confinement, though I hope treated well. I observe in the newspapers, that war is declared with Great Britain and Holland by France and that almost every power in Europe is at war with France. The different powers will distress her very much; they will take her sea-port towns, destroy her fleet and take all her possessions in the East and West Indies; and perhaps by preventing a supply of provisions may reduce her to terms. I heartily wish the French may be severely scourged for killing the poor King, who, I think, was a good and religious man. I wished the nation success in recovering their freedom before they put the King to death.

We are still at war with the savages in the Western country; they gave us a severe defeat in Nov 1791, when we lost upwards of eight hundred men. It was owing to a misunderstanding between the commanding officer and some of the other officers. The troops being all new, and becoming panic struck at the beginning of the action, we had a number of fine officers killed. There was very little done last campaign but skirmishing. At present there is talk of a treaty with the Indians in next month. If there is not peace, a strong army will go against them this fall when the leaves are off the trees; though I heartily hope for peace, without any more bloodshed, which I wish could take place with England and all Europe. Our Government I hope in a few years will be fully established. We have re-elected that good man General Washington President of the United States; he did not lose a single vote through the whole continent, which was the case when he was first elected to that post. Such



an instance I never read of not to lose a single vote through such an extensive country, upwards of one thousand or twelve hundred miles in length and where there are more than four millions of people.

Our Congress at present sits at Philadelphia where they will remain until the year 1800, at which time they are to move to the State of Maryland, on the Potomac river near Alexandria, where they have laid off a city, by the name of Washington, which I took a view of last fall on my way from the Springs. I will give you a short account in what manner it is laid off, and to be built. The breadth of the streets, the grand transverse avenue, and every principal divergent one, such as the communication from the President's house to the Congress house, &c. are 160 feet in breadth, and thus divided: ten feet for pavement on each side, is twenty feet; thirty feet of gravel walk, planted with trees on each side is sixty feet; eighty feet in the middle for carriages; the whole one hundred and sixty feet. The other streets are of the following dimensions: those leading to public buildings or markets, 130 feet and others 110 and 90 feet. There are to be five grand fountains of water constantly running; and within the limits of the city twenty-five good springs. The city is so situated as to have the river on one side, a creek through the middle, and a creek on two sides, and has such a command of water as to carry it through the whole of the city. There is to be a public walk, being a square of 1200 feet; there is to be a grand avenue, 400 feet in breadth and a mile in length, which leads to the equestrian statue of General Washington. Some of the streets are 1300 poles long and 160 feet wide. The houses

are all to be built of brick or stone and none above forty-five feet high or under forty feet. Thus I have given you a slight sketch of our new city, though it would take two sheets to give you a full account.

I am, dear madam, yours &c

LAURENCE BUTLER.

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### THE DECLARATION

OF THE REASONS AND MOTIVES FOR THE  
PRESENT APPEARING IN ARMS OF  
THEIR MAJESTIES PROTESTANT  
SUBJECTS IN THE PROVINCE  
OF MARYLAND.

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Licens'd, November 28th, 1689. J. F.

Although the Nature and State of Affairs relating to the Government of this Province, is so well and notoriously known to all Persons any way concerned in the same, as to the People and Inhabitants here, who are more immediately Interested, as might excuse any *Declaration* or *Apology* for this present inevitable *Appearance*: Yet for as much as (by the *Plots, Contrivances, Insinuations, Remonstrances*, and *Subscriptions*, carried on, suggested, extorted, and obtained by the Lord Baltimore, his Deputies, Representatives, and Officers here) the *Injustice* and *Tyranny* under which we *groan*, is palliated, and most, if not all the Particulars of our *Grievances* shrouded from the Eye of Observation, and the Hand of Redress. We thought fit for general Satisfaction, and particularly to undeceive those that may have a sinister Account of our *Proceedings*, to Publish this *Declaration*, of the *Reason* and *Motives* inducing us thereunto.

His Lordship's Right and Title to the

Government, is by Virtue of a Charter to his Father *Cecilius*, from King *Charles* the First, of Blessed Memory. How his present Lordship has managed the Powers and Authorities given and granted in the same, We could Mourn and Lament only in silence, would our Duty to God, our Allegiance to his Vicegerent, and the Care and Welfare of our Selves, and Posterity, permit us.

In the First Place, In the said Charter, is a Reservation of the Faith and Allegiance due to the Crown of *England* (the Province and Inhabitants being immediately subject thereunto) but how little that is manifested, is too obvious to all unbiassed Persons that ever had any thing to do here ; The very name and owning of that Sovereign Power is sometimes Crime enough to incur the Frowns of our Superiors, and to render our Persons obnoxious and suspected to be Ill Affected to the Government.

The Ill Usage and Affronts to the King's Officers belonging to the Customs here, were a sufficient Argument of this ; We need but instance the Business of Mr. *Badcock* and Mr. *Rousby*, of whom the former was forcibly detained by his Lordship, from going home to make his just Complaints in *England*, upon which he was soon taken Sick, and 'twas more than probably conjectured that the Conceit of his Confinement was the chief Cause of his Death, which soon after happened. The other was Barbarously Murdered upon the Execution of his Office, by one that was an *Irish Papist*, and our Chief Governor.

Allegiance here, by these Persons under whom We Suffer, is little talk'd of, other then what they would have done and sworn to his Lordship, the Lord

Proprietary ; for it was very lately owned by the President himself, openly enough in the *Upper House of Assembly*, That *Fidelity to his Lordship was Allegiance, and that the denial of the one, was the same thing with refusal or denial of the other*. In that very *Oath of Fidelity* that was then imposed under the Penalty and Threats of Banishment, there is not so much as the least word or intimation of any *Duty, Faith, or Allegiance* to be reserved to Our Sovereign Lord the King of England.

How the *Jus Regale* is improved here, and made the Prerogative of his Lordship, is too sensibly felt by us all, in that absolute Authority exercised over us, and by the greatest part of the Inhabitants, in Seizure of their persons, Forfeiture and Loss of their Goods, Chattels, Freeholders and Inheritances.

In the next place, Churches and Chapels (which by the said Charter should be Built and Consecrated, according to the Ecclesiastical Laws of the Kingdom of *England*) to our great Regret and Discouragement of our *Religion*, are erected and converted to the use of *Popish Idolatry* and *Superstition*, Jesuits and Seminary Priests, are the only Incumbents (for which there is a Supply provided, by sending our Popish Youth so Educated at St. *Omers*) as also the chief Advisers and Councillors in Affairs of Government, and the Richest and most Fertile Land set apart for their Use and Maintenance ; while other Lands that are piously intended, and given for the Maintenance of the Protestant Ministry, become Escheat, and are taken as Forfeit, the Ministers themselves discouraged, and no care taken for their Subsistence.

The Power to Enact Laws is another branch of his Lordship's Authority ; but how well that has been Executed and Circumstanced, is too notorious. His present Lordship upon the Death of his Father, in order thereunto, sent out Writs for Four (as was ever the usage) for each County to serve as Representatives of the People ; but when Elected, there were Two only of each Respective Four, pick'd out and summoned to that Convention. Whereby many Laws were made, and the greatest Levy yet known, laid upon the Inhabitants.

The next Session, the House was filled up with the remaining Two that was left out of the former, in which there were many and the best of our Laws Enacted, to the great Benefit and Satisfaction of the People. But his Lordship soon after Dissolved and Declared the best of those Laws, such as he thought fit, null and void by *Proclamation* ; notwithstanding they were Assented to in his Lordship's Name by the Governor, in his absence, and he himself sometime Personally Acted and Governed by the same ; so that the *Question* in our *Courts of Judicature*, in any point that relates to many of our Laws, is not so much the relation it has to the said Laws, but whether the Laws themselves be agreeable to the Approbation and Pleasure of his Lordship ? Whereby our Liberty and Property is become *uncertain*, and under the *Arbitrary Disposition* of the *Judges* and *Commissioners* of our Courts of Justice.

The said Assembly being sometime after Dissolved by *Proclamation*, another was Elected and met, consisting only of Two Members for each County, directly opposite to an Act of Assembly for Four,

in which several Laws, with his Lordship's Personal Assent, were Enacted : Among the which, one for the *Encouragement of Trade*, and Erecting of Towns. But the Execution of that Act was soon after by *Proclamation* from his Lordship out of *England*, suspended the last Year, and all Officers Military and Civil, severely prohibited, executing or inflicting the Penalties of the same. Notwithstanding which suspension, being in effect a dissolution and abrogating the whole Act, the Income of Three Pence to the Government by the said Act, payable for every Hogshead of Tobacco Exported, is carefully Exacted and Collected.

How Fatal, and of what *Pernicious Consequence*, that Unlimited and Arbitrary pretended *Authority* may be to the Inhabitants, is too apparent, but by considering, That by the same Reason, all the rest of our Laws whereby our Liberty and Property subsists, are subject to the same Arbitrary Disposition, and if timely Remedy be not had, must stand or fall according to his Lordship's Good Will and Pleasure.

Nor is this *Nullifying* and *Suspending Power* the only *Grievance* that doth perplex and burthen us, in relation to Laws ; but these Laws that are of a certain and unquestioned acceptation, are executed and countenanced, as they are more or less agreeable to the good liking of our Governours in particular ; One very good Law provides, That Orphan Children should be disposed of to Persons of the same Religion with that of their deceased Parents. In *direct opposition* to which, several Children of *Protestants* have been committed to the Tutelage of *Papists*, and brought up in the *Romish Supersti-*

*tion.* We could instance in a Young Woman, that has been lately forced, by Order of Council, from her Husband, committed to the Custody of a *Papist* and brought up in his *Religion*. 'Tis endless to enumerate the particulars of this nature, while on the contrary, those Laws that enhance the Grandeur and Income of his said Lordship are severely Imposed and Executed; especially one that against all Sense, Equity, Reason, and Law, Punishes all Speeches, Practices, and Attempts relating to his Lordship and Government, that shall be thought Mutinous and Seditious by the Judges of the Provincial Court, with either Whipping, Branding, Boreing through the Tongue, Fine, Imprisonment, Banishment, or Death; all, or either of the said Punishments, at the Discretion of the said Judges; who have given a very recent and remarkable Proof of their Authority in each particular Punishment aforesaid, upon several of the good People of this Province, while the rest are in the same danger to have their Words and Actions liable to the Constructions and Punishment of the said Judges, and their Lives and Fortunes to the Mercy of their Arbitrary Fancies, Opinions, and Sentences.

*To these Grievances are added,*

Excessive Officers Fees, and that too under Execution, directly against the Law made and provided to redress the same; wherein there is no probability of a Legal Remedy (the Officers themselves that are Parties, and culpable) being Judges.

The like Excessive Fees imposed upon, and extorted from *Masters and Owners of Vessels*, Trading into this *Province*, without any Law to Justifie the same, and

directly against the plain Words of the *Charter*, that say, there shall be no Imposition or Assessment, without the Consent of the *Freemen* in the *Assembly*: To the great *Obstruction of Trade*, and Prejudice of the *Inhabitants*.

The like excessive Fees Imposed upon, and extorted from the *Owners of Vessels* that are Built here, or do really belong to the *Inhabitants*; contrary to an *Act of Assembly*, made and provided for the same: Wherein, *Moderate and Reasonable Fees are asserted, for the Promoting and Encouragement of Shipping and Navigation amongst ourselves.*

The frequent Pressing of *Men, Horses, Boats, Provisions*, and other *Necessaries*, in time of *Peace*; and often to gratifie private Designs, and Occasions, to the great *Burthen* and *Regret* of the *Inhabitants*, contrary to *Law* and several *Acts of Assembly* in that Case made and provided.

The Seizing and Apprehending of *Protestants* in their Houses, with Armed Force consisting of *Papists*, and that in time of *Peace*; their hurrying them away to *Prisons* without Warrant or Cause of Commitment, there kept and Confined with *Popish* Guards, a long time without Trial.

Not only private but publick Outrages, and Murthers committed and done by *Papists* upon *Protestants* without any Redress, but rather connived at, and Tolerated by the chief in Authority; and indeed it were in vain to desire or expect any help or measures from them, being *Papists* and Guided by the Counsels and Instigations of the *Jesuits*, either in these or any other Grievances or Oppression. And yet these are the Men that are our

Chief Judges, at the *Common Law*, in *Chancery*, of the Probat of Wills, and the Affairs of Administration, in the Upper House of Assembly, and the Chief Military Officer, and Commanders of our Forces ; being still the same Individual Persons, in all these particular Qualifications and Places.

These and many more, even Infinite Pressures and Calamities, we have hitherto, with Patience lain under and submitted too ; hoping that the same Hand of Providence, that hath sustained us under them, would at length in due time release us ; and now at length, For as much as it has pleased Almighty God, by means of the great Prudence and Conduct of the best of Princes ; Our most gracious King *William*, to put a Check to the great Innundation of Slavery and Popery, that had like to overwhelm *Their Majesties* Protestant Subjects in all their *Territories* and *Dominions* (of which none have suffered more, or are in greater Danger than our selves) we hope and expected in our particular Stations and Qualifications ; a proportionable Share of so great a Blessing. But to our great Grief and Consternation, upon the first News of the great Overture and happy Change in *England* ; we found our selves surrounded with Strong and Violent Endeavours from our *Governours* here, being the Lord *Baltimore's* Deputies and Representatives, to defeat us of the same.

We still find all the means used by these very Persons and their Agents ; *Jesuits*, *Priests*, and lay *Papists*, that Art or Malice can suggest, to divert the Obedience and Loyalty of the Inhabitants from Their Most Sacred *Majesties*, to that height of Impudence, that solemn

Masses and Prayers are used (*as we have very good Information*) in their *Chappels* and *Oratories*, for the prosperous Success of the *Popish* Forces in *Ireland*, and the *French* Designs against *England*, whereby they would involve us in the same Crime of Disloyalty with themselves, and render us Obnoxious to the Insupportable Displeasure of Their Majesties.

We every where hear, not only Publick Protestantism against Their Majesties Right and Possession of the *Crown of England* ; but their most Illustrious Persons villified and aspers'd with the worst and most Traiterous Expressions of Obloquy and Detraction.

We are every day threatned with the Loss of our Lives, Liberties, and Estates, of which we have great Reason to think our selves in Imminent Danger, by the Practices and Machinations that are on foot to betray us, to the *French*, *Northern*, and other *Indians*, of which, some have been dealt withal, and others Invited to Assist in our Destruction ; *well remembring the Incursion and Inroads of the said Northern Indians*, in the Year 1681 ; who were conducted into the Heart of the *Province*, by *French Jesuits*, and lay sore upon us, *while the Representatives of the Country, then in the Assembly*, were severely press'd upon by our Superiors, to yield them an Unlimited and Tiranical Power in the Affairs of the Militia. As so great a Piece of Villany cannot be the Result but of the worst of Principles ; so we should with the greatest Difficulties believe it to be true, if Undeniable Evidence and Circumstances did not convince us.

Together with the Promises, we have, with all due Thinking and Deliberation,

considered the Endeavours that are making to Disunite us among our selves, to make and Inflamm Differences in our Neighbour Colony of *Virginia*, from whose Friendship, Vicinity, great Loyalty and *Sameness of Religion* ; we may expect Assistance in our greatest Necessity.

We have considered, that all the other Branches of Their Majesties *Dominions* in this Part of the World (*as well as we could be informed*) have done their Duty in Proclaiming and Asserting their undoubted Right in these, *and all other Their Majesties Territories and Countries*.

But above all, with Due and Mature Deliberation, we have reflected upon that vast Gratitude and Duty incumbent likewise upon us, *To our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen's most Excellent Majesties*, in which, as it would not be safe for us ; so it will not suffer us to be Silent, in so great and General a *Jubilee*, withal considering and looking upon ourselves, Discharged, Dissolved, and Free from all manner of Duty, Obligation, or Fidelity, to the Deputies, Governours, or Chief Magistrates here, as such : *They having Departed from their Allegiance* (upon which alone our said Duty and Fidelity to them depends) and by their Complices and Agents aforesaid, endeavoured the Destruction of our Religion, Lives, Liberties, and Properties, all of which they are bound to Protect.

These are the Reasons, Motives, and Considerations, *which we do Declare, have induced us to take up Arms, to Preserve, Vindicate, and Assert, the Sovereign Dominion, and Right, of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, to this Province* : To Defend the *Protestant Religion* among us,

and to Protect and Shelter the *Inhabitants*, from all manner of *Violence, Oppression, and Destruction*, that is Plotted and Designed against them ; which we do solemnly Declare and Protest, *we have no Designs or Intentions* whatsoever.

For the more Effectuate Accomplishments of which, We will take due Care, that a Free and full Assembly be Called, and Convened with all Possible Expedition, by whom we may likewise have our Condition and Circumstances, and our most Dutiful Addresses represented and tendered to *Their Majesties* : From whose great Wisdom, Justice, and especial Care of the *Protestant Religion* ; We may Reasonably and Comfortably hope to be Delivered from our present Calamities, and for the future be secured under a Just and Legal Administration, from being evermore subjected to the Yoke of Arbitrary Government, Tyranny and Popery.

In the conduct of this, We will take Care, and do Promise, That no Person now in Arms with us, or that shall come to Assist us, shall commit any Outrage, or do any Violence to any Person whatsoever, that shall be found Peaceable and Quiet, and not oppose us in our said just and necessary Designs : And that there shall be Just and due Satisfaction made for Provision, and other Necessaries had and Received from the *Inhabitants* : And the Soldiers, punctually and duely Paid ; in such Ways and Methods as have been formerly accustomed, or by Law ought to be.

And we do Lastly, Invite and Require all manner of Persons whatsoever ; Residing or Inhabiting in this *Province*, as they tender their *Allegiance, the Protestant Religion* ; their Lives, Fortunes and

Families, to Aid and Assist us in this our Undertaking.

*Given under our Hands in Maryland, the 25th Day of July, in the First Year of Their Majesties Reign, Annoque Domini 1689.*

*God Save King WILLIAM and Queen MARY.*

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*Published by Authority.*

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MARYLAND, Printed by *Willian Nuthead* at the City of *St. Maries*. *Reprinted in LONDON, and Sold by Randal Taylor near Stationers Hall, 1689.*

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#### NOTES.

SEBASTIAN VIZCAINO'S VOYAGE ALONG THE PACIFIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA IN 1602.—Sebastian Vizcaino explored and surveyed the Pacific coast of North-America from Cape San Lucas to Cape Mendocino in 1602, Cabrillo having first sailed along the same in 1539. (?) He prepared Reports and a map, notarial copies of which were made in Mexico, Dec. 8th, 1603, and are now to be found in the Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla. These were utilized, and a reduced copy of the original map on 36 sheets, published, by Don M. F. de Navarrete in his *Atlas and Introduccion to the voyage of the Sutil y Mexicana*, Madrid, 1802, a work of much interest to American geographers. The prefatory matter by Navarrete is a complete history of discovery along this coast. (See Greenhow, *Memoir on the N. W. Coast of N. A.*, 1840, p. 131.)

The MS in Mexico seems to have dis-

appeared. Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, Madrid, 1723, and Venegas, 1757, print a *Relacion* of the voyage, which, according to Navarrete, p. lxi, is the *derrotero* of the pilots only. Venegas had a careful search made in the *Secretaria del Consejo Supremo de las Indias*, but could not find the full narrative and map. An abridged narrative, from Lorenzana, is given in the *Boletin* of the Mexican Geographical Society, Tom. V., 1857.

Burney copies the Map given by Navarrete in his *South Sea Voyages*, Vol. II., 1806. The MSS in Seville, according to Navarrete, consist, I. of a vol. in fol. of 114 leaves, containing the resolutions and declarations of the *juntas y consejos de mar y guerra*, held by Vizcaino during the voyage. II, a *Relacion ó diario*, in full detail of the voyage. III, the *derrotero* or log-book of the whole voyage made in 1602, by the *cosmographo mayor*, Gerónimo Martin Palacios, with the *acuerdo* or approval of five pilots, and in the presence of the P. Fr. Antonio de la Ascension. IV, thirty-two *demonstraciones* or maps of all the coast reconnoitred, its ports, bays, &c., made pursuant to an order of the Viceroy, by Enrico Martinez, *cosmographo de S. M.* in New-Spain. Navarrete copied all these and other documents relating to the same undertaking, which copy is probably now in the Library of the Academy of History in Madrid. Navarrete defines the exact location of the papers he copied as being in *legajo 4* of the papers collected from the house of the Secretary, Juan de Ciriza.

The *Relacion* made by the Padre Fray Antonio de la Ascension, a Carmelite, who accompanied the Expedition as Cosmographer, is given from a MS Vol. in the

Biblioteca Nacional, J. 89, in the *Documentos Inéditos, América y Oceanía*, Vol. VIII., 1867, pp. 539-574. Vizcaino's expedition of 1611, to Japan, in which the Fray again accompanied him, is in the same volume, copied from the same MS collection as the first.

With all this published information, with the Map by Vizcaino reproduced by Navarrete and Burney, we find, in the Proceedings at the Am. Antiq. Soc. for October 1873, that the Recording secretary, Mr. John D. Washburn and Mr. John T. Doyle of San Francisco, consider Vizcaino's Reports as *unfindable*.

The Fray Ascension, Doc. Ined. Supra, p. 555, calls Monterey a *famoso puerto*, in 37 degrees, and adds that the vessels from the Philippines to New-Spain made land there. P. 558, he says, "we recognized, on our way to Cape Mendocino, the Port of San Francisco, where in past times a vessel from China, that came with orders to explore this coast, was lost, and I believe that at the present time much wax and pottery (*losasa*) is there, which the vessel carried."

The first successful return voyage from the Philippines to New-Spain, after several failures, was accomplished by Andrés de Urdaneta in 1566. However, we shall speak of this navigator, who in 1552 became an Augustine brother, in another note.

J. C. B.

**SANCTIFIED BELLS.**—The Rev. Anthony Sepp sailed from Cadiz, Jan. 19 1691, on a voyage to South America, in company with forty-four missionaries sent out by the Jesuits' College. On the 25th instant they encountered a terrible tempest accompanied with thunder and light-

ning. In the following paragraph he states the measure they took to secure their safety.

"Our procurator had brought along with him a sanctified bell, as we call it, and *Kaloke* by the Americans, unto which they attribute this virtue, that as far as its sound reaches no thunder or lightning can do any mischief; for which reason we took care to have it rung, at this time of danger. The original of its virtue must be traced as far as Mexico, where, they say, was formerly a bell of vast bulk, which, as often as it lightened and thundered, rung of itself, and as far as the sound thereof reached, no thunderbolt was ever known to fall; afterwards it was thought fit to cast many bells of the metal of this great bell, which are given as a singular present to persons of quality; and ours is one of the same kind; every procurator who goes from the Indies to Rome having such a bell allowed him, to protect him in his voyage."

W. K.

**GRANDFATHER OF COMMODORE VANDERBILT.**—Wednesday last Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt, of Staten Island, was found dead, on the Road, leading from the Court House, and 'tis supposed he either went off in a Fit, or killed himself by a Fall from his Horse.—*The N. Y. Mercury*, Monday, Sept. 28, 1767.

H. G.

**WELD.**—In Sabine's *Loyalists* there is mention of Benjamin Weld of Massachusetts. This is an error. The gentleman named was a determined Whig. He was at Lexington as a school teacher when the news came of the approach of the



British; mounting a horse he rode through the neighboring towns beating a drum to call the farmers to arms. During the Revolution he was in the Commissary Department and in New York with the army under Washington in 1776. He was the first deputy collector of the customs at the port of Boston, a sufficient proof of his attitude during the struggle. He was a nephew of the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Church, who deserted the whig cause, whose daughter he married. This may have been the cause of his being included by Sabine in his List. His second wife was Abigail, daughter of Col. William Perkins of Boston. WELD.

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GENERAL WOLFE.—On the death of Wolfe, a premium was offered for the best written epitaph; among the poems sent to the Editor of the Public Ledger there was one containing the following curious stanza.

"He marched without dread or fears  
At the head of his bold grenadiers;  
And what was miraculous nay, very particular,  
He climbed up rocks that were perpendicular."

PETERSFIELD.

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INVINCIBLE IN PEACE; INVISIBLE IN WAR.—The authorship of this aphoristic witticism has generally been credited to the Hon. Ben. Hill of Georgia, who recently aptly applied it, on the floor of Congress, to a class of braggarts of the present day. The merit of it, however, belongs to the late Captain George H. Derby, a graduate of the U. S. Military Academy of the Class of 1846, better known by the *nom de plume* of "John Phoenix." When stationed at San Francisco he was invited to a public dinner

given by a company of state militia. Being called upon for a toast, though a guest, he could not repress his love for satire and accordingly gave: "The California Militia—Invincible in Peace; Invisible in War." The expression was new, though the idea is old. Dryden in his *Cymon and Iphigenia*, expressed, with his usual keenness and energy, the sentiments which had been fashionable among the sycophants of James the Second, in the following lines:

"The country rings around with loud alarms,  
And raw in fields the rude Militia swarms;  
Mouths without hands, maintained at vast expense,  
*In Peace a charge, in War a weak defense,*  
*Stout once a month they march a blustering band,*  
*And ever, but in time of need, at hand."*

G. W. C.

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THE LENOX LIBRARY.—The event of the month in the literary and art circle of New York was the opening, on the 15th, of the gallery of the Lenox Building, when for the first time the public had an opportunity of seeing the interior of this noble structure, the munificent gift, with its library and pictures, of the most generous of the citizens of New York—a true Mæcenas in taste and liberality. The library is not yet ready for use, the preliminary arrangements not being completed, notwithstanding the indefatigable labor of its accomplished superintendent, Dr. George H. Moore, in arranging, shelving, and cataloguing its rare and costly contents. The picture gallery, which alone was opened, is a spacious apartment, perfect in proportion, decorated in excellent taste, and admirably lighted.

It is not our province to enter upon

any general description of its many treasures; nor yet is it in our competence to pass an opinion upon their artistic merits; but we invite the attention of students of history to the value of the portraits here preserved. The importance of authentic portraits is recognized abroad, where National Portrait galleries have been established by governments.

New York is rich in portraits, and the day is not distant when those of historic interest will find their way from the seclusion of family homes to public galleries, where they may serve as illustrations of the manners and costumes of the past.

In the gallery of Mr. Lenox are specimens of Copley, the Peales, Stuart, Jarvis, Trumbull, Leslie, Morse, and Huntington.

EDITOR.

A PUZZLER TO READERS.—In Lincoln's first inaugural occurs the following phrase, the peculiar combination of consonants and labials of which can only be appreciated by an attempt [we use the word attempt advisedly] to read it aloud: "Will you hazard so desperate a step, while any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from?"

A. U. S.

AN HISTORICAL PORTRAIT.—In the hall of the Chamber of Commerce in New York hangs a full-length portrait of Alexander Hamilton, painted for the citizens of New York in 1792. It is certainly the finest portrait of Hamilton and the best of Trumbull's works, yet, strange to say, the painter makes no mention of it in his autobiography. To the request of the committee, of which Gulian Verplanck

was chairman, to Hamilton to permit the representation to exhibit such part of his political life as may be most agreeable to himself, he replied: "The simple representation of their fellow-citizen and friend will best accord with my feelings." In the portrait Hamilton appears in plain citizen's dress.

HISTORICAL.

SHARP LEGISLATION.—*Providence, R.I., Feb. 6, 1790.*—Extract of a letter from a gentleman in New York, to his friend in this town, dated Jan. 30: "A curious anecdote is circulated here, that a Parson in your Senate was violently apposed to a convention, and prevented the passing of the act for calling one: That the Governor proposed deferring the business till next day (Sunday), which was agreed to: That the Parson, being obliged to attend to the care of souls, was under the necessity of banishing worldly cares on that day; and that his absence occasioned an equal division of the Senate, which furnished the Governor with an opportunity of doing a popular act, and turning the scale in favor of a convention."—*New York Packet, Feb. 20, 1790.* W. K.

## QUERIES.

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK.—General Washington arrived in New York from Cambridge, Saturday, the 13th April, 1776, with his aid-de-camp, William Palfrey, and Horatio Gates, the Adjutant-General of the army. Where did he take up his headquarters? Tradition says at the Kennedy House, No. 1 Broadway. This is not probable, as, on the authority of a letter to a friend in England, written from New York, April 11, published in the American Remembrancer,

"Kennedy's new house, Mallet's, and one next to it had 600 men in them," and the troops are described as "the dirtiest people on the Continent." Washington would hardly have made his headquarters here.

Wednesday the 17th April, the Lady of his Excellency arrived in New York from Cambridge by way of New London, when Washington took up his headquarters at the Mortier House. There was then great alarm at the prevalence of the small-pox, which had decimated the army in Canada. The Mortier House, later known as Richmond Hill, was in a salubrious situation. Washington was residing here at the close of June, the period of the Hickey plot.

On the 19th May, among the signals for alarm it was ordered that by day a flag, and by night two lanterns be hoisted from General Washington's headquarters.

On the 22d May in the order naming the Batteries, that behind his Excellency General Washington's headquarters is called the Oyster Battery.

On the 8th August the order for alarm was altered; the signal in future to be given from Bayard's Hill; but the order continues, "the flag will not be hoisted at the Old Head Quarters in the Broadway."

Where was the Oyster Battery? This will determine the location of the town headquarters.

HISTORICAL.

LAW OF PRIMOGENITURE IN MASSACHUSETTS.—By the laws of descent and distribution in Massachusetts, founded on the law of Moses, *Deuteronomy*: xxi. 17, the eldest son had a double portion both of real and personal estate. When was this exception in favor of the eldest son abolished?

PLUS.

CENTRAL PARK REPORTS.—What constitutes a complete set to this date of the Central Park Reports? COLLECTOR.

JOURNALS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.—Is the reprint by Way and Gideon, 4 vols., Washington, 1823, a complete reproduction of the original journals? They seem to me to be imperfect. P. F.

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY.—Who was the founder of the New England Society in the City of New York? Was it the first of the kind? NEW HAMPSHIRE.

INTOLERANCE IN NEW NETHERLANDS.—Is it probable that this was due to the influence of Connecticut? We know that it was promptly suppressed by orders from Holland, as soon as the few instances of it became known there; but how shall we account for its appearance among Dutchmen at all? RIP VAN DAM.

PORTRAITS.—Can any reader of the Magazine inform me whether portraits of Rev. Peter Bulkely, of Concord, Mass., or of Gov. William Brenton, of Rhode Island, are extant? T. P. H.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARCTIC EXPEDITIONS.—The London Times for Dec. 29th, 1874, published one extending only from 1848 to 1873, which was copied into Notes and Queries, 1875, 5th Ser., vol. iii., p. 19. Another, much more complete, extending from 1841 to 1858, with a list of the names of persons who have attempted to explore the Northern Regions from 1496 to 1857, is given in "The North-West Passage, and the Plans for the Search for Sir John Franklin. A

Review: By John Brown, F.R.C.S. London, 1858." 8vo, pp. 447-452. Where can others be found? CARLLSON.

AMBOY, KILL VAN KULL, ARTHUR KILL, BONSALL'S BASIN.—What is the origin of the name of Amboy? Is it not from the Dutch "Am Bog," at the elbow?

What does "the Kull" mean, in the name of the Sound between Staten Island and New Jersey, viz., "the Kill van Kull," or the river or channel of the Kull?

Is not the name Arthur Kill improperly applied to the Sound above named?

Where was Bonsall's Basin?

J. B. B.

THE PORTFOLIO.—Can some one furnish a complete bibliographical account of this Magazine, published in Philadelphia, and edited by Dennie and others, in all its series and forms, with number of plates, facsimiles, etc.? CARLLSON.

BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO.—This historian of the companions of Fernando Cortez, in the Conquest of Mexico, came out with Pedrarias Davila in 1514, as he states in his *Historia Verdadera*, published Madrid, 1632. He became after the conquest Regidor of the City of Guatemala (Remesal, Prescott, Book V. end,) and completed his *work* there in 1568, as he tells us in Cap. CCX., and in his Preface. Father Alonzo Rémon found the MS in Spain and published it. But Dr. C. Scherzer in his publication of the R. P. F. Francisco Ximenes MS, entitled "*Las Historias del Origen de los Indios de esta Provincia de Guatemala, &c.*," Viena, 1857." Introduccion, p. VI, says that the original MS by Castillo is in the library of the

Municipality of the City of Guatemala, and that it ends with the declaration, "*la cual concluyó en Guatemala el 14 de noviembre, 1605.*" He adds, in a note, that this date would give to the author an extraordinary longevity, but it did not seem to him improbable or erroneous, as it is known that he died very old, though the date of his decease is unknown. Scherzer remarks that the text as published is very incorrect.

Castillo had children, and we believe, a son, who bore his own name, but the exact date of the death of the old *Conquistador*, it would seem, might be easily ascertained.

Can any of your readers furnish it?

J. C. B.

COL. JOHN LASHER.—This officer figured in the vicinity of New York during the Campaign of 1776. What is his personal history, where born, occupation, public record, &c.? Has he descendants living?

H. P. J.

FROBISHER'S VOYAGE.—Mr. Sabin, the indefatigable Bibliographer, brings to notice in his Dictionary (vol. V. 166) a discovery of his own, respecting a book by one Thomas Ellis, printed by Dawson, in 1578, and entitled a "True Report," of Frobisher's third Voyage. No copy of the original can now be found even in the British Museum, though reprinted by Hakluyt (III.) and Pinkerton (XII.) There is also to be found in the recently published Registers of the Stationers' Company (II. 406) the following entry, under November, 1578:

"Jhon Charlwood. At a court holden this day The said Jhon Charlwood for

printing a booke of FFOURBOYSERS *viage* without Lyncence ye fyned to paie.  
... vs. paid."

Can any of the readers of the Magazine identify this with any known edition, or was it completely suppressed? DE C.

JOHN MONTGOMERIE, "Governour Colonel Montgomerie," "Governour John Montgomerie," was Governor of the colony of New York, succeeding Gov. Burnet. Was commissioned Octo. 4, 1727, arrived at New York, April 15, 1728, and there died June 30, 1731. *Brodhead's Documents, &c.* "He died at the seat of his government," *Paterson's Ayrshire*.—Was he buried in New York, and where?

Governor Montgomerie was the eldest son of the Hon. Francis Montgomerie of Giffen, second son of Hugh, seventh Earl of Eglinton. He was M.P. for Ayrshire at the general election in 1708; re-chosen 1710, 1713, 1715, and 1722; Master of the Mint in Scotland, and one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to George II. when Prince of Wales. He married Lady Mary Carmichael, daughter of John, first Earl of Hyndford, and they had one child, a daughter, Beatrix, born Sept. 27, 1705, who died unmarried, *Fraser's Memorials*. Was he accompanied to New York by his wife and daughter? J. H. M.

GOVERNOR'S ISLAND.—What is the contemporary record showing the date and the manner in which the American forces occupied this island in the spring of 1776? What was the shape and extent of the fortifications erected there? Also, what obstructions were placed between Governor's Island and the Battery to keep the British ships back? NUTTEN.

## REPLIES.

EARLY DUTCH AND ENGLISH WILLS.—(I 54.) In the office of the Clerk of the Court of Appeals at Albany, X. can find the Records and Letters of Administration dating from 1666. The great bulk of the probate papers were delivered to the Surrogate of New York in accordance with an Act of the Legislature passed March 30, 1799, but many interesting documents yet remain at Albany. NOTARY.

MONUMENT TO GEN. WOLFE.—(I. 54.) The obelisk erected to the memory of General Wolfe and others, stood 700 feet east of the residence of Oliver de Lancey at Greenwich. The exact location at the present time is in 15th street about 300 feet west of 8th Avenue. Wright's biography of Wolfe contains a list of memorials erected in England and America, but no mention is made of the obelisk at New York. W. K.

EVACUATION OF NEW YORK.—(I. 56.) The detachment of the Continental Army that entered New York, November 25, 1783, on the evacuation of the British, consisted of I. A Corps of Dragoons. II. Advanced Guard of Light Infantry. III. A Corps of Artillery. IV. Battalion of Light Infantry. V. Battalion of Massachusetts Troops. VI. Rear Guard. After these troops had taken possession of the city, Gen. Washington, Gov. Clinton, and Gen. Knox, with the officers of the Army eight abreast, made their public entry on horseback, accompanied by the civil authorities and a large concourse of citizens.

Washington and Clinton were escorted by a body of Westchester Light Horse

commanded by Capt. Delavan. Col. William Hull commanded the Light Infantry, and Cols. Lamb and Stevens the Artillery. The order of December 23, 1783, issued by Gen. Knox at West Point, communicating to the troops the thanks of the State Council for their good behavior on this occasion, may perhaps give some details. W. K.

ARCHAIC WORDS.—(I. 55.) The proper definition of "Haward" is that given by Wright in his Provincial Dictionary, *viz.*, "*Hayward*. A person who guarded the corn and farm yard at night; or who watched cattle, to prevent them from breaking the fences." He also defines "*Seg* a castrated bull." PETERSFIELD.

ARCHAIC WORDS.—(I. 55.) "Sag, an Ox."—In some of the early English works this name is spelled *segg*, and is applied to the animal now known among butchers and drovers in this country as *Stag*. The reason for giving this name here to this bovine animal is, that the bull-calf has been left to obtain his growth, before being altered, by which delay he preserves much of the bull form and shape in a heavy, coarse, thick neck and general fleshy make; the horns also short and thick. The "Sag" is usually a smaller animal than the Ox of the same breed.

D. V.

HUGUENOTS IN THE BAHAMAS.—(I. 53.) A note from the courteous and scholarly Governor of the Bermudas, Major-General J. H. Lefroy, may throw light upon the question raised in the January number of the Magazine of American History, relative to the nationality of certain refugees from the island of Eleuthera,

who came to Boston about the year 1687, and to whom lands were given at Casco Bay. Referring to Winthrop's account of the first formal attempt by Captain William Sayle to colonize that island, then know as Segetos, Governor Lefroy observes that it seems evident that the first settlement did not include any French element: while previous to this, the only inhabitants, probably, were a few wandering buccaneers. In 1649 a number of persons belonging to the Independent party were transported to Eleuthera by the Royalists of Bermuda, and remained there until recalled under the Commonwealth, in 1656. "The place had in the meantime become a byword for religious distraction, as was inevitable from the principles on which it was founded; and I can imagine no time when it would have been congenial to members of the French Reformed Churches." C. W. B.

COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.—(I. 56.) Your recent number contains a query in regard to the Generals-in-Chief of the U. S. Army from 1775 to the present time. Having some time ago prepared such a list, I send you with pleasure a copy. It is as complete as the records can supply.

J. C. AUDENRIED, *Col. & A.D.C.*  
*Headquarters Army of the U. S.*

I. George Washington, June 15, 1775.—Dec. 23, 1783. II. Josiah Harmer (Lt. Col. Infantry), General-in-Chief by brevet, Sept., 1789.—March, 1791. III. Arthur St. Clair, March, 1791.—March, 1792. IV. Anthony Wayne, March, 1792.—Dec. 15, 1796. V. James Wilkinson, Dec. 1796.—July, 1798. VI. George Washing-

ton, July, 1798.—Dec. 14, 1799. VII. James Wilkinson, June, 1800.—Jan. 1812. VIII. Henry Dearborn, Jan. 1812.—June, 1815. IX. Jacob Brown, June, 1815.—Feb. 24, 1828. X. Alexander Macomb, May, 1828.—June, 1841. XI. Winfield Scott, June, 1841.—Nov. 1861. XII. George B. McClellan, Nov. 1, 1861.—March 11, 1862. XIII. Henry W. Halleck, July 11, 1862.—March 12, 1864. XIV. Ulysses S. Grant, March 12, 1864.—March 4, 1869. XV. William T. Sherman, March 8, 1869.

THE FIRST NEW YORKER.—(I. 55.) Among the signers of the New York Association, in Orange County, during the summer of 1775, were Tunis and John Dolson, in Newburgh, and Abraham and Isaac Dolson, both Sen. and Jr., in Goshen. The Prov. Cong., in Feb. 1776, commissioned new officers for the Florida and Warwick regiments, Goshen, of whom were Abraham Dolson, captain, and Matthias Dolson, ensign, in late Henry Wisner's company. During the following fall Dolson's company formed part of the Regt. of Col. Isaac Nicoll, Brigade of Gen. Clinton at Peekskill.

I. J. G.

WASHINGTON PORTRAITS.—(I. 55.) A letter published in Force's Am. Archives throws some light on the portrait referred to. Washington, writing to Jos. Reed from Cambridge, Jan. 31, 1776, says: "Mrs. Washington desires me to thank you for the picture sent her. Mr. Campbell, whom I never saw to my knowledge, has made a very formidable figure of the Commander-in-chief, giving him a sufficient portion of terror on his counte-

nance." The print is more particularly described in Potter's American Monthly for July, 1875. X. X.

WASHINGTON PORTRAITS.—(I. 55.) VIVAX will find in the *Menzies Catalogue*: page 471, Lot 2227, a description of the Campbell portrait and engraving, with a reference to Washington's letter concerning it and the artist, whom he says he never saw, to his knowledge.

PLUS.

FIRST AMERICAN PLAY.—(I. 56.) Thomas Godfrey, Junr., a native of Philadelphia, completed in the year 1759 a tragedy entitled *The Prince of Parthia*. The manuscript was offered to the American Company performing at that time in Philadelphia, but it was not accepted. This play is included in an edition of the author's Poems published at Philadelphia in 1765, and it is claimed to be the "first essay this Continent, has as yet publicly exhibited of Dramatic Composition."

W. K.

FIRST AMERICAN PLAY.—(I. 56.) Governor Hunter of New York is said to have written a play or something of the sort during his administration of the government there about 1710. PLUS.

AN INTERESTING RELIC.—(I. 55.) "Rem." will find in the *Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*; Vol. I. page 79, Nov. 1851, an article on the presentation of the Freedom of the City of New York to Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, which shows that the original document, written in large German text upon vellum, and the gold box that

contained it was in the possession of Septimus H. Palairet, Esq., of The Grange, near Bradford, England, who married a great-great-grand-daughter of the famous lawyer who was Zenger's counsel in 1735.

The gold box was oval in form, three inches in length by two in breadth, and three-fourths of an inch deep. Around the rim of the face this inscription was engraved, "*Demersæ Leges—Timefacta Libertas—Hæc tandem Emergunt.*"—Around the rim on the outside, "*Ita Cuique eveniat, ut de Republica meruit.*" Inside of the lid, in a scroll, "*Non Nummis—Virtute Paratur.*" Upon the box the arms of the city. The box was made of very yellow pure gold, and quite heavy.

PLUS.

HARVARD GRADUATES.—(I. 56.) In Sibley's Biographical Sketches of Harvard Graduates it is stated that the first work printed by any graduate of that college was a Sermon on the Gunpowder Plot, preached at St. Paul's, in London, Nov. 5, 1651, by William Ames of the class of 1645. Copies of this interesting publication are preserved in the libraries of Bowdoin College and of C. W. Upham, of Salem. It is a quarto tract of fifty-five pages, and bears the imprint, London 1652.

CAMBRIDGE.

HARVARD GRADUATES.—(I. 56.) I name as the first publication by a Harvard Graduate, Benjamin Woodbridge's "*Church Members set in Joynt,*" etc. He was the first graduate (in 1642,) and published this tract about six years later, in reply to a pamphlet favoring "*Preaching without Ordination.*" He concealed

his name in its Latin equivalent—*Filodexter Transylvanus.* G. H. M.

"SINK OR SWIM, LIVE OR DIE."—(I. 48.) This quotation from John Adams was erroneously credited to Patrick Henry. A reference to Bartlett's Familiar Quotations would have corrected this slip of the memory. W. K.

FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN NORTH CAROLINA.—(I. 51.) A volume has just been presented to the Library of Congress which tallies precisely with the collation given by E. Y. E., except that after page 353 follow pp. 355–371, then "Alphabetical Table," 2 pp. only (A–W). The additional matter embraces the Acts of 1752, and the date on title-page is also 1752, showing this to be a 2d Edition of the "Yellow Jacket" Laws, although the title does not so state. A. R. S.

Library of Congress, January 3, 1877.

ORGAN BUILDING IN AMERICA.—(I. 53.) The record evidence referred to is the following, from the records of "Old Trinity."

"At a meeting of the Vestry of Trinity Church, August 4, 1703.

"Ordered, That ye Rev. Mr. Vesey, Rector, Col. Wenham and Capt. Willett (Wardens) Col. Peartree, Capt. Tothill and Capt. Lurting be a Comēe to meet with Mr. Regnier, Mr. Brit, Lieut Hobson & Mr. Carter, and they to confer with and discourse Mr. Henry Neering, Organ Maker, about making and erecting an organ in Trinity Church in New York, and if they shall think meet agree with him on as easy terms as possible."

PLUS.



# JANUARY PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting was held in the Hall of the Society, Tuesday Evening, January 2d, 1877, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D., in the Chair. After the usual table business the Annual Reports were presented.

The Treasurer's Report showed a balance to the credit of the Society in the Manhattan Company, of \$10,628.50, and invested securities to the amount of \$36,900—which includes the Isaiah Thomas, Elizabeth Demilt, the Sons of Rhode Island, Seth Grosvenor, David E. Wheeler, Thomas C. Barron, and the Publication Funds. In addition to these a Fund of \$3,000, given by John D. Jones, for the publication of books on New York History, now being applied to Judge Jones' History of New York in the Revolution; a loyalist view of the struggle with Great Britain from the resistance to the Stamp Act to the close of the War. This work will be edited with extensive Notes by Mr. E. F. de Lancey, and shortly issued in two large octavo volumes, profusely illustrated by portraits, maps, views, and completed by a copious index.

The Report of the Executive Committee showed that the Society had held during the year ten Stated and two Special Meetings, the papers read at which were of a high standard. Notwithstanding the great depression the Society has maintained its membership. More could not have been expected. Since its foundation, in 1804, its Register shows a total membership of 6,812, of

whom 448 Honorary, 1,253 Corresponding, and 5,111 Resident.

The Report of the Librarian stated the number of donations to the Society, at Volumes 331, Pamphlets 1548, Volumes of Newspapers 67, Collection of Manuscripts 2, Separate Manuscripts 38, besides numerous Maps, Engravings and Broad-sides; and addition by purchase of 956 volumes of carefully selected Historical Works. A portrait of Chancellor Livingston, by Vanderlyn, and a bust of Philip Hone, were added to the collection of Art, and 57 objects of interest to the Museum.

Col. Andrew Warner, for thirty years the Recording Secretary of the Society, received the honor of a complimentary resolution, and was requested to sit for a portrait for the Art Gallery.

In accordance with the ancient custom of the Society, the new Governor of the State, Hon. Lucius Robinson, was elected an Honorary Member.

The Annual Election for the year resulted in the unanimous choice of the following:

For President, Frederic de Peyster; for First Vice-President, William Cullen Bryant; for Second Vice-President, James W. Beekman; for Foreign Corresponding Secretary, George H. Moore; for Domestic Corresponding Secretary, Evert E. Duyckinck; for Recording Secretary, Andrew Warner; for Treasurer, Benjamin H. Field; for Librarian, John Austin Stevens.

The Paper of the Evening was read by Major-General John Watts de Peyster.

The subject selected for the address was "Major-General Philip Schuyler and the Burgoyne Campaign in the Sum-

mer of 1777," and the purpose of the orator was evidently to vindicate the fame of this distinguished and patriotic man from the slurs which have been cast upon his conduct and character.

The position of New York as the Flanders of America, a debatable ground over which the quarrels of France and England were fought for nearly a century, was pointed out, and here in this "cock-pit of America" it was shown that the General Schuyler had his first training in arms, a training similar to that in which Washington first learned that art of war which was to prove so valuable to his country and mankind. After quoting the noble tribute to Schuyler, pronounced by Chancellor Kent, who said of him that "in acuteness of intellect, profound thought, indefatigable activity, exhaustless energy, pure patriotism, and persevering and intrepid public efforts he had no superior," the speaker entered boldly upon his theme, which soon showed itself to be not alone a defense of Schuyler, but an attack upon General Gates, who was pronounced a "vainglorious and cunning intriguer, a boasting Englishman *not* native here and to the manner born;" and certainly the most bitter enemy of Gates in his day could not have more enjoyed the disaster of Camden than Mr. de Peyster, though near a hundred years have passed since the defeated general "drew rein" at Hillsborough, one hundred and eighty-five miles distant from the battle-field.

We must leave the question of Gates and the Nemesis history has in store for all but a few special favorites among the Immortals, and follow the orator to the

heights of Saratoga. Here was fought the famous action which Creasy, in his *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, considers as the thirteenth of those fields of decision, "those few battles, whose contrary event would have essentially varied the drama of the world in all its subsequent scenes," and which was aptly termed the turning point, the "Gettysburg," in the seven years' terrible struggle. We remember to have seen an address to the Queen of England, by Daniel O'Connell, the Irish orator, in which he speaks of the Battle of Saratoga as the determining battle of the American Revolution. On neither side of the water is there any question of the importance of the event which defeated the plan of the ministers for the separation of the Eastern from the Middle Colonies, and their reduction in detail, and secured for the Young Nation the active interference of France, with her men, her fleets, and her money. To whom the credit of the well matured plans, which assured this success was due, is a much vexed question.

The battle of Saratoga was purely an American triumph. No Frenchman fixed a bayonet or fired a shot. The Colonists did the work for themselves. No French sinews of war assisted, no French ammunition was in the barrels of the victorious guns, or in the cartridge boxes of the victors.

The critical review of the campaign began with the unqualified approbation given by Van Bulow to the British plan, which included three movements; Burgoyne southward, through Champlain; St. Leger eastward, down the Mohawk; and Clinton northward, up the Hudson.

The three were to concentrate at Albany. Van Bulow's opinion was endorsed by Joly de St. Valier, who when he learned that General Burgoyne arrived on Lake Champlain and occupied the post of Ticonderoga, remarked "I then thought the English had perceived their mistake, and that their army was about to occupy the only post which was proper, and when I learned the arrival of Burgoyne at Ticonderoga, I believed the Americans to be lost without remedy."

On the 22d May, 1777, General Schuyler was assigned to the command of the whole Northern Department, and set about with untiring energy, of which his vast correspondence gives ample testimony, to improve the means of defence on the frontier; gathering supplies from every direction, and hurrying forward militia from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, to Albany, which he had reached himself from Philadelphia on the 3d June, and had made his headquarters. On the 7th July, he was on his way to reinforce General St. Clair with about two thousand men, when he learned of the evacuation of Ticonderoga the day before, and the approach of Burgoyne with his well equipped, well appointed army.

Burgoyne's force was estimated at nine thousand men, of whom over seven thousand were veterans. Against this formidable army, the largest which "old Ty" had ever witnessed, Schuyler had but four thousand men, half clad, half armed—a motley force, which by the time the British Army was concentrated at Skenesborough had dwindled to two thousand seven hundred—some say to fifteen hundred, dispirited men.

The activity and energy of Schuyler in increasing his strength, and the ceaseless efforts of Washington, who was determined at all cost to stop the junction of the Northern and Southern armies of invasion, were carefully shown, and their result in the accumulation of the twelve or fifteen thousand men which were transferred to the command of Gates, when on the 1st August, by almost unanimous vote of Congress, Schuyler was relieved.

During the interval between the fall of Ticonderoga and his supersedure Schuyler had been active in endeavoring to wear out the patience of Burgoyne by what is called the process of attrition. He set himself to work "to dispute every inch of ground with General Burgoyne," and by the obstructions he put in his way so delayed his advance that it took him eight weeks to overcome the distance from Skenesborough to Stillwater, near Saratoga, the farthest point south to which he penetrated. As Burgoyne did not reach Stillwater till the 19th September, forty-nine days or seven weeks from the date of Schuyler's removal, it is of some interest to know how far these obstructions were ordered by Schuyler, and how far by Gates, who took command on the 16th August. Perhaps it may be found that some of the credit is due to the artillery and artificer service, the ability of which was conceded by Burgoyne himself.

"The wild unsettled tract, the wilderness that lay between Skenesborough and Albany, some twenty-five miles in extent, was rendered almost impassible. Schuyler converted them into endless slashings, impenetrable with their interlaced

branches." The currents of the creeks were stopped by immense rocks thrown into the channels, and every means of communication with the English base of supplies at Ticonderoga made difficult in the extreme. When Burgoyne reached Stillwater, seventy-nine days after his victorious occupation of Ticonderoga, in the opinion of the speaker his fate was already decided, and when Schuyler, from his headquarters at the junction of the Mohawk and the Hudson river, turned over his command to Gates, Burgoyne was "absolutely bleeding to death, and ready to die of exhaustion." We prefer another simile as more suitable to the case. There was not much blood letting. The English officers were all Nimrods and fox hunters of the first order. They were forever sounding the tally ho and view halloo in their actions, and in the despatches of each in turn, the American commanders were foxes—wily foxes, perhaps, but foxes to be bagged at the end of the run. On this occasion it was Burgoyne himself who was run to earth; that he committed a gross military blunder in crossing the Hudson and allowing himself to be hemmed in between the skirt of mountains on the west, and the river on his left flank, there is no doubt.

That the Fabian policy of Schuyler, in luring on the boastful enemy was the true policy, is equally evident. It is the policy of all wars of defence, as we had abundant evidence in the late Rebellion. It was the policy of Washington. It was the policy of the allies on the Peninsular.

The orator referred to the fact that

Gates did not leave his camp during the contest at Saratoga, but admitted that the dispositions were so complete that Burgoyne had no escape from surrender; such action on the part of a commander is not unusual. The "spiteful fire" of the American artillery was the immediate cause of the capitulation, and tradition hath it that a cannon shot, dropping into Burgoyne's marquee, materially hastened the deliberation of the Council of War.

So much has been written of the running away of the American Troops, that we read with new pleasure the reply of the Earl of Balcarras, when asked if the Americans abandoned their works from fear of the British artillery, that "the reason they did not defend their entrenchments was that they always *marched out of theirs and attacked us.*" A late and famous military authority has recently given high testimony to the dangerous qualities of the American soldier, whom he pronounces "most formidable when apparently defeated."

The opinion of Genl de Peyster that Schuyler organized victory will not be disputed, but we have no idea that the laurels which Gates has worn for a hundred years as the victor of Saratoga, are to fade for a hundred years to come. Nor does the large-hearted, generous Schuyler, a nobleman by nature, and a gentleman by birth, habit, and training, need the pedestal of the fame of any other man whatever to lift him into notice.

On the conclusion of the Address the thanks of the Society were voted to the Orator.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES**  
FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE CONTINENT,  
by GEORGE BANCROFT. In six volumes; thoroughly revised edition. 16mo. LITTLE, BROWN & Co., Boston, 1876.

This is known as the CENTENARY EDITION. In a prefatory note the distinguished author announces that "a solid year of close and undivided application has been devoted" to the revision of his history from the vast number of notes and papers which have accumulated in his hands, his object being to attain to "exact accuracy." Over some of the moot points of American history there has been, and there will continue to be, a difference of opinion until all the manuscripts of the Revolutionary period have found their way to places of permanent deposit accessible to all, but the statement of the author of his earnest effort to reach exact accuracy will not for a moment be disputed. Without this additional labor from the master hand, these volumes would be still hailed with delight as an admirable working edition, as they contain a thorough and exhaustive index, without which no historical work, no matter how valuable, is comfortable to historical students.

**HISTOIRE DE L'ACTION COMMUNE DE**  
**LA FRANCE ET DE L'AMÉRIQUE POUR L'INDÉ-**  
**PENDANCE DES ÉTATS-UNIS, PAR GEORGE**  
**BANCROFT, TRADUIT ET ANNOTÉ PAR LE**  
**COMTE ADOLPHE DE CIRCOURT. Accom-**  
**pagné de documents inédits, 3 vols. 8vo. F.**  
**VIEWEG. Paris, 1876.**

The first and second volumes contain a faithful translation of Mr Bancroft's history from 1778 till 1782, the period of the French-American alliance. The observations of the distinguished French publicist who has undertaken this important work are given in the form of notes to the text. The third volume is composed of original documents not before published, which were communicated by Mr Bancroft himself, and the historical conclusions of M. de Circourt. The documents are divided into five series, and again subdivided. *First series*—1. Correspondence of the English Minister with his envoys abroad. 2. Negotiation of the English Government for the re-establishment of peace. *Second series*—1. Correspondence of Frederic II. of Prussia with his ambassadors at the French Court. 2. By the same with his ambassadors at London. 3. Letters of the same to the Queen dowager of Denmark. *Third series*—Negotiations and Con-

vention for the protection of neutral flags and the freedom of the seas. *Fourth series*—1. Negotiations between the French Government and the United States of America. 2. Memorials of Beaumarchais and of Dumouriez to the French Ministers. *Fifth series*—Correspondence of the French Ministry with its envoys at Madrid.

A careful review of this work, entitled "L'Europe et l'Amérique en 1778, d'après l'histoire de Bancroft," appeared in the *Revue des deux Mondes* for the 15th March, 1876, over the signature of M. René Millet. We prefer to give the French comment rather than any opinion of our own. The industry and erudition of the American historian are fully recognized, but in the opinion of the reviewer his sympathies and the philosophic tendency of his mind affect the impartiality of his judgment. M. de Circourt, on the other hand, is described as a man in whom "impartiality is the dominant trait," and, again, as imbued with the spirit of history, and free from the spirit of system, judging the living as though they were dead, and the dead as though still alive. The Teutonic sympathies of Mr. Bancroft, and tendency of his mind toward the German school of philosophy, are the source of constant grief to the French reader, and especial exception is taken to the assertion that "Germany, though she appropriated no territory in America, gave the colonies of New Netherland and New England their laws of being." But for the recent war we should have probably heard no complaint from France of such judgment, and it is one of the best signs of the regeneration of French thought that her public men are beginning to look to the causes of the political progress and security of other nations, and to claim the share of France in the American birth-right. To the cool indifference of Holland and the selfish calculating spirit of Prussia, the reviewer opposes, with satisfaction and pride, the generous action of France—always ready to draw the sword for an idea. Not the least valuable of his pages are those in which M. de Circourt describes the influence of America upon the nations which favored or opposed her cause. Not confining himself to France alone, he shows also the profound transformation which the American war wrought upon Europe, and traces its echoes even to the heart of Poland and of Greece. Such considerations are of the highest historical order, and cannot be too closely studied.

**GESCHICHTE DER VEREINIGTEN**  
**STAATEN VON NORDAMERIKA VON DER EN-**  
**DECKUNG DES AMERIKANISCHEN CONTINENTS**

AN BIS AUF DIE NEUESTE ZEIT VON GEORGE BANCROFT; deutsch von A. BARTELS. Two vols. 8vo. OTTO WIGAND. Leipzig, 1875.

These volumes are translations of the 9th and 10th volumes of Bancroft's history, each with a short preface. The translations of the first three chapters of the ninth and the first five chapters of the tenth volume are announced as by Dr. Henne AmRhyn.

LETTRES SUR LES ÉTATS-UNIS ET LE CANADA ADRESSÉES AU JOURNAL DES DÉBATS À L'OCCASION DE L'EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE DE PHILADELPHIE, par M. G. MOLINARI, Membre Correspondant de l'Institut. 12mo, pp. 365. LIBRAIRIE HACHETTE ET CIE. Paris, 1876. For sale by J. W. CHRISTERN, Foreign Bookseller and Importer, 77 University Place, New York.

An admirable sketch of the United States and Canada as they appeared to this distinguished writer and journalist in a rapid tour over the eastern section of the continent from June 29 to October 11, 1876. Written in a lucid and admirable style, these charming letters give an impartial view of the political, social and moral condition of the United States and British Dominion, and are full of instructive observation. A more unprejudiced account of American manners and customs could not be found, and if such be the picture we present to the best foreign intelligence, we need not be ashamed "to see ourselves as others see us." The deductions which M. de Molinari draws from his observations do not strike us with equal force. His analytic powers are not of the first order. On the other hand, his temper is of the best, and his occasional satirical cuts will be felt quite as keenly on the other side of the water as on this. His examination of the condition of the French colonization, and his warm sympathy with all who have a strain of French blood in their veins, are interesting and touching. His observations on the social state of the South are worthy the perusal of every American statesman.

LA GUERRE DE L'INDÉPENDANCE 1775-1783. LES FRANÇAIS EN AMÉRIQUE AVEC UNE PRÉFACE par M. EDOUARD LABOULAYE; par LÉON CHOTTEAU. 12mo, pp. 435. CHARPENTIER ET CIE. Paris, 1876. For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, Foreign-books seller and Importer, 77 University Place, New York.

This volume must not be confounded with the valuable work under a similar title, "Les Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'In-

dépendance des États-Unis, 1777-1783," published by Thomas Balch of Philadelphia at Paris in 1872.

The work of Mr. Chotteau, in the words of his distinguished friend, Laboulaye, who introduces him in his short preface, is intended to describe the part taken by France and Louis XVI for the American "insurgents," who not only declared their independence, "but at the same time the sovereignty of the people, the eternal rights of the individual and the Republic. Mr. Laboulaye especially commended it to every Frenchman who proposed to visit the Philadelphia Exposition. Mr. Chotteau's work, though hardly more than a rapid narrative of the services of the French fleet and the army in aid of the Colonies, while throwing no new light upon the well-known incidents, brings into bold relief the heroic figures of Lafayette and Rochambeau, De Grasse and d'Estaing. The author is an ardent Republican, and has full faith in the progressive grandeur of the United States. Scattered through the volume, in odd juxtaposition with grave historical facts, are occasional recitals of personal experience in American travel, and of visits to the homes of Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Theodore Tilton, which are not without flavor. In a reference to the well-known Pierre Chouteau of St. Louis, the founder of that semi-French city, the author appears to assert the identity of his own with the family of the famous pioneer, but we doubt whether the citizens of St. Louis will accept the interpolation of the additional letter in the name.

ZWÖLF SPRACHEN AUS DEM SÜD-  
WESTEN NORDAMERIKAS (PUEBLOS-UND  
APACHE-MUNDARTEN; TONTO, TONKAWA,  
DIGGER, UTAH); WORTVERZEICHNISSE, HER-  
AUSGEGEBEN, ERLAEUTERT UND MIT EINER EIN-  
LEITUNG UBER BAU, BEGRIFFSBILDUNG UND  
LOCALE GRUPPIERUNG DER AMERIKANISCHEN  
SPRACHEN VERSEHEN VON ALBERT S. GAT-  
SCHET. Royal 8vo, pp. 150. HERMANN  
BÉHLLAU. WEIMAR, 1876. For sale by  
Westermann & Co., G. E. Stechert, B. Schmidt,  
Booksellers and Importers, New York.

Twelve Idioms spoken in the Southwest of North America (Pueblo and Apache dialects; Tonto, Tonkawa, Digger, Utah-Vocabularies) published and commented upon by ALBERT S. GATSCHE.

In this volume a number of the vocabularies collected by members of the expedition, under command of Lieut. George M. Wheeler, to survey our western Territories, and other linguistic material, are subjected to a close comparative investigation by Mr. Gatschet, who is already well known to the scientific world by various

treatises on Indian languages, as well as upon some European dialects spoken on the Alpine ridge. The bulk of the linguistic material here brought under analysis was collected by Mr. Oscar Loew, chemist and naturalist of one of Lieut. Wheeler's parties, who judiciously availed himself of the scientific alphabetic notation recommended by the Smithsonian Institution. To solve the mooted question as to the ancient home of the Aztecs who make a part of the Nahua stock of the aborigines, the author brings together all the information at present accessible from the Pueblo languages, and his work also illustrates profusely the radical affinities of other language-stocks which form the subject of the publication. In addition, the book contains one of the most complete synoptical enumerations of all the important North, Central and South American languages, and a lucid sketch of the plan of thought and the morphological peculiarities prevailing in the American languages.

In a separate chapter, the contents of which are novel and of the most fascinating psychological interest, we learn the kinds of mental process Indian ingenuity employs in framing simple and compound words from the radicals of their misinformed idioms.

In a short appendix numerous terms of the Indian word table are compared and commented upon, numerals are classified according to the various systems of numeration prevailing over the world (binary, ternary, quaternary, decimal and vigesimal), and at the close two most curious Indian rock-inscriptions are reproduced and their explanation attempted. We hope the next work of this pains-taking and philosophic investigator may find an American publisher who will do the subject the justice done at Weimar.

**BIOGRAPHICAL ANNALS OF THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES DURING ITS FIRST CENTURY, FROM ORIGINAL AND OFFICIAL SOURCES, BY CHARLES LANMAN.** Royal 8vo., pp. 676. JAMES ANGLIM, Publisher. Washington, 1876.

This volume, by the well-known author of the Dictionary of Congress, is a welcome accession to the library shelves of the student of American history and biography, and of general value as a book of reference, which no American editor should be without. It contains in a convenient space about seven thousand biographical sketches of persons who have been in a prominent manner identified with the National and State Governments of the Republic. Besides, there is a carefully arranged series of Tabular Records and historical papers containing mention of about eight thousand additional names. The biographies are clear, concise and impartial. The tabular records include the Declaration of Inde-

pendence, Articles of Confederation, Constitution of the United States, Proceedings of the Convention which formed the Constitution, Lists of Cabinet Officers under the successive Administrations, and other matter not hitherto collected in a form so convenient as the present volume offers.

**FAMILIAR LETTERS OF JOHN ADAMS AND HIS WIFE ABIGAIL ADAMS DURING THE REVOLUTION, WITH A MEMOIR OF MRS. ADAMS, by CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.** Small 16mo, pp. 424. Riverside Press, Cambridge. HURD & HOUGHTON. New York, 1876.

These familiar letters need no comment. As a narrative of the period of the American Revolution and the events which immediately preceded and followed it, and an intimate commentary upon both the stirring scenes and the chief actors in them, they are not only delightful reading as expressions of warm feeling and strong personal opinions, but invaluable to the student who looks through mens' actions to their motives, and beyond events to their causes and consequences. Originally published thirty-five years ago, these letters are now rearranged in the order of their dates, and published as a contribution to Centenary literature. They are prefaced by an interesting memoir of Mrs Adams, and illustrated with her portrait. It is needless to add that the printing and press work is in the admirable style for which the Riverside press is famous. A careful index increases its usefulness.

**LIFE AND TIMES OF WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL. D., FIRST SENATOR IN CONGRESS FROM CONNECTICUT AND PRESIDENT OF COLUMBIA COLLEGE, NEW YORK, 1777 E. EDWARDS BEARDSLEY, D.D., LL. D., Rector of St. Thomas' Church, New Haven.** 8vo. pp. 218. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. HURD & HOUGHTON. New York, 1876.

The life of this well-known and honored gentlemen embraced the most interesting period of American history. Born in 1727, he was in succession a delegate from the Connecticut Colony to the Stamp Act Congress held in New York in 1765, and afterward its agent in England, where he formed strong personal friendship with his great namesake, Dr. Samuel Johnson; delegate to the Congress of 1785, and in 1787 a member of the Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States. He was United States Senator from 1789 to 1791, and later President of Columbia College in New York. It is rarely the biographer has a field so abundant in material as this full life supplies. Without diffuseness the reverend author has been faithful to his labor, and the closing commenda-

tion of his subject as "one controlled by the sternest rules of political integrity and by Christian principles as well," attests the loving earnestness he brought to the task. The volume is prefaced by an engraving from a portrait by Gilbert Stuart, made expressly for the work. It has a copious and accurate index.

**THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE**, by GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE, LL. D. 16mo, pp. 211. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. HURD & HOUGHTON. New York, 1876.

In the preface to this volume the author disclaims all pretension to original research. It is composed of sketches of the services in America of Baron von Steuben and General John Kalb, and of the German mercenaries in the employ of the British Government. These sketches are founded on the admirable monographs of Frederick Kapp, the well-known liberal exile from Prussia after the Berlin troubles of 1848, for many years an honored and distinguished member of the New York Bar, and now, returned to Germany, a member of the Imperial Assembly. With an author so competent as Mr. Kapp, and a reproducer so well fitted for historical research as Mr. Greene 'to the manner born,' the result in a pleasing and instructive volume is a matter of course. It is beautifully printed on the best of paper, but we regret to say without an index.

**AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE OLD STATE HOUSE OF PENNSYLVANIA, NOW KNOWN AS THE HALL OF INDEPENDENCE**, by FRANK M. ETTING, with numerous illustrations. 4to, pp. 204. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co., Boston, 1876.

This story of the old State House of Pennsylvania has afforded the author of this interesting and curious volume an opportunity to gather together a mass of interesting material, which he has profusely illustrated by engravings of buildings and portraits, and various textual illustrations, *fac similes* of handbills, documents and signatures. Some of the artistic work is extremely well done. The history of the restoration of this time-honored building is recited with care and an evident affection for all its details, even to the recovery and replacement of the chairs of the signers and the inkstand which they used, a picture of which is given. The student will not look in a work of this local nature for broad treatment of historic questions. It is the homage of a Philadelphian to the tabernacle of Pennsylvania.

**THE NATIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION. PROCEEDINGS ON THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INTRODUCTION AND ADOPTION OF THE "RESOLUTIONS RESPECTING INDEPENDENCE,"** held at Philadelphia, on the morning of June 7, 1876, at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts; and on July 1, 1876, at the Hall of Independence. Printed for the Committee. 8vo., pp. 89. Philadelphia, 1876.

An account of the ceremonies precedent to, and upon the 1st July, 1876, in commemoration of the anniversary of July 2d, 1776; the day of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. This commemoration is better known as the Congress of authors assembled (in the words of Mr Etting, the Chairman of the Committee,) "to build up a Cenotaph of letters to the memory of those men, the like of which is not afforded in the history of the world. No rain, no sun can ever reach it, and it must endure as long as Liberty and the English language survive." Perhaps this is expecting too much of a series of biographical sketches, limited, by order of the committee, to two pages foolscap each. The present account contains the addresses of Messrs. McKean and Brewster, of Pennsylvania; Saltonstall, of Massachusetts; Lippitt, of Rhode Island; de Peyster, of New York; and Stevens, of Maryland. The volume is tastefully printed.

**THE TRUE BLUE LAWS OF CONNECTICUT AND NEW HAVEN, AND THE FALSE BLUE LAWS INVENTED BY REV. SAMUEL PETERS**, to which are added specimens of the Laws and Judicial proceedings of other Colonies, and some Blue Laws of England in the Reign of James I. Edited by J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL. Hartford, Conn. 12mo., pp., 360. AMERICAN PUBLISHING COMPANY. 1876.

One of the most interesting and valuable of recent American historical publications. Mr Trumbull does everything well, and in this field nobody can compete with him. It is fitting that the execution of justice upon the great Connecticut Munchausen should come only from the hand of a Connecticut man, and the editor of this volume has finished his "erring brother" in true artistic manner. If as Mr Trumbull intimates, the epithet "*Blue Laws*" originated in New York, it was a happy hit, and the author should be sought out and receive the honor due to him.

It strikes us that in the references to New York, scattered through Mr Trumbull's book, there is a tinge of asperity bordering upon injustice; but it is so cleverly put that a New Yorker must laugh with the rest.



In his reference to the law against Popish Priests (pp. 363 note, and 319-20), the editor should have noted that it was simply a reproduction of the Massachusetts Act, brought to New York by Bellomont, and passed by his influence, under provocation of special intrigues by French Jesuits, among the New York Indians.

**CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE TOWN OF SHEFFIELD, BERKSHIRE CO., MASS., JUNE 18 AND 19, 1876, by the Secretaries of the Committee appointed by the Town.**

An account of the proceedings held in commemoration of the town meeting held on the 18th June, 1776, when the inhabitants engaged their lives and fortunes in support of the expected measures of independence. The features of the day were a sermon by the Rev. Dr Orville Dewey, "*clarum et venerabile nomen*," and an Historical Address by Gen. John G. Barnard, U. S. A. The reader will find with curious interest another proof of the old saying, "there is nothing new" in the recital of the Sheffield resolutions of June 12, 1773: "That mankind, in a state of nature, are equal, free, and independent of each other, and have a right to the undisturbed enjoyment of their lives, liberty and property." The famous initial sentence of the Declaration of Independence was but an echo from the rock-ribbed Berkshire hills. There were other addresses which repay perusal.

**FIRST REPORT OF THE RECORD COMMISSIONERS OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, 1876. 8vo, pp. 183. ROCKWELL & CHURCHILL, City Printers. Boston, 1876.**

This first report, entitled City Document No. 92, made in compliance with a municipal ordinance passed July, 1875, is a beginning of a series of publications "to complete as far as practicable the record of births, deaths and marriages in the town and city of Boston prior to A. D. 1849." Although the Commissioners complain of defects in the registers, New England is better off than any of the other sections of the country; the rigid theocrats of her first government having carefully noted the incomings and outgoings of her generations. New documents have been discovered of great genealogical value. The present volume, carefully indexed, comprises records to the year 1695, inclusive.

**CELEBRATION OF THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE EVACUATION OF BOSTON BY THE BRITISH ARMY, MARCH 17, 1776. Reception of the Washington Medal. Oration and a Chronicle of the Siege of Boston, by GEORGE E. ELLIS. 8vo, pp. 199. A. WILLIAMS & Co. Boston, 1876.**

The official account of this interesting celebration, published by order of the municipal authorities of Boston, handsomely illustrated with maps, engravings and *fac similes*. Among them is a reproduction of a "Plan of Boston in New England with its environs, including Milton, Dorchester, Roxbury, Brooklin, Cambridge, Medford, Charlestown, parts of Malden and Chelsea, with the Military forts constructed in those places in the years 1775 and 1776," published in London June 2, 1777, by Henry Pelham; a view of part of the town of Boston in New England, and British ships of war landing their troops 1768 (Fryday, Sept. 30), "engraved, printed and sold" by the famous liberty boy Paul Revere; and reproductions from engravings of views of Faneuil Hall and the seat of John Hancock, from the Massachusetts Magazine of March and April, 1789. The "golden text" of the scholarly and eloquent orator, whose words are golden also, was the recent acquisition by the city of Boston, through the liberality of fifty of its citizens, of the large gold medal presented to Washington by Congress for his services in repelling the British forces from Boston on the 17th March, 1776, which for a century has remained in the Washington family. To the address is appended an exhaustive chronicle of the Siege. Historical monographs prepared in this manner are invaluable.

**HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, BY JOHN GORHAM PALFREY. Vol. IV. 8vo. LITTLE, BROWN & Co. Boston, 1875.**

This is a sequel to three volumes previously written by the same author, who is accepted as the standard authority on matters of New England history. The three volumes contain a history of the period of the Stuart dynasty. The volume under notice contains an account of New England progress in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, and the Hanoverian Kings. A fifth volume, bringing the work to the War of Independence, will complete the series.

**BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOSEPH G. SWIFT, CHIEF ENGINEER OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY, JULY 31, 1812, TO NOVEMBER 12, 1818, by GEORGE W. CULLUM, Brevet Major-General U. S. Army. 8vo., pp. 26. New York, 1877. (Privately printed.)**

In our January number brief mention was made of the sketch of Major-General Richard Montgomery, by General Cullum. The present is another welcome contribution to military biography. The subject of the present memoir was the first graduate of the Military Academy at West Point. It will greatly interest the thousands of our good citizens, who received their

education and training at this admirable school, from the many details of its first beginnings, in the earlier part of the century. It is written in an easy and graceful style, with occasional dashes of humorous satire, upon the *crass* ignorance of the War department, and the partisan spirit displayed by Congress in its dealings with military affairs. We cannot follow the author in his sketch of the many valuable services of General Swift, in the direction of the West Point Academy, and the fortification of the country from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. The citizens of New York will find an account of his defence of the City, in 1814, for which he was voted "a Benefactor of the City," and of his arrest of the fire of 1835, by the blowing up of buildings. Full justice is done to the versatile talent, and high moral qualities of this patriot soldier.

**FROM EVERGLADE TO CAÑON WITH THE SECOND DRAGOONS.** (SECOND UNITED STATES CAVALRY.) An authentic account of service in Florida, Mexico, Virginia and the Indian Country, including personal recollections of prominent officers. With an appendix containing orders, &c. 1836-1873. Compiled by THEO. F. RODENBOUGH, Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General, U. S. A. Illustrated. 8vo., pp. 561. D. VAN NOSTRAND. New York, 1875.

A comprehensive *Mémoire de Service*, as the author, who was a captain in the Second Cavalry, terms in his preface this extended account of his long connection with the army. It includes personal recollections chronologically arranged; Indian and frontier reminiscences, contributed by General Cook, Colonel Lee, Majors Thompson and Davis; an account of operations of the Cavalry of the Army of the Potomac, in 1863, the experience of Colonels Leoser and Harrison, and Major Smith under Sheridan in the famous campaign of 1864, and a description by Lieutenant Doane of the exploration of the great Yellowstone National Park, by his regiment. To these are added, "Letters of a Subaltern by a young officer of the Second Cavalry," "A Trumpeter's Notes," by no means the least interesting of the series; and a "Roll of Honor," in which the extraordinary "faits d'armes" of enlisted men are recorded. In the preparation of this volume the archives of the war department have been freely opened to the writer, and if our opinion be worth anything, we should say that technical accuracy of statement, purely military, and amusing details of general interest are happily blended.

**RECORD OF THE YEAR. A REFERENCE SCRAP BOOK, BEING THE MONTHLY RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS WORTH**

**PRESERVING**, together with a selection of the choicest current miscellany. Edited by FRANK MOORE. Volume I., 8vo., pp. 668. G. W. CARLETON & CO. New York. 1876.

We need not remind students of the value of works of this character, of which "Almon's Remembrancer," "Niles' Register," and in our day the "Rebellion Record" are examples. The incidents of the year are here carefully selected by a discriminating hand.

**REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AND EXERCISES AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE TOWN OF KINGSTON, MASS, JUNE 22, 1876.** 8vo, pp. 152. E. B. STILLINGS & CO., Boston, 1876.

Another spark from the patriotic blaze which the memories of 1776 have rekindled in the American heart. Kingston was an off-shoot from old Plymouth, and with such antecedents could not remain silent. The pamphlet contains an oration by Rev. Joseph P. Lovering, an historical sketch by Dr T. B. Drew, and sundry after dinner speeches which show no evidence of post-prandial excitement. When our Puritan neighbors do indulge in festivities it is after that grave fashion which Irving described as in vogue in the Catskills.

**HISTORICAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE CITY OF KINGSTON BY WILLIAM LOUNSBERRY AT THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1876.** 8vo, pp. 31. W. H. & J. C. ROMEYN. Kingston, N. Y., 1876.

This, as the orator intimates by the familiar quotation on his title page, is the sound of Centennial rejoicing from among "the murmuring pines and the hemlocks." It recites the history of the origin of Ulster county, which embraced the New Paltz and its Huguenot settlers, kin of the Acadians who dwelt farther north in the forest primeval, and the many sacrifices of its sons to the cause of Independence.

**A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF KEY WEST, FLORIDA, BY WALTER C. MALONEY.** An Address delivered at the Dedication of the new City Hall, July 4, 1876, at the request of the Common Council of the City. 8vo, pp. 85. THE ADVERTISING PRINTING HOUSE, Newark, N. J., 1876.

Though not yet a Centennial city, the earliest settler having taken up his residence near Charlotte Harbor in 1785, this salubrious island has

a history all its own for variety of incident, and it is clear that its inhabitants intend to have an even start with their continental neighbors in the century now opened. The tract includes views from sketches by Mr William A. Whitehead and valuable meteorological tables.

**STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.** Twenty-third Annual Report. January 2, 1877. Pamphlet circular, pp. 18.

A most satisfactory statement of the progress of this society, showing an increasing interest in the West in Historical subjects. The additions to the library in 1876 reached the large number of 2,826 volumes, and 2,336 pamphlets. The library has now 35,139 volumes, and 35,017 pamphlets. We notice with pleasure the practical methods of management adopted in the library—that of establishing a Binding Fund, the interest of which to be devoted to this purpose, is admirable.

**THE AMERICAN LIBRARY JOURNAL.** (Monthly.) Managing Editor, MELVIL DEWEY, 13 Tremont Place, Boston. Vol. I., Numbers 1, 2, 3—to 30th Sept. 1876. Publisher, F. LEYPOLDT. New York.

The list of associate editors announced includes the best known of American Librarians; and the purpose of the periodical is to promote an interchange of thought among librarians so that, from the common experience, some improvement and harmony in the systems of management of books and their readers may be evolved.

The last two numbers are devoted to a report of the Conference of Librarians at Philadelphia, which will hardly interest the general public. Indeed, the enterprise must rely on the "profession" for its support.

**REGISTER OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES, AS RECOGNIZED AND ADOPTED BY THE FIRST CONGRESS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION, 29 SEPTEMBER, 1784;** from original Muster rolls, and other official sources, by ASA BIRD GARDNER, LL. D., Professor of Law, U. S. Military Academy. (Printed at the Military Academy Press, by Bvt. Lieut. Col. R. H. HALL, U. S. A., Adjutant Military Academy. 12mo., pp. 11. 1876.

The credit of printing this Register belongs to Col. Hall, who, we are glad to learn, is also supervising the printing of an Army Register, from the Peace Establishment, 1 January, 1784,

to 1789, the period of the Confederation. By the present little tract we notice that one of the N. Y. Batteries in Lamb's 2d Regiment of Continental Artillery is still in existence on the Pacific Coast, commanded by Capt. J. B. Campbell, 4th U. S. Artillery.

**ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO, FOR THE YEARS 1874-5, AND 1875-6.** Together with Lists of Officers and Members. 8vo., pp. 19. ROBERT CLARKE & Co. Cincinnati, Ohio.

These reports show a satisfactory and encouraging progress in this society. The increase of the past year has been of 246 volumes, and 3,962 pamphlets; of the latter about two thousand from the well known and liberal publishers who print the reports.

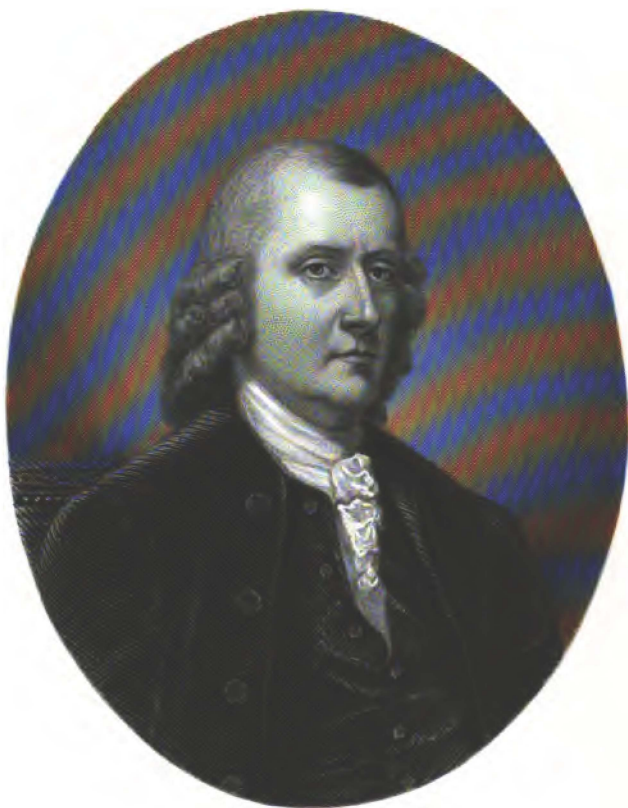
**THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD, DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF AMERICAN GENEALOGY AND BIOGRAPHY.** Issued quarterly. January, 1877. (Vol. VIII, No. 1.) Published for the Society. 64 Madison Avenue, New York City.

This number contains the sketch of Rev. Dr William Buell Sprague, by Charles B. Moore, which we elsewhere notice; Records of ancient families of New York, by Edwin N. Purple; of Long Island, by George Cope; and Record of the Presbyterian and Reformed Dutch Churches of New York and Harlem. The gentlemen who direct this periodical are of our most respected and conscientious citizens, and are doing yeoman's work in rescuing from oblivion the rapidly passing records of old New York.

**AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS, BULLETIN OF AMERICAN NUMISMATICS, AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.** (Vol. XI., No. 3.) January, 1877. Published by the Boston Numismatic Society. Boston.

The leading article is devoted to the "Gloriam Regni," (or Silver Louis of 15 Sous and of 5 Sous struck for Circulation in America) by CHARLES E. ANTHON, LL. D., and is a correction and modification of a paper read before the American Philosophical Society, in July, 1876. There are other articles of interest on Canadian Medals, Masonic Medals, and a timely account of the dies prepared for the medals awarded to the exhibitors at Philadelphia.





*John Cuyler*

## MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

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MARCH 1877

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INDIAN LANGUAGES OF THE PACIFIC  
AND TERRITORIES.

few specimens of the kind in our newly-acquired dominions in the equatorial as well as the singularly diversified and for the larger part narrow limits of languages exist in these vast and remote regions. In the north only, one stock of language is generally to be met, sometimes with many minor dialects and sub-dialects. Instances, as in South Carolina, Hamath, where the same one blood only has never had divergent dialects, parts of which have been extinct in the course of time. An resemblance between the Yuma and the Pima, the Salado and the Papago, which is very great, is to be detected, and the difference is so small, that a translation by steps of translation, as in the *ger dog*, will at present imply no error, and is so successful even without grammatical data for the majority of the language on the Pacific coast.

the Western languages, and the lack of the great traditional series of information sources will be the more serious lack of one hundred years' schooling for each. Some published in quantities for the sake of one time's use of a found language or linguistic science in the West, a person who would incorporate the great difficulties of a connection exists in a totally unknown and widely idiom. These would then be a very experienced collected more valuable material, they had the same or similar import or texts, containing no abstract ideas, but a custom to think of terms in connection with the others, or of abstract ideas, because they are only parts of a whole sentence, or in connection with other terms.



# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## INDIAN LANGUAGES OF THE PACIFIC STATES AND TERRITORIES.

A FEW decenniums of research in our newly acquired Western dominions have acquainted us with the singular fact that clusters of very numerous, and for the larger part narrowly circumscribed areas of languages exist in these vast and remote regions. In California, and north of it, one stock of language is generally represented by several, sometimes by a large number of dialects and sub-dialects; but there are instances, as in Shasta and in Klamath, where a stock is represented by one idiom only, which never had diverged into dialects, or the sub-dialects of which have become extinct in the course of time. Although certain resemblances between them may be traced in their phonological and morphological character, they are totally distinct in their radicals, and by this criterion we are enabled to attempt their classification by stocks or families. Any other than a *genealogical* classification is at present impossible, for we do not possess even the most necessary grammatical data for the majority of the languages spoken along the Pacific coast.

For the Western languages, and those of the great Interior Basin, our main sources of information are (and will be for many years to come) vocabularies of one hundred to two hundred terms each. Those obtained and published frequently bear the stamp of dilettantism, sometimes that of profound ignorance of linguistic science on the part of word-collectors, who wholly underrated the great difficulty of taking down a set of disconnected words in a totally unknown and phonetically unwieldy idiom. These word-gatherers would have fared much better, and collected more reliable material, if they had taken short sentences of popular import or texts containing no abstract ideas. For an Indian is not accustomed to think of terms incoherent, or words disconnected from others, or of abstract ideas, but uses his words merely as integral parts of a whole sentence, or in connection with others. This



is the true cause of the large incorporative power of the American tongues, which in many of them culminates in an extended polysyntheticism, and embodies whole sentences in one single verbal form.

At a time when the principal languages and dialects of Asia, Africa and Australasia, the living as well as the extinct, are being investigated with uncommon ardor; myths, popular songs, dirges and speeches collected, published and commented upon with erudition and corresponding success, very few of the American languages, North and South, have been the object of thorough research. There is no scarcity of thorough linguists among us, but the reason for their want of activity in this direction simply lies in the want of proper encouragement from the authorities, the publishers, the press and the public. This is very discouraging, we confess; but it shall not hinder us from examining somewhat closer this topic, and from trying to get at the true facts.

The general public is very ignorant of languages and linguistics, and as a rule confounds linguistics with philology. Many people have a horror of philology because the Latin and Greek paradigms which they had to study in college classes, recall to them the dreariest days of "compulsory education," juvenile misery and birch-rod executions. From these two languages they infer, superficially enough, that the study of all other foreign tongues must involve similar mental torments. Others believe that the Indian languages are not real tongues, deserving to be termed so; but only thwarted productions of the diseased heathen mind, because they do not agree with classical models, nor with the grammar of the primeval language of the world, the Hebrew, "which was spoken in paradise."

The majority, however, suppose that any Indian language is simply "a gibberish not worth bothering about;" they ought to remember that every language, even the most harmonious and perfect, is a gibberish to those who do not understand it, sounding unpleasantly to their ears, because they are unaccustomed to its cadences and phonetic laws. The mastering of a language is the only remedy against a certain repugnance to it on the side of the listener.

A further objection which is sometimes raised against studying the tongues of the Red Man, consists in the erroneous assertion that they have no literature of their own. This statement is founded on a profound ignorance of existing facts, and moreover, is only the expression of the old-fashioned, mistaken idea that languages should be studied only on account of their literatures, thus confounding philology with linguistics. Indians never did and do not write down their mental produc-

tions, simply because they do not trace their immediate origin from the Eastern races, from whom we have received the priceless gift of alphabetical writing; but that they really possess such productions, as well as the Malays, Polynesians and South Africans, no one can doubt who has read of Indian prophets, orators and story-tellers, with their fluency and oratorical powers, who has listened to their multiform, sometimes scurrilous mythological tales or yarns, heard their war-shouts, the word accompanying their dancing tunes, or in the darkness of the night overheard some of their lugubrious, heart-moving dirges sung by wailing women, as they slowly marched in file around the corpse of some relative, the whole scene lit up by the flickering flames of the lurid camp-fires. A volume of Schoolcraft's "Indians" contains a large number of Odjibway songs, and the author of this article has himself obtained over seventy most interesting and popular songs from the Cayuses, Warm Springs, Klamaths, Taos, Iroquois and Abnákis, in their original form. So the white race alone is to blame for its imperfect knowledge of the unwritten, often highly poetical productions of an illiterate race.

The science of linguistics is of so recent a date, that few men have yet grasped its real position among the other sciences. We must henceforth consider it as a *science of nature*, and reject the old conception of it as a science of the human mind. Stylistics and rhetorics of a language may be called the province of the human mind, but language itself is a product of nature, produced through human instrumentality. Man does not invent his language, any more than a bird does its twittering, or a tree its leaves. It requires a whole nation to produce a language, and even then such nation must start from phonetic elements already understood.

The innumerable agencies which give to a country its climate will also, by length of time, shape man and his language. Nothing is fortuitous or arbitrary in human speech and its historical developments; the most insignificant word or sound has its history, and the linguist's task is to investigate its record. Thus every language on this globe is perfect, but perfect only for the purpose it is intended to fulfill; Indian thought runs in another, more concrete direction than ours, and therefore Indian speech is shaped very differently from indogermanic models, which we, in our inherited and unjustified pride, are prone to regard as the only models of linguistic perfection. The Indian neglects to express with accuracy some relations which seem of paramount importance to us, as tense and sex, but his language is largely superior to ours in the variety of its personal pronouns, in many forms expressing the mode of action, or

the idea of property and possession, and the relations of the person or persons addressed to the subject of the sentence.

Another prejudice against the Indian tongues is derived from the filthy or uninviting appearance of the red-skinned man himself. It is true that most Indians seem very miserable, disgusting, poor, silly, even grotesque and comical; yet this is partly due to the state of degradation to which he has been reduced by the land-grabbing Anglo-American settler, who has deprived him of his former, natural ways of subsistence; but it is also a characteristic of his cinnamon-complexioned race, and has been so for times immemorial. In the numerous settlements, where the condition of the Indian has undoubtedly undergone a great change for the better, through the advent of the white population, he seems just as miserable, shy, sad and filthy as before. To draw conclusions from the exterior appearance of a people on their language, and to suppose that a man not worth looking at cannot speak a language worth studying, would be the acme of superficiality, and worthy only of those who in their folly trust to appearances alone.

Pursuant to these intimations, I judge that the only means of bringing about a favorable change in public sentiment concerning the tongues of our aborigines, is a better understanding of the real object and purpose of linguistic science. Languages are living organisms, natural growths, genuine productions of race and country, and scientifically speaking, it is as important to investigate them as to describe minutely a curious tree, a rare plant, a strange insect or aquatic animal. But to gather information on them with success, a much more accurate method of transcription or transliteration than those generally used by word-collectors must be adopted. The old nonsensical method of using the English orthography, so utterly unscientific and unbearable to the sight of every instructed man, has at last been discarded almost universally. Only scientific alphabets must be here employed, and an alphabet can be considered as such only when *one* sound is constantly expressed by *one and the same* letter only. Such alphabets have been proposed by G. Gibbs, Professors Richard Lepsius, Haldeman, Alex. Ellis, and many others, and it would be a fitting subject for a congress of linguists to decide which system is the most appropriate for transcribing Indian tongues. Cursive Latin characters must be used, and in some cases altered by diacritical marks, to convey peculiar meanings; the invention of new alphabetic systems or syllabaries like those of Sequoyah, and the hooks and crooks recently used for transcribing Cree and other Northern tongues are not a help to science, because they are not *readily* legible or reducible to the accepted old-world systems of transcribing languages. A debate may also

be started by a linguistic congress, what term should be employed instead of "Indian," which is unsatisfactory in many respects; a thorough remodelling of the terminology used in Indian grammars would form another fruitful theme of discussion. Our indogermanic ideas of grammar must be entirely disregarded if we would write a correct grammatical sketch of some Indian language.

The vocabularies,<sup>1</sup> in the shape as we possess them now, are useful in many respects. They do not give us much information about the structure of the languages, but serve at least for classifying purposes, and the small number of them which bear the stamp of accuracy in their notation of the accent and the use of a scientific alphabet, at least give a foothold for Indian phonology.

But men of science need a great deal more than this. Language is a living organism, and to study it, we must not only have the loose bones of its body, but the life-blood which is throbbing in its veins and forms the real essence of human speech. Not the stems or words alone, but the inflectional forms, the syntactical shaping of the spoken word and the sentence itself are desiderata mostly craved for. Linguists must therefore, as reliable grammars and full dictionaries (all the words properly accentuated!) cannot be expected at once, place their hopes in collections of *texts* illustrating the native customs and manners, the religious beliefs, superstitions, scraps of Indian history, speeches, dialogues, songs and dirges, descriptions of manufactured articles, and of the houses, tools, implements and dress of each nation and tribe visited.

These texts should be given *in the Indian language*, and accompanied by a very accurate, and if possible, an interlinear and verbal translation of the items. All the commentaries and remarks needed for a full understanding of the texts should be added to it. The more material is furnished in this way, the better our linguists will be enabled to disclose the hidden scientific treasures stored up in these curious, but now almost unknown, forms of human speech, and to present them to the world, in the shape of grammars, dictionaries and anthologies of aboriginal prose and poetry. To the ethnologist such texts will be just as valuable as to the historian and the linguist.

#### THE LANGUAGES OF THE WESTERN SLOPE.

A most singular fact disclosed by the topography of language-stocks all over the world is the enormous difference of the *areas* occupied by the various families. In the Eastern hemisphere, we see the Uralo-Altaic,

<sup>1</sup> In 1875, the 29th year from its foundation, the Smithsonian Institution, in Washington, had collected texts, phraseology, and 771 vocabularies of about 200 words each, but for unknown reasons had published only a small portion of this enormous linguistic material.

the Chinese, the Indogermanic, Semitic and Dravidian, the Pullo and the Congo-Kafrian or Ba'-ntu family of languages, extending over areas much wider or as wide as the Tinné, Shóshoni, Algónkin, Dakóta, Cháhta-Máskoki and Guaraní stock, while small areas are, perhaps, as numerous in the Eastern hemisphere as in the Western. Their size evidently depends on the configuration and surface-quality of the lands, which again determine the mode of the subsistence of their inhabitants.

The natives of a country, when not influenced by the civilization of the white race, will in barren plains, steppes, prairies and woodland, generally become hunters; on the shores of the sea and on the banks of the larger rivers, they will resort to fishing, and sometimes, when settled on the coast, turn pirates or form smaller maritime powers, while the inhabitants of table-lands will till the fields, plant fructiferous trees, or collect esculent roots for their sustenance. Of these three modes of sustenance we see frequently two combined in one tribe. The fishers live peacefully and in *small* hordes, because large settlements, on *one* spot of a river bank at least, could not be supplied at all seasons of the year with a sufficient supply of fish from the river. Hunters become, from their nomadic habits, accustomed to a restless, adventurous life, and in their thus acquired warlike disposition will constantly threaten their weaker neighbors; if opportunity offers itself will declare war, overwhelm and enslave or destroy them, and thereby extend the dominion of their own language over a wider area. Agricultural pursuits bear in themselves the germs of steadiness, of order and progress; countries settled and improved by agriculturists will gradually, when the population becomes more dense, consolidate into oligarchies or monarchies, generally of a despotic character. Such political bodies have frequently absorbed neighboring communities engaged in similar pursuits, and turned with them into powerful empires, as in the case of the Aztecs, Mayas, Chibchas and Quichhuas, in the Western hemisphere. For obvious reasons pastoral pursuits were almost entirely unknown in America, but were powerful agents of culture in Asia and Europe, since they facilitated the transition from the hunter or nomadic state to the state of agriculturists.

California and portions of the Columbia river basin, with their numerous rivers and the enormous quantity of salmon, trout and lamprey eel ascending annually their limpid waters, were essentially countries occupied by fisher-tribes, and before the advent of the white man, are supposed to have harbored a dense native population. Among these fisher-tribes we also find the smallest areas of languages; six of them are

crowded on the two banks of the Klamath river and many more around the Sacramento, although these streams do not exceed in length, respectively, 250 and 400 miles. To produce or preserve so many small language families, totally distinct from each other in their radicals, these tribes must have lived during very long periods in a state of comparative isolation, and have remained almost untouched by foreign invaders, protected as they were by the sea coast, and by the high-towering wall of the snow-capped Sierra Nevada.

In the wide basin of the Upper Columbia river several tribes hunting the bear, buffalo, elk, deer and antelope, roam over the thinly populated prairies, and occupy enormous tracts of barren and sage-brush plains. Hunting tribes need a wide extent of territory, and when it is refused to them they will fight for it. Thus originate the constant wars of extermination among many of these tribes, and their encroachments over others in regard to territory. Of this we find the most conspicuous instances among the nomadic tribes roving between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi river.

In their morphological character the languages of America do not differ materially from the Asiatic tongues of agglutinative structure, except by their more developed power of polysynthetism. But in many of their number this faculty remains only in an embryonic state, and by dint of a far-going analysis, some of them approach the structure of our modern European analytic languages. Still, in a number of others, the incorporative tendency prevails in a high degree; they are synthetic as much as the Latin, Greek, or Gothic—many of them superlatively so. They use not only prefixes and affixes, as we do, but also infixes, viz: particles, or particle-fragments, inserted into the stem. As a general thing, American languages are not sex-denoting, though we find a distinction of sex in the dual of the Iroquois *verb*, and in some Central American verb-inflections, where *he* is distinguished from *she* in the personal pronoun. A true substantive verb *to be* is not found in any American language,<sup>1</sup> and the word-stems have not undergone that process of thorough differentiation between noun and verb which we observe in German, English, and French. These three languages we call accentuating, since the quantity of their syllables is of relative importance only, the influence of the accentuation being paramount. In many American languages we observe, on the contrary, that accent shifts from syllable to

<sup>1</sup> Full and detailed information concerning the structure prevailing in American languages, will be found in Prof. J. H. Trumbull's article on "Indian Languages," in Johnson's New Cyclopædia, vol. ii. New York, 1875.

syllable, though only in a restricted number of words, and that instead of the accent length and brevity of the syllables receive closer attention. Such idioms we may call quantitating languages, for their system of prosody does not seem to differ much from those of the classical languages.

No plausible cause can as yet be assigned for the frequent, perhaps universal, interchangeability of *b* with *p*, *d* with *t* and *n*, *g* with *k*, *χ*, and the lingual *k*, *m* with *b* and *v* (*w*), *hh* with *k*, *χ*; but as there is nothing fortuitous in nature or in language, a latent cause *must* exist for this peculiarity. No preceding or following sound seems to have any influence on this alternating process, and the vowels alternate in a quite similar manner.

From these general characteristics, to which many others could be added, we pass over to those peculiarities which are more or less specific to the languages of the Pacific Slope. It is not possible to state any absolute, but only some relative and gradual differences between these Western tongues and those of the East, of which we give the following:

The generic difference of animate, inanimate, and neuter nouns, is of little influence on the grammatical forms of the Pacific languages. A so-called *plural* form of the transitive and intransitive verb exists in Selish dialects, in Klamath, Mutsun, San Antonio (probably also in Santa Barbara), and in the Shóshoni dialects of Kautvuya and Gaitchin. Duplication of the entire root, or of a portion of it, is extensively observed in the formation of frequentative and other derivative verbs, of augmentative and diminutive nouns, of adjectives (especially when designating colors), etc., in the Selish and Sahaptin dialects, in Cayuse, Yakon, Klamath, Pit River, Chokoyem, Cop-éh, Cushna, Santa Barbara, Pima, and is very frequent in the native idioms of the Mexican States. The root or, in its stead, the initial syllable, is redoubled regularly, or frequently, for the purpose of forming a (distributive) plural of nouns and verbs in Selish dialects, in Klamath, Kizh, Santa Barbara, and in the Mexican languages of the Pimas, Opatas (including Heve), Tarahumaras, Tepeguanas, and Aztecs.

A definite article "*the*," or a particle corresponding to it in many respects, is appended to the noun, and imparts the idea of actuality to the verb in Sahaptin, Klamath, Kizh, Gaitchin, Kautvuya, Mohave. In San Antonio this article is placed *before* the noun. The practice of appending various "classifiers" or determinatives to the cardinal numerals, to point out the different qualities of the objects counted, seems to be general in the Pacific tongues, for it can be traced in the Selish proper,

in the Nisqualli (a western Selish dialect), in Yákima, in Klamath, in Noce or Noze, and in Aztec. In De la Cuestas' Mutsun grammar, however, no mention is made of this synthetic feature. .

The phonological facts, most generally observed throughout the coast lands, from Puget Sound to San Diego, are as follows: Absence of the labial sound *F* and of our rolling *R* (the guttural *kʰ* or *χ* is often erroneously rendered by *r*); comparative scarcity of the medial or soft mutes as initial and final consonants of words; frequency of the *u*, or croaking, lingual *k*, identical with the *c castañuelas* of the South; sudden stops of the voice in the midst of a word or sentence; preponderance of clear and surd vowels over nasalized vowels. From all the information obtainable at present, we can properly infer that all the above mentioned peculiarities will by future investigators be discovered to exist also in many *other* tongues of our Pacific States. In the northern sections the consonantic elements predominate to an enormous degree, sometimes stifling the utterance of the vowels; many southern tongues, on the contrary, show a tendency towards vocalism, though the consonantic frame of the words is not in any instance disrupted or obliterated by the vocalic element, as we observe it in Polynesia. Languages, with a sonorous, sweet, soft, and vocalic utterance, and elementary vocalism, are the Mohave, Hualapai, Meewoc, Tuólumne and Wintoon (and Kalapuya further north), while the dialects of the Santa Barbara stock seem to occupy an intermediate position between the above and the Northern languages.

Unnumbered tongues have in the course of centuries disappeared from the surface of these Western lands, and no monuments speak to us of their extent, or give a glimpse at the tribes which used them. Many others are on the verge of extinction; they are doomed to expire under the overpowering influx of the white race. Other languages labor under the continued influence of linguistic corruption and intermixture with other stocks, and the Chinook jargon seems to make havoc among the tongues of the Columbia river. To transmit these languages to posterity in their unadulterated state, is not yet altogether impossible in the decennium in which we live, and would be a highly meritorious undertaking. It would be equivalent almost to rescuing these remarkable linguistic organisms from undeserved oblivion.

In the subsequent pages I attempt to give a synoptical survey of our Pacific language-stocks west of the Rocky Mountains (excluding the Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona), based on the writings of such predecessors as George Gibbs, Latham, H. H. Bancroft, Stephen Powers,



and I have taken pains to carefully compare their data with the linguistic material available. For obvious reasons, I have found myself frequently constrained to dissent from them, and I claim the decision of men of undoubted competency concerning the correctness of my classifications.

SHÓSHONI.—The Shóshoni family borders and encircles all the other stocks of the Pacific Slope of the United States, on the *eastern side*, and my enumeration, therefore, commences with the dialects of this populous and widely-scattered inland nation. The natives belonging to this race occupy almost the whole surface of the great American Inland Basin, extending from the Rocky Mountains to the Sierra Nevada. To the northeast, and all along the western border, they have crossed these towering land-marks, constructed by nature itself, but do not appear to have interfered considerably with the original distribution of the tribes in the Californian valleys and mountain recesses. The dispositions evinced by them are more of a passive and indolent than of an aggressive, offending or implacable nature, though they are savages in the truest sense of the word; some bands of Utahs, for instance, really seem too low-gifted ever to become a cause for dread to peaceful neighbors. We do not yet understand any of their numerous dialects thoroughly, but as far as the southern dialects are concerned, a preponderance of surd and nasalized *a*, *o* and *u* vowels over others is undoubted. They all possess a form for the plural of the noun; the Comanche, even one for the dual. Their dialects are, sketched in the rough, as follows:

*Snake*.—This dialect received its name from the Shóshoni, Lewis or Snake river, on whose shores one of the principal bands of Snake Indians was first seen. Granville Stuart, in his "Montana as it is" (New York, 1865), gives the following ethnological division: *Washakeeks*, or Green River Snakes, in Wyoming; *Took-arikkah*, or Salmon River Snakes (literally, "Mountain-sheep Eaters"), in Idaho. These two bands he calls genuine Snakes. Smaller bands are those of the *Salt Lake Diggers* in Utah, the *Salmon Eaters* on Snake river, the root-digging *Bannocks* or *Pa-nasht*, on Boisé, Malheur and Owyhee rivers, and a few others, all of whom differ somewhat in their mode of speech. Snakes of the *Yahooshkin* and *Walpahpe* bands were settled recently on Klamath reserve in Oregon, together with a few Piutes.

*Utah* (*Yutah*, *Eutaw*, *Ute*; Spanish, *Ayote*.) is spoken in various dialects in parts of Utah, Wyoming and Arizona Territories, and in the western desert regions of Colorado, where a reservation of "Confederated Utes" has been established, with an area of twelve millions of acres.

To draw an accurate limit between the numerous bands of the Utahs, and those of the Snakes and Payutes seems to be impossible at present, since all of them show the same national characteristics. I give the names of some of the more important bands of Utah Indians, which no doubt differ to a certain degree in their sub-dialects: *Elk Mountain Utahs* in Southeastern Utah; *Pah-Vants* on Sevier Lake, southeast of Salt Lake; *Sampitches*, on Sevier Lake and in Sampitch Valley; *Tash-Utah* in Northern Arizona; *Uinta-Utahs* in Uintah Valley Reserve; *Weber-Utahs*, northeast of Salt Lake; *Yampa-Utahs*, south of the Uinta-Utahs.

*Payute*—(*Pah-Utah*, *Pi-Utc*—literally, "River-Utah; Utah, as spoken on Colorado river"), a sonorous, vocalic dialect spoken throughout Nevada, in parts of Arizona and California. The dialect of the Southern Payutes on Colorado river closely resembles that of the neighboring *Chemehuevis*, but differs materially from that spoken in Northern Nevada, and from the dialect of Mono and Inyo counties, California. Other Payute tribes are the Washoes and Gosh-Utes.

*Kauvuya*—(*Cawio*; Spanish, *Cahuillo*) This branch of the Shóshoni stock prevails from the Cabezón Mountains and San Bernardino Valley, California, down to the Pacific coast, and is at present known to us in four dialects: *Serrano*, or mountain dialect, spoken by Indians, who call themselves *Takhtam*, which means "men, people." *Kauvuya*, in and around San Bernardino Valley. *Gaitchin* or *Kechi*, a coast dialect in use near the Missions of San Juan Capistrano and San Luis Rey de Francia. *Netéla* is another name for it. *Kish*, spoken in the vicinity of the Mission of San Gabriel by a tribe calling itself *Tobikhar*, or "settlers," and of San Fernando Mission, almost extinct. The two last mentioned dialects considerably differ among themselves, and from the mountain dialects of the *Takhtam* and *Kauvuyas*.

*Comanche*, formerly called *Hietan*, *Jétan*, *Na-uni*, in Northern Texas, in New Mexico and in the Indian Territory. They are divided into three principal sections, and their language resembles in a remarkable degree that of the Snakes.

Various Shóshoni dialects have largely influenced the stock of words of a few idioms, which otherwise are foreign to this family. We mean the Pueblo idioms of New Mexico, the Moqui of Arizona, and the Kiowa, spoken on Red River and its tributaries. There exists a deep-seated connection between the Shóshoni stock and several languages of Northern Mexico in the radicals, as well as in the grammatical inflections, which has been pointed out and proved in many erudite treatises by Professor T. C. E. Buschmann, once the collaborator of the two brothers Alexander and William von Humboldt.

**YUMA.**—The Indians of the Yuma stock are scattered along the borders of the Lower Colorado and its affluents, the Gila river and the Bill Williams Fork. Their name is derived from one of the tribes—the Yumas—whom their neighbors frequently call Cuchans or Ko-utchans. Some dialects, as the Mohave, possess a large number of sounds or phonetic elements, the English *th* amongst them, and are almost entirely built up of syllables, which contain but one consonant followed by a vowel. The verb possesses a plural form. At present we know of about seven dialects:—*Mohave* (Spanish *Mojave*), on Mohave river and on Colorado River Reservation; *Hualapai*, on Colorado River Agency; *Maricopa*, formerly Cocomaricopa, on Pima Reservation, Middle Gila river; *Tonto*, Tonto-Apaches or *Gohun*, on Gila river and north of it; *Cocopa*, near Fort Yuma and south of it; *Cuchan* or Yuma, on Colorado river; their former seats were around Fort Yuma; *Diegeño* and *Comoyei*, around San Diego, along the Coast, on New river, etc.

Scattered tribes are the Cosinos or Casninos, and the Yavipais or Yampais, east of the Colorado river. The term *opa*, composing several of these tribal names, is taken from the Yuma, and means *man*; the definite article *-ich* joined to it forms the word *épach* or *Apache*, “man, men, people.”

**PIMA.**—Dialects of this stock are spoken on the middle course of the Gila river, and south of it on the elevated plains of Southern Arizona and Northern Sonora, (Pimería alta, Pimería baja). The Pima does not extend into California, unless the extinct, historical *Cajuenches*, mentioned in Mexican annals, spoke one of the Pima (or Pijmo, Pimo) dialects. *Pima*, on Pima Reserve, Gila river, a sonorous, root-duplicating idiom; *Névome*, a dialect probably spoken in Sonora, of which we possess a reliable Spanish grammar, published in Shea's *Linguistics*; *Pápago*, on Pápago Reserve in south-western Arizona.

**SANTA BARBARA.**—We are not cognizant of any national name given to the race of Indians who spoke the intricate dialects of this language-family. Its northern dialects differ as much from the southern as Minnitaré does from Santee-Dakota, or Scandinavian from the dialects of southern Germany.

The southern dialects are:—*Santa Inez*, near Santa Inez Mission; liturgic specimens, translations of parts of catechisms, etc., of this dialect, and of that of Santa Barbara Mission, were forwarded to the Smithsonian Institution by Mr. Alex. S. Taylor of Santa Barbara City; *Santa Barbara*, around Santa Barbara Mission, closely related to *Kasud* or *Kashwdh*, Spanish Cieneguita, three miles from Santa Barbara Mission;

*Santa Cruz Island*; this dialect reduplicated the root in forming the plural of nouns, and probably extended over the other Islands in its vicinity; it is extinct now.

The northern dialects are:—*San Louis Obispo*; stock of words largely mixed with Mutsun terms. The Indian name of the locality was Tixilini. *San Antonio*, spoken at or near San Antonio Mission, known to us through Padre Sitjar's dictionary. The plural of nouns is formed in more than twelve different ways, and the phonology is quite intricate.

MUTSUN.—This name, of unknown signification, has been adopted to designate a family of dialects extending from the environs of San Juan Bautista, Cal., in a north-western direction up to and beyond the Bay of San Francisco and the Straits of Karquines, in the East reaching probably to San Joaquin river. It is identical with the language called *Runsien* or *Rumsen*, and shows a great development of grammatical forms. Its alphabet lacks the sounds of *b*, *d*, *f* and of our rolling *r*. We can distinguish the following dialects:—*San Juan Bautista*; Padre F. Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta has left us a grammar and an extensive phraseological collection in this idiom, which were published by John G. Shea, in two volumes of his "Linguistic Series." *Mission of Carmelo*, near the Port of Monterey; the Eslenes inhabited its surroundings. *Santa Cruz*, north of the Bay of Monterey; vocabulary in New York Historical Magazine, 1864 (Feb.), page 68. *La Soledad Mission*; if this dialect, of whose grammatical structure we know nothing, really belongs to the Mutsun stock, it is at least largely intermixed with San Antonio elements. The tribe living around the Mission was called Sakhones. *Costaño*, on the Bay of San Francisco, spoken by the five extinct tribes of the Ahwastes, Olhones, Altahmos, Romonans, Tulomos. See Schoolcraft's Indians, Vol. II, page 494.

Under the heading of "Mutsun" I subjoin here a series of dialects spoken north of the Bay of San Francisco, which judging from the large number of Mutsun words, probably belong to this stock, but show also a large amount of Chocuyem words, which dialect is perhaps not, according to our present information, a Mutsun dialect. This point can be decided only when its grammatical elements, as verbal inflection, etc., will be ascertained.

The dialects, showing affinities with Mutsun, are as follows: *Olamentke*, spoken on the former Russian colony about Bodega Bay, Marin Co.; vocabulary in Wrangell, Nachrichten, etc., St. Petersburg, 1839, and reprinted by Prof. Buschmann. *San Rafael Mission*, Marin Co. Vocabulary taken by Mr. Dana; printed in Hale's Report of Exploring

Expedition, and in Transactions of American Ethnological Society, II, page 128; the words are almost identical with those of Chocuyem. *Talatui* or *Talantui*, on Kassima River, an eastern tributary of the Sacramento, is clearly a dialect of Chocuyem; vocabulary by Dana, Tr. Am. Ethn. Soc., Vol. II. *Chokuyem* or *Tchokoyem* was the name of a small tribe once inhabiting Marin County, north of the Golden Gate. Their language extended across San Antonio Creek into Sonoma valley, Sonoma Co. G. Gibbs' vocabulary, published in Schoolcraft, III, 428-sq, discloses the singular fact that almost all Chocuyem words are *dissyllabic*, and frequently begin and terminate in vowels. A Lord's prayer in Chocuyem was published in Duflot de Mofras' Explorations, II, 390; and reproduced by Bancroft; the name of the tribe living around the mission of San Rafael was Youkiousmé, which does not sound very alike, nor very different from "Chocuyem." Some of the more important terms agreeing in the Chocuyem and in the Mutsun of San Bautista, are as follows:

ENGLISH.	CHOCUYEM.	MUTSUN.
head	móloh	mogel
teeth	ki-ih	sit, si-it
foot	coyok	coro
house	kotchâ	kuka, ruca
white	pahkiss	palcasmin
black	mîlûta	humulusmin
I, myself	kani	can
thou	mî	men
two	osha	utsgin
father	api	appa
mother	enu	anan

The supposition that the Chocuyem belongs to the Mutsun stock is greatly strengthened by the mutual correspondence of these terms, but cannot be stated yet as existing on this ground alone, for the terms for most numerals, parts of human body, and those for fire, water, earth, sun, moon and star disagree entirely.

The Chocuyem stock probably included also the Petaluma or Yolhios, as well as the Tomalo and other dialects spoken beyond the northern limit of Marin County. From a notice published by Alex. S. Taylor, Esq., we learn that Padre Quijas, in charge of Sonoma Mission from 1835 to 1842, composed an extensive dictionary of the idiom spoken in the vicinity of this religious establishment.

YOCUT.—This tribe lives in the Kern and Tulare basins, and on the middle course of the San Joaquin river. Consolidated in 1860 into one

coherent body by their chief, Pascual, the Yocuts show more national solidarity than any other California nation. In the *Overland Monthly*, Mr. Stephen Powers gave a sketch of this remarkable tribe, and described at length one of their terrific nocturnal weeping dances, called Kotéwachil. The following tribes and settlements may be mentioned here: *Taches* (*Tatches*), around Kingston; *Chewence*, in Squaw valley; *Watooga*, on King's river; *Chookchancies*, in several villages; a *King's river* tribe, whose vocabulary is mentioned in Schoolcraft's *Indians*, Vol. IV, 413-414; *Coconoos*, on Merced river; their vocabulary in Schoolcraft, IV, 413; a tribe formerly living at Dent's Ferry, on Stanislaus river, in the Sierra Nevada of Calaveras County, vocabulary given by Alex. S. Taylor in his "California Farmer." In former years many individuals of the Yocut nation were carried as captives to San Luis Obispo, on the coast, and were put to work in the service of the mission.

**MEEWOC.**—Stephen Powers (*Overland Monthly*, April, 1873) calls the Meewoc tribe the largest in California in population, and in extent. "Their ancient dominion reached from the snow-line of the Sierra Nevada to the San Joaquin river, and from the Cósumnes to the Fresno; mountains, valleys and plains were thickly peopled." Bands of this tribe lived in a perfectly naked state in the Yosemite Valley, when this spot first came into notice. The language is very homogeneous for a stretch of one hundred and fifty miles, and the radicals and words are remarkably vocalic. Meewoc, mí-ua, mivie, is the word for "Indian," and osoamit, whence "Yosemite," means the grizzly bear; "wakálumi" is a "river," hence Mokélumne was formed by corruption; "kossumi" a salmon, hence Cósumnes river. Some of the Meewoc bands were called by the following names, which probably represent as many dialects or sub-dialects: *Choomteyas*, on middle Merced river; *Cawnecs*, on Cósumne river; *Yulónecs*, on Sutter Creek; *Awdnecs* in Yosemite Valley; *Chowchillas*, on middle Chowchilla river; *Tuólumne*, on Tuólumne river. Their vocabulary was taken by Adam Johnson, and published in Schoolcraft's *Indians*, IV., 413. *Four Creek Indians*; vocabulary published in the *San Francisco Wide West* in July, 1856, under the name of Kahwéyah, but differing considerably in the words given by Mr. Powers. Some further Meewoc bands are called after the cardinal points of the compass.

**MEIDOO.**—The Meidoo nation formerly extended from Sacramento river to the snow-line, and from Big Chico Creek to Bear river, the cognate Neeshenams from Bear river to the Cósumnes, where the language changed abruptly. The Meidoos are a joyful, merry and dance-loving race. Their language is largely made up of vocalic elements;

vowels and n's terminate more than one-half of their words. We possess vocabularies of the following bands: *Yuba*, opposite the mouth of Yuba river, a tributary of Feather river. A collection of some forty words was made by Lieut. Edward Ross, and published in *Historical Magazine of New York*, 1863, page 123. *Cushna*, on mountains of South Yuba river, Nevada county. Vocabulary by Adam Johnson, an Indian agent, published in *Schoolcraft*, II., page 494. *Pujuni*, or Bushumnes, on western bank of Sacramento river; *Secumnes*, also west of Sacramento river. Short vocabularies of both dialects were collected by Mr. Dana, and reprinted in *Tr. Am. Ethnol. Soc.*, Vol. II. *Neeshenam*, south of Bear river; Powers separates them as a distinct nation from the Meidoos; but from the words given, it appears that both speak dialects of the same language. Their bands are partly called after the points of the compass. Of other Meidoo tribes or bands, we mention the *Otdkumne* in the Otakey settlement; the *Ollas*, opposite mouth of Bear river, and the *Concows* or *Cancows*, in Concow Valley. Mr. Powers gives the names of about a dozen more. Perhaps the little tribe of the undersized *Noces*, or *Nozes*, in Round Mountain, Oak Run and vicinity, has to be classified here, because a few of their numerals, which almost all end in *mona*, agree with those of the Cushnas. Mr. Powers supposes these and the ferocious *Mill Creek Indians* to be of foreign origin.

WINTOON.—The timid, superstitious and grossly sensual race of the Wintoons is settled on both sides of upper Sacramento and upper Trinity rivers, and is found also on the lower course of Pit River. Stephen Powers calls their language rich in forms and synonyms; the dialect studied by Oscar Loew forms the plurals of its nouns by means of a final *-t* preceded by a reduplicated vowel of the root. Loew's vocabulary, published with one of the Uinta-Utah and thirteen others by the author of this article in his recent publication. "*Zwölf Sprachen aus dem Südwesten Nord-Amerikas; Weimar 1876*" (150 pages), offers a few words of very difficult guttural pronunciation; but in general the language (called "Digger" in that vocabulary) is of a soft and sonorous character.

Some of the more noteworthy Wintoon tribes are as follows:—*Dowpum* Wintoons, on Cottonwood creek, the nucleus of this race; *Noemocs* or "southern people;" *Pooemocs* or "eastern people;" *Nome Lakees* or "western talkers;" *Wikainmocs*, on extreme upper Trinity river and Scott Mountain; *Normocs*, on Hay Fork; *Tchdmas*, near Teháma Town; *Mag Reading* Wintoons: vocabulary taken about 1852, by Adam Johnson, and published in *Schoolcraft*, IV, p. 414. *Copel.* A tribe of this name was found at the head of Putos creek, the words of which are mostly dissyllabic, and partake of the vocalic nature of southern languages.

Stephen Powers calls by the name *Patween* a race inhabiting the west side of the middle and lower Sacramento, Caché and Putos creek, and Napa Valley. Physically, the Patweens do not differ from the Wintoons. Their complexion varies from brassy bronze to almost jet-black; they walk pigeon-toed, and have very small and depressed heads, the arch over their eyes forming sometimes a sharp ridge. They are socially disconnected and have no common name; but their language does not differ much in its dialects, and belongs, as far as we are acquainted with it, to the Wintoon stock. Powers (*Overland Monthly*, December, 1874, p. 542, sqq.) classes under this heading a number of clans or bands, of which we mention:—*Suisuns*, in Suisun Valley, Solano Co.; *Ululatos*, in Ulatus Creek, near Vacaville; *Lewytos* and *Putos*, in Putos Creek; *Napas*, in Napa Valley; *Lolsels*, east of Clear Lake; *Corusics*, near Colusa, on Sacramento river; *Chenposels*, on Caché Creek; *Noyukies*, inter-married with Wintoons, on Stony Creek. *Guilulos* or *Guillilas*, in Sonora Valley. A Lord's Prayer given in their dialect, by Duflot de Mofras, ii, p. 391, differs entirely from the Chocuyem, hence the Guilulo may belong to the Patween stock. The words of the *Napa* root-diggers, collected by Major Bartlett, and another vocabulary of the Napa have not yet been published by the Smithsonian Institution.

YUKA.—The Yuka or Uka language extends over a long and narrow strip of territory parallel for a hundred miles to the Pomo dialects and the coast, in and along the coast range. The area of the Pomo language, however, breaks across that of the Yuka from the West at Ukiah and surrounds Clear Lake. The revengeful race of the Yukas, who are conspicuous by very large heads placed on smallish bodies, originally dwelt in Round valley, east of Upper Eel river. Nôme Cult, meaning "western tribe," is the Wintoon name for this solitary and fertile valley, which has become the seat of an Indian Reservation. Of the Yuka we have a short vocabulary by Lieut. Edward Ross in *N. Y. Historical Magazine* for April, 1863. Surd vowels, perhaps nasalized, are frequent; also the ending *-um*, *-un*, which is probably the plural termination of nouns. No connection with the Chokuyem is perceptible, but a faint resemblance with the Cushna can be traced in a few words. Other tribes speaking Yuka are the *Ashochemies* or *Wappos*, formerly inhabiting the mountain tract from the Geysers down to Calistoga Hot Springs; the *Shumeias*, at the head of Eel river; and the *Tahtos*, on the middle and south forks of Eel river, and at the head of Potter Valley.

POMO.—The populous, unoffending Pomo race is settled along the coast, on Clear Lake and on the heads of Eel and Russian rivers; a portion



of them now inhabits the Reservation of Round valley, together with their former tormentors, the Yukas. Those of the interior show more intelligence and a stronger physical constitution than the coast Pomo. The Cahto Pomo and the Ki Pomo, on Eel river, have adopted the Tinné dialect of the Wi Lakee, which is closely allied to Hoopa. Powers considers as the nucleus of the numerous Pomo tribes the Pome Pomo, living in Potter Valley, a short distance northwest of Clear Lake. The language rapidly changes from valley to valley; but the majority of the dialects are sonorous, and the vocalic element preponderates.

We enumerate the following bands:—*Pome Pomo*, "earth people," in Potter Valley. *Ballo Ki Pomo*, "Wild Oat Valley people," in Potter Valley. *Choan Chadéla Pomo*, "Pine-pitch people," in Redwood Valley. *Matomey Ki Pomo*, "Wooded Valley people," around Little Lake. *Usàls* or *Camalél Pomo*, on Usal Creek. *Shebalne Pomo*, "neighbor people," in Sherwood Valley. *Gallinomeros*, below Healdsburg; a few grammatical informations given in H. H. Bancroft's *Native Races*, Vol. iii, part second. *Yuka-i* or *Ukiah*, on Russian river, (not to be confounded with Yuka in Round valley); vocabulary by G. Gibbs in *Schoolcraft*, Vol. III, (1853.) *Choweshak*, at the head of Eel river; Gibbs' vocabulary in *Schoolcraft*, III, pp. 434, sqq. *Batemdikaie*, at the head of Eel river, called after the valley in which they live; vocabulary in *Schoolcraft*, III, 434, sqq. *Kulanapo*, on southwest shore of Clear Lake; vocabulary in *Schoolcraft*, III, 428. Bancroft has called attention to the fact that many words of this and other dialects, spoken south of it, correspond to Polynesian and Malay terms, but on account of the uncertain nature of Oceanic consonantism, he is unwilling to draw any ethnological deductions from this coincidence. Kulanapo agrees pretty closely with Choweshak and Batemdikaie, but differs somewhat from Chwachamaju. *Chwachamaju*, to the north of Bodega bay. The words in Wrangell's vocabulary (see Olamentke, *Mutsum*) appear to agree more closely with Yuka-i than with any other Pomo dialect.

**WISHOSK.**—Spoken on a very small area around the mouth of the Eel river, on the seacoast, and called so from the Indian name for Eel river. We know of two sub-dialects almost entirely identical, and showing a rather consonantic word-structure. Vocabularies were collected with care by George Gibbs, and published in *Schoolcraft* III, p. 422. *Weeyot*, or *Vecard*, on mouth of Eel river; *Wishosk*, on northern part of Humboldt Bay, near mouth of Mad river; *Patawat*, identical with G. Gibbs' Kowilth, or Koquilth; and about a dozen other settlements speaking dialects of the same language.—Proceeding through the basin of the

Klamath river, we meet with a number of small, socially incoherent, bands of natives engaged in salmon or trout fishing on the shores of this stream and of its tributaries. Some do not possess any tribal name, or name for their common language, and were in a bulk called Klamath River Indians, in contradistinction to the Klamath Lake Indians, E-ukshikni, on the head of Klamath river. These latter I call here "Klamaths."

EUROK.—The Euroc tribe inhabits both banks of the Klamath river, from its mouth up to the Great Bend, at the influx of the Trinity river. The name simply means "down" (down the river), and another name given them by their neighbors, Pohlik, means nearly the same. Their settlements frequently have three or four names. Requa is the village at the mouth of the Klamath river, from which they set out when fishing at sea. The language sounds rough and guttural; the vowels are surd, and often lost between the consonants, as in *mrpr*, *nose*; *chlh*, *chlec*, *earth*; *wrh-yenex*, *child*. In conversation, the Eurocs terminate many words by catching sound (-h') with a grunt; with other Indians we observe this less frequently. They are of darker complexion than the Cahroks, and in 1870 numbered 2,700 individuals in the short stretch of forty miles along the river.

WEITS-PEK.—In Schoolcraft we find a vocabulary named after the Indian encampment at Weits-pek, a few miles above the great bend of Klamath river, on the north shore, whose words totally disagree from Eurok, Cahrok, Shasta, or any other neighboring tongue. Palegawonáp is another name for the tribe or its language.

CAHROK.—*Cahrok*, or *Carrook*, is not a tribal, but simply a conventional name, meaning "above, upwards" (up the Klamath river, as Eurok means "down," and Modoc—probably—at the head of the river"). The Cahrok tribe extends along Klamath river from Bluff Creek, near Weits-pek, to Indian Creek, a distance of eighty miles. Pehtsik is a local name for a part of the Cahroks; another section of them, living at the junction of Klamath and Salmon (or Quoratem) rivers, go by the name of Ehnek. Stephen Powers thinks that the Cahroks are probably the finest tribe in California; that their language much resembles the Spanish in utterance, and is not so guttural as the Euroc. In Schoolcraft we find vocabularies from both tribes.

TOLEWA.—The few words of the Tolewa, or Tahlewah language on Smith river, between Klamath and Rogue rivers, which were given to G. Gibbs by an unreliable Indian from another tribe, show a rough and guttural character, and differ entirely in their radicals from any other language spoken in the neighborhood.

SHASTA.—At the time of the Rogue River War the Shastas, or Shasteecas, became involved in the rebellion of their neighbors, and after their defeat the warriors of both tribes were removed, with their families, to the Grand Ronde and Siletz Reserves in Oregon. Hence, they almost entirely disappeared from their old homes in the Shasta and Scott Valleys, which are drained by affluents of the Klamath river, and also from their homes on Klamath river, from Clear Creek upwards. Nouns form their plurals by adding *oggára*, *ukára*, “many,” and the language does not sound disagreeably to our ears. We know this vocalic tongue only through a few words, collected by Dana; the Smithsonian Institution owns three vocabularies. The Scotts’ Valley band was called *Watsahéwa*; the names of other bands were *T-ka*, *Iddoa*, *Hotedoy*, *We-ohow*.

PIT RIVER.—The Pit River Indians, a poor and very abject-looking lot of natives, live on upper Pit river and its side creeks. In former years they suffered exceedingly from the raids of the Modocs and Klamath Lakes, who kidnapped and kept them as slaves, or sold them at the slave-market at Yánex in southern Oregon. Like the Pomos and most other Californians, they regard and worship the coyote-wolf as the creator and benefactor of mankind. Powers calls their language “hopelessly consonantal, harsh and sesquipedalian, very unlike the sweet and simple tongues of the Sacramento river.” Redoubling of the root seems to prevail here to a large extent. A few words from a sub-dialect are given by Mr. Bancroft, which do not differ materially from the “Palaik” (or Mountaineer) vocabulary printed in *Transactions of Am. Ethnol. Soc.*, Vol. II, p. 98. After a military expedition to their country, General Crook ordered a removal of many individuals of this tribe to the Round Valley reserve, where they are now settled. *Pít-su*, *Pít-isu* is the Wintoon name of the Pit River Indians, meaning “eastern people.” According to Mr. Powers’ statements (*Overland Monthly*, 1874, pp. 412, sgg.) the Pit River Indians are sub-divided in:—*Achomdwcs*, in the Fall river basin; from *achoma* “river,” meaning Pit river. *Hamefcuttelies*, in Big valley. *Astakaywas* or *Astakywich*, in Hot Spring valley; from *astakày*, hot spring. *Illmarwes*, opposite Fort Crook, south side of Pit river. *Pácamallies*, on Hat Creek.

KLAMATH.—The watershed between the Sacramento and Columbia river Basin consists of a broad and mountainous table-land rising to an average height of four to five thousand feet, and embellished by beautiful sheets of fresh water. The central part of this plateau is occupied by the Klamath Reservation, which includes lakes, prairies, volcanic ledges, and is the home of the Klamath stock of Indians, who inhabit it together with

the two Shóshoni tribes mentioned above. The nation calls itself (and other Indians) *Maklaks*, "the encamped, the settlers," a term which has been transcribed into English "Múckalucks," and ought to include all the four divisions given below. About 145 Modocs were, after the Modoc war of 1873, removed to Quápaw Agency, Indian Territory. The language is rich in words and synonyms, only slightly polysynthetic, and lacks the sounds *f* and *r*. They divide themselves into:—*Klamaths* or *Klamath Lakes*, *E-ukshikni*, from *e-ush* "lake;" on Big Klamath Lake. *Modocs* originally inhabiting the shores of Little Klamath Lake, now at Yánex. The Pit Rivers call them *Lútuam*; and they call the Pit Rivers, *Mó-atuash* or "southern dwellers." *Kómbatuash*, "grotto or cave dwellers," from their abode in the Lava Bed Caves—a medley of different races. Some *Mólele* or *Molále*, renegades of the Cayuse tribe, have recently become mixed with Rogue Rivers and Klamaths, and have adopted the Klamath language in consequence. No Klamath sub-dialects exist, the idioms of all these tribes being almost identical. Klamaths and other southern Oregonians communicate with other tribes by means of the Chinook jargon.

THE TINNÉ FAMILY.—The Tinné family of languages, which extends from the inhospitable shores of the Yukon and Mackenzie rivers to Fraser river, and almost to Hudson's Bay, sent in by-gone centuries a powerful offshoot to the Rio Grande del Norte and the Gila rivers, now represented by the Apache, Lipan and Návajo. Other fragments of the Tinné stock, represented by less populous tribes, wandered south of the Columbia river, and settled on the coast of the Pacific Ocean; they were the Kwalhioqua, Tlatskanai, Umpqua, Rogue Rivers (or Rascal Indians) and the Hoopa. Following them up in the direction from south to north, we begin with the Hoopa.

*Hoopa*.—The populous and compact Hoopa (or better, Hoopaw) tribe has its habitation on the Trinity, near its influx into Klamath river, California, and for long years kept in awe and submission the weaker part of the surrounding tribes and clans, exacting tributes, and even forcing their language upon some of them, as upon the Chimalaquays on New river, the Kailtas on Redwood Creek, and upon the two Pomo bands above mentioned. Powers holds their language to be copious in words, robust, strong in utterance, and of martial simplicity and rudeness. The *Wylakies*, or, *Wi Lakees*, near the western base of Shasta Butte, speak a Hoopa dialect. No information is at hand to decide whether the *Lassics* on Mad river, the *Tahahteens* on Smith river, and a few other tribes, speak, as the assumption is, Tinné dialects or not.

*Rogue River.*—The *Tototen*, *Tootooten*, or *Tututamys* tribe, living on Rogue river and its numerous side creeks, Oregon, speaks a language which is, like the majority of Oregonian and Northern tongues, replete of guttural and croaking sounds. According to Dr. Hubbard, whose vocabulary is published in Taylor's *California Farmer*, this nation comprised in 1856 thirteen bands, consisting in all of 1,205 individuals. (See article "Shasta.") The appearance of the numerals, the terms for the parts of the human frame, many other nouns and the pronoun, "*mine*," "*my*" (ho, hwo, hu), induced me to compare them with the Tinné languages. They differ considerably from Hoopa and Taculli, but singularly agree with Apache and Návaro, and Tototen has, therefore, to be introduced as a new offshoot of the coast branch into the great Tinné or Athapascan family of languages. The Smithsonian Institution owns two vocabularies, inscribed "Rogue River," two "Tootooten," and one "Toutouten."

*Umpqua.*—The Umpquas live in and around Alsea sub-agency, on the sea coast, together with the Alsea, Sinselow and Coos Indians. Their idiom is softer than the other branches of the Tinné stock. Further north we find two other small tribes of the same origin, whose languages were studied only by Horatio Hale, of Wilkes' Exploring Expedition. One of them was the *Tlatskanai*, south of Columbia river; the other, the *Kwalhioqua*, at the outlet of this stream, both extremely guttural. On account of the smallness of the tribes speaking them, these idioms have probably become extinct; their owners merged into other tribes, and were identified with them beyond recognition. They roved in the mountains at some distance from the coast and the Columbia, living on game, berries and esculent roots.

YAKON.—Before 1848, the Yakon tribe was settled on the Oregon coast, south of the Tillamuks, numbering then about seven hundred individuals. In the collection of fifty Yakon words, given in *Transactions of Am. Ethn. Soc.* II., part 2d, pp. 99 sqq, we discover very few monosyllables, but many clusters of consonants, not easily pronounced by English speaking people, as kwotxl, *fingers*; pusuntxlxa, *three*.

CAYUSE.—The national appellation of the Cayuses, whose home is in the valley of Des Chutes river, Oregon, is Wayiletpu, the plural form of Wa-ilet, "one Cayuse man." The Wayiletpu formerly were divided into Cayuses and Moléles, but the latter separated, went south and joined other tribes (see Klamath), or were removed to the Grande Ronde Reserve. The Cayuses are rapidly assimilating, or identifying themselves, with the Walawalas on and around Umatilla Agency, about seventy

miles east of Des Chutes river outlet, and a majority of them has forgotten already their paternal idiom. Judging from the Cayuse words printed in the Transactions of Am. Ethn. Society II, p. 97, this language prefers consonantic to vocalic endings, and possesses the aspirates *th* and *f*. The occurrence of both sounds, especially of *f*, is not uncommon in Oregonian languages.

**KALAPUYA.**—The original seats of this tribe were in the upper Willamette Valley. The laws of euphony are numerous in this language, whose utterance is soft and harmonious; thus it forms a remarkable contrast with all the surrounding languages, the sounds of which are uttered with considerable pectoral exertion. The personal pronoun is used also as a possessive; no special termination exists for the dual or plural of nouns. *Yamkally*, on head of Willamette river, has many words in common with Kalapuya, and is supposed to belong to the same stock.

**CHINOOK.**—The populous, Mongol-featured nation of the Chinooks once dwelt on both sides of the Lower Columbia; but after the destruction of four-fifths of their number in 1823 by a terrible fever-epidemy, a part of the survivors settled north, and now gradually disappear among the Chehalis. The pronunciation is very indistinct, the croakings in lower part of the throat frequent, the syntaxis is represented as being a model of intricacy. To confer with the Lower, the Upper Chinooks had to use interpreters, although the language of both is of the same lineage. The dialects and tribes were distributed as follows: **LOWER CHINOOK**, from mouth of Columbia river up to Multnomah Island, Clatsop; Chinook proper; Wakiakum; Katlámat. **MIDDLE CHINOOK**—Multnomah, Skilloot. **UPPER CHINOOK**—Watlála or Watxlála, showing a dual and a plural form in the inflection of the noun; Klakamat, south-east of Portland, a tribe once dispossessed of its homes by the Moléles; the idiom of the Cascade Indians, and of the extinct Waccanesis. Following the authority of George Gibbs, I mention also as an Upper Chinook dialect the Wasco or Cathlasco language. From their original homes east of the Dalles, the Wascoes were removed to the Warm Spring Agency.

**CHINOOK JARGON.**—The location of the Chinooks in the central region of western border commerce, and on the outlet of the international roadway of Columbia river, rendered the acquisition of the Chinook, or Tsinúk language very desirable for the surrounding tribes. But the nature of this language made this a rather difficult task, and so a trade language gradually formed itself out of Chinook, Chehali, Selish, Nootka and other terms, which, on the advent of the whites, were largely in-

creased by French, and in a less degree by English words. The French words were derived from the Canadian and Missouri patois of the fur traders. Two-fifths of the jargon terms were taken from Chinook dialects, and as the inflectional forms, prefixes and affixes of these unwieldy idioms were dropped altogether, and replaced by particles or auxiliaries, the acquisition of the Jargon became easy. A comprehensive sketch of this idiom will be found in the preface to George Gibbs' "Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon," New York, 1863 (in Shea's Linguistics).

We have similar instances of medley jargons from very disparate languages in the Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean ports, in the Pidgin English of Canton, the Negro-English-Dutch of Surinam, the Slavé on the Upper Yukon river, in a Sahaptin slave-jargon, and in the numerous "women-languages" of South America.

SAHAPTIN.—This name belongs to a small affluent of the Kooskooskie or Clearwater river, and has been adopted to designate the stock of languages spoken in an extensive territory on the middle and lower Columbia river, and on its tributaries, Yákima, Paluse, Clearwater and Snake rivers. The morphological part of the Sahaptin grammar is rich and well developed, and polysynthetism is carried up to a high degree. The exterior of the race recalls the bodily structure, not the complexion, of the Mongolian type of mankind. The eastern-most tribe is:

*Nez-Percés*, the most numerous and powerful Sahaptin tribe, settled on a reserve in Northern Idaho (about 2,800 Indians), or roaming in the neighborhood. A sketch of their grammar was published in Transactions of American Ethn. Society. The western and northern Sahaptin tribes are the following: *Wálawdla* ("Rivermen"), on Umatilla Agency, in Northeastern Oregon; *Palús* or Paloose, on Palús River and Yákima Reservation; *Yákama* or Yákima, on Yákima Reserve, Washington Territory. Rev. Pandosy wrote a Grammar, Texts and Dictionary of this dialect, which were published in Mr. Shea's Linguistic Series. From their habitat they are called Pshuanwappum, "dwellers in the stony country." *Klíkitat*, on Yákima Reserve and vicinity, formerly roaming through the woodlands around Mount St. Helens. *Umatilla*, on Oregon side of Columbia River and on Umatilla Agency. No vocabularies. *Warm Spring Indians* on west side of Middle Des Chutes River. They call themselves Tishxáni-hhláma, after a locality on that water-course, or Milli-hhláma, from the thermal sources surging on the territory of their reservation (milli, "bubbling, or tepid," hhláma, "belonging to, pertaining").

A slave jargon exists among the Nez-Percé Indians, which originated

through their intercourse with prisoners of war, and contains expressions for *eye, horse, man, woman* and other most common terms, which are entirely foreign to Sahaptin.

SELISH.—The Selish family extends from the Pacific Ocean and the Straits of Fuca, through American and partly through British territory to the Rocky Mountains and the 113. Meridian. This race is most densely settled around Puget Sound, and its main bulk resides north of Columbia River. By joining into one name their westernmost and easternmost dialect, their language has been called also Tsihaili-Selish, or Cheháli-Selish. A large number of words of this truly northern and superlatively jaw-breaking language are quite unpronounceable to Anglo-Americans and Europeans—i. e., *tsatxlsh, shoes*; *skaixlentxl, woman* in Tsihaili; *shitxltsó, shoes* in Atnah. This stock abounds in inflectional and syntactical forms, and redoubles the root or part of it extensively, but always in a *distributive* sense. It divides itself into a large number of dialects and subdialects, among which we point out the subsequent ones as probably the most important, going from West to North, and then to the East: *Nsietsshawus* or *Tillamuk* (Killamuk), on Pacific Coast, south of Columbia River; *Tsihaili, Cheháli*; on or near Pacific Coast Washington Territory: has three subdialects; *Tsihaili* proper on Chehali River and in Puyallup Agency; *Quiantl, Quaiantl* or *Kwantlen*; *Qutniauitl*. A few *Chehalis* and Chinooks inhabit Shoalwater Bay. *Cowlitz* or *Ká-ualitsk*, spoken on Puyallup Agency. Their ancient home is the valley of the Cowlitz River, a northern tributary of the Lower Columbia River. *Soaiatlpi*, west of Olympia City. This tribe once included the Kettlefalls Indians. *Nisqualli, N'skwáli*; east of Olympia, on Nisqualli River, settled there in company with the Squaxins, on Puyallup Agency. *Clallam, (S'Clallum)* on S'Kokomish Agency, northwest of Olympia City. Twana, on same locality. *Dwamish*, partly settled on Tulalip sub-agency. *Lummi*, on Nootsak or Lummi River, near the British boundary. This dialect is largely impregnated with Nootka and other foreign elements. The *Shushwap, Suwapamuck* or *Southern Atnah* belongs to the Selish stock, but does not extend from middle course of Fraser River and its affluents so far south as to reach American territory. It closely resembles Selish proper. The Eastern Selish dialects are: *O'Kinakane (Okanagan)*, with the subdialect *St'lakam*, on Okanagan River, a northern tributary of Upper Columbia River and on Colville Reserve, which is located in the northeastern angle of Washington Territory. *Kullespelm, Kallispelm*, or Pend d'Oreille of Washington Territory, on Pend d'Oreille River and Lake Callispelm. The Upper Pend d'Oreille are settled on Flathead or



Jocko Reservation, Montana. *Spokane*, on Colville Reserve and vicinity; three subdialects; Sngomenei, Snpoilschi, Syk'eszilni. *Skitsuish* or Coeur d'Alène; on a reservation in northern Idaho. *Selish* proper or Flathead. The tribe speaking it resides on Flathead Reservation, and is called so without any apparent deformity of the head. The dialect lacks the sounds b, d, f, r; it has been studied by a missionary, Rev. Gregory Mengarini, who at present is writing a second edition of his "Grammatical linguæ Selicæ;" the first edition was published in New York, 1861 (in Shea's Linguistics). *Piskwaus* or *Piskwas*, on Middle Columbia River and on Yákima Reservation, Washington Territory.

Nootka.—The only dialect of this stock spoken within the limits of the United States is that of the *Makah*, Classet or Klaizzaht tribe in Neah Bay, near Cape Flattery. The Smithsonian Institution published in 1869 a very elaborate ethnological sketch of this fisher-tribe, written by James G. Swan. Nootka dialects are mainly in use on Vancouver's Island, which is divided in four areas of totally different families of languages.

Kootenai.—The Kootenai, Kitunaha, or Flatbow language spoken is on Kootenay river, an important tributary of Upper Columbia river, draining some remote portions of Idaho, Montana and the British possessions. A Lord's prayer in Kootenai is given in Bancroft's Native Races, vol. III, p. 620.

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In bestowing the greatest care and accuracy on the composition of this topographical survey of Pacific languages, my principal purpose was to give a *correct division* of the idioms into stocks, and their dialects and subdialects, and I shall be very grateful for suggestions correcting my statements, if any should be found erroneous. To have given another location for a tribe than the one it presently occupies, cannot be considered as a grave error, for many American tribes are nomadic, and shift constantly from one prairie, pasture or fishing place to another, or are removed to distant reservations by Government agents. For want of information, I was unable to classify the Hhána in Sacramento Valley, the Hagnaggi on Smith river, California, the Chitwout or Similkameen on the British-American border, and a few other tongues; but, in spite of this, I presume that the survey will be useful for orientation on this linguistic field, where confusion has reigned supreme for so many generations.

For the better guidance of students in ethnology and linguistics, I propose to classify all the Indian dialects in a very simple and clear manner, by adding to their dialect name that of the stock or family, as

it is done in zoology and botany with the genera and species. In the same manner as the Mescaleros and Lipans are called Mescalero-Apaches and Lipan-Apaches, we can form compound names, as:—Warm-Spring Sahaptin Fiskwâus Selish, Watxlâla Chinook, Kwalhioqua Tinné, Hoo-pâ Tinné, Dowpum Wintoon, Gallinomero Pomo, Coconoon Yocut, Kizh Skoshoni (or Kizh Kauvuya), Comoyei Yuma, Ottare Cherokee, Sêneca Iroquois, Abnâki Algónkin, Delaware Algonkin, and so forth. The help afforded to linguistic topography by this method would be as important as the introduction of Linnean terminology was to descriptive natural science, for genera and species exist in human speech as well as among animals and plants.

The *thorough* study of *one* Indian tongue is the most powerful incentive to instructed and capable travelers for collecting as much linguistic material as possible, and as accurately as possible, chiefly in the shape of texts and their translations. It is better to collect little information accurately, than much information of an unreliable nature. The signs used for emphasizing syllables, for nasal and softened vowels, for explosive, lingual, croaking, and other consonantic sounds must be noted and explained carefully; and the whole has to be committed to such publishers or scientific societies as are *not in the habit* of procrastinating publications. Stocks and dialects become rapidly extinct in the West, or get hopelessly mixed, through increased inter-tribal commerce, so that the original shape, pronunciation and inflection can no longer be recognized with certainty. The work must be undertaken in no distant time by zealous men, for after "the last of the Mohicans" will have departed this life, there will be no means left for us to study the most important feature of a tribe—its language—if it has not been secured in time by alphabetical notation.

ALBERT S. GATSCHET.

## JOHN CRUGER, MAYOR OF NEW YORK, SPEAKER OF NEW YORK ASSEMBLY

John Cruger was born in the City of New York, on the 18th of July, 1710. His father, John Cruger, was a merchant engaged in an extensive and prosperous business; was Alderman of the Dock, now the First ward of the City, from 1712 to 1733; was elected Mayor in 1739, and remained in office until his death in 1744.

John Cruger, the son and the subject of this memoir, was also a prominent and successful merchant. He was Alderman of the Dock ward in 1754 and 1755, and in 1756 was elected Mayor of the City, and continued in office until 1765. The first year of his service in the last named office was signalized by a vigorous protest on the part of the City Authorities, under his direction, against the order of Lord Loudon, Commander of the King's forces in America, quartering troops on the inhabitants.

In 1759 he was elected a member of the Assembly of the Colony of New York, and in 1761 he became a member of the same body, known as the Long Assembly, which continued in existence until 1769, and was one of the most earnest, determined and influential protestants against the arbitrary measures of the home government. Its resistance to encroachments upon the liberties of the American Colonies commenced in 1764 through memorials to the King, Lords and Commons, so bold and so determined in their assertions of right, and in their opposition to the measures of the Ministry and Parliament, that it is said no one could be found to present some of them to the latter. Mr. Bancroft, in his history in alluding to this period says, that no where was opposition so strong as in New York. A committee was appointed to correspond with other Colonial Assemblies, to resist taxation by the mother country. On this committee, and in these movements, which may be justly regarded as the germ of the American Revolution, John Cruger was one of the leading spirits.

The Stamp Act of 1765 intensified the indignation which existed throughout the Colonies, and aroused the opposition which led to its repeal in the following year. In October, 1765, the Stamp Act Congress as it was called, met in the City of New York. Nine States were represented by delegates, and the other four concurred by correspondence in the proceedings. On the 19th of the same month the Congress put forth

a "Declaration of the rights and grievances of the Colonies in America." They claimed that they were entitled to all the inherent rights and privileges of natural born subjects; that no taxes should be imposed on them without their consent given personally or by their representatives; and they asked for a repeal of the Stamp Act and other enactments infringing the rights of the Colonies. This Declaration was written by John Cruger, and it is a fair specimen of the clearness and force of his style. One of the acts in which he was most conspicuous for that combination of prudence and firmness for which he was distinguished, was his appearance as Mayor of the City of New York, accompanied by the Aldermen of the wards before the Lieutenant Governor of the Province, when the excited inhabitants were assembled in great numbers with imminent danger of violence, to induce him to give up the stamps, which had just arrived from England, to the City authorities. This mission was successful; the stamps were surrendered; the enforcement of the odious act was abandoned, and the public tranquility was restored. But for his tact and the forbearance of General Gage, there is little doubt that the prevailing exasperation would have led to scenes of violence and bloodshed.

There is a letter extant, dated the 5th of May, 1775, sixteen days after the battle of Lexington, which is highly creditable to the patriotism and firmness of the writer. It is addressed by Mr. Cruger to General Gage, advising him of a "fixed and confirmed resolution to withhold all supplies and succor from the troops" under his command; calls on him to order a cessation of hostilities, and asks that no military force may land or be stationed in New York. The tone of the letter is conciliatory, like all other papers from the same source; but there is no attempt to conceal the unalterable determination in which it is written.

In 1768 he headed an association of the most prominent merchants of New York in organizing the Chamber of Commerce, of which he was the first President, and which has been in existence to this day, exercising throughout this long period, as it still continues to do, an important and salutary influence upon the commercial and financial opinions and policy of the country. In 1769, on the organization of the new Assembly, he was unanimously elected Speaker, and held the office until 1775, when it adjourned for the last time, and his legislative service of sixteen years was brought to a close.

When the city of New York was occupied by the British forces, and General Washington withdrew into Westchester county, Mr. Cruger, who was then approaching seventy years of age, retired to Kinderhook,

and remained there to the close of the revolutionary war, when he returned to the city, and died a bachelor in the eighty-second year of his age.

It is impossible, in this brief memoir, to do justice to the subject. Mr. Cruger was undeniably one of the most patriotic, intelligent and efficient supporters in New York of the measures adopted by the American Colonies for the maintenance of their rights. Of a manly and dignified presence, with a firmness which never quailed, a prudence which rejected all rash councils, a style of writing remarkable for its purity and strength, and manners distinguished for their courtesy and grace, he exercised, as a writer and an actor, over those with whom he was associated, the influence such a combination of personal and mental endowments was calculated to command.

The family of Mr. Cruger is one of no ordinary distinction. It has furnished a member of Assembly, and of the King's Council of New York, a Chamberlain of the City of New York, a colleague of Edmund Burke in the British Parliament, a Mayor of the City of Bristol in England, and is still represented by several worthy and respected descendants.

JOHN A. DIX.

NOTE—A sketch prepared for the Congress of Authors, which met at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Saturday, July 2, 1876.

DIARY OF  
MAJOR ERKURIES BEATTY.

PAYMASTER OF THE WESTERN ARMY,  
MAY 15, 1786, TO JUNE 5, 1787.

From the original MS. in New York  
Historical Society.

[In original the first two pages missing.]

Encamped N W Shore at the Mouth of the Sciota sundown. This is a very pretty river and nearly as big as Muskingham; overflows its lower point from distance where we are encamped, but the upper point appears high and finely timbered. The shores here appear a little broken but the hills not very high; in this manner—*[here follows a blank intended apparently for a drawing.]*

May 15—Rained, thundered and lightened a good deal; about day light set off  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 6 o'clk passed Hutchins creek 15 yds wide S E Shore and a high land patch under N W Shore 20 min before 10 o'clk; passed a creek 12 yds wide S E Shore not mentioned by Hutchings 10 o'clk; stopped S E Shore 2 o'clk and staid 15 min; passed Hutchins creek 15 yds wide N W Shore and a small Island or rather high land patch opposite its mouth  $\frac{1}{4}$  after 4 o'clk—Encamped a little before sundown on a small Island near S E Shore, another much larger toward N W Shore and joined by a low bar at the top—they go by the name of the three Islands—12 or 15 miles above Limestone, counted dangerous from the Indians frequently crossing and lying here—Stormy to day—high head winds all the afternoon. The country appears prettily dispersed with small hills to-day but very muddy banks.

May 16—Rained till 8 o'clk; this morning set off a little before 9; passed a creek 12 yds wide S E Shore  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 10 o'clk not mentioned by Hutchins—passed Hutchins creek 15 yds wide S E Shore a little after 11 o'clock—arrived at Limestone S E Shore 1 o'clk; halted the troops one hour and we much longer. This is a little village of about 12 houses close on the bank of the river, the upper part of Kentucke, a number of families stop here and settle in the interior part of the country, go to Lexington &c which is 63 miles from here; middling good waggon road and settled chief part of the way. Land not much improved here, as the farmer will find much better land a distance from Ohio and be more secure than he will be on the river banks. This is the case thro' all the Kentucke Country. Was introduced to Col Boon the first discoverer of the Kentucke Country who seems to be a very honest kind of a Dutchman, also to a Mr Platt from New York who treated us politely; high squall of wind and rain about 3 o'clk; set off about 4; passed a pretty little river called Elk N W Shore  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 6 o'clock; overtook our boats and encamped about dark S. E Shore 12 or 14 miles below Limestone.

May 17—Rained last night as usual; set off at 6 o'clk, did not pay much attention to the river but saw no Islands in it. Land as usual, some small hills near the shore but not to hinder cultivation—encamped about sundown S E Shore—6 or 8 miles above little Miami.

May 18—Set off 6 o'clk, met a canoe  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 7 o'clk coming up with several men and peltry to Pittsburg; delivered us letters from Maj Finney—past little

Miami N W Shore  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 8 o'clk; a pretty little river but large bars at its mouth and about 1 mile below. Stopped opposite the mouth of Great Salt-Spring river  $\frac{1}{4}$  an hour. This river is very narrow at its mouth but understand it is much wider and deeper higher up, and navigable some distance thro a good country. About 4 o'clk saw Maj Finney and Mr. Denny who had come up the river about 4 miles to meet us; stopped a little while and came on to Fort Finney 5 o'clock. Disembarked and encamped the troops to the westward of the Fort which I find situated 1 mile and a quarter from the mouth of Miami about 150 yds from the banks of Ohio which runs here E & W. The four corners are four strong Block-houses; Store houses in the centre of the E & W flank built as Block houses and a Magazine in the centre of the N flank. The big gate in the centre of the S flank and sally-ports in the E & W flank; the intermediate spaces filled in with pickets, a small Block house close on the bank of the river, opposite the large gate, to cover the landing place and Boats. A ravine or gut runs close by the E flank. The situation rather low and some ponds of water in the rear of the Fort. The river beginning to rise with the rains. About 3 days after we arrived moved into the fort and pitched our tents on each side of the big gate close to the pickets—took a walk to the Miami which is a fine large river and understand the best water communication to the Lakes, but even this way is difficult, for when it is low, you have a carrying-place of 20 or 30 miles—the Shawness generally live on the head waters of this river about

120 miles from its mouth. This river, as well as all the others running into Ohio from Pittsburg here on the N W side, is very clear and makes a great distinction when it joins the Ohio. The banks of Miami are low at its mouth; the lower point overflows a great distance. The hills, or rather the high ground begin about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile to the Northward of the Fort. The river here is not much wider than at Fort McIntosh and a large hill bounding it on the other side from us, but understand the soil is good on the top. The timber round the Fort is Sugar tree, Beach, Oak, Hickory, Black Walnut, Ash, Elm and the Cotton tree which grows close on the banks of the river and very tall and the bean a pod which when ripe opens and a soft fuzzy stuff comes out and flies about like cotton; the tree is very soft like-wise. We have a great number of Deer about us and some Elk, Turkies in abundance, Bears Buffaloes &c middling plenty. We catch a great number of fish in the river, such as the Cat-fish, some of which I saw weigh 60 odd pounds; the Buffalo fish which is very strong; the Bass and Perch which generally weigh from 4 to 10 lbs, also others. The water-turtle we also get here, weighing 8 or 10 lbs which is green and nearly equal to the West India Green Turtle—a perfect Luxury in soup and the shell baked.

*May 23*—Mr Denny and a small party of men went to the falls in a boat on business. Great numbers of Kentucke and keel boats passing every day; some to the Falls, others to Post Vincent—Illinois Country &c. Some Kentucke boats comes down empty which people put adrift when they settle above. We take

a number up which supply us with boards for the Garrison. I learn that about 5 & 6 miles below us on the S E shore was a station of 5 or 6 families which had made considerable improvement but a little time before we came down the Indians killed 2 or 3 of the Inhabitants, stole their cattle &c, and the remainder moved off immediately.

*May 27*—Last night four men of Capt Ziegler's company started and took with them a Kentucke boat which lay below the landing a little way.

*June 3*—Mr. Denny returned from the falls very much fatigued, owing to the river being so very high and not daring to go ashore all night, but either anchoring in the middle of the river or making fast to some tree when the bottom was considerably overflowed beyond him. Brought with him from the falls a light brass three pounder with amunition, well calculated for this country;—being his business down. He tells us that the day he left the falls 2 Kentucke boats came there, which had been fired at by a large party of Indians opposite the mouth of Kentucke river;—happily no person was killed only one horse, but a number of bullets had lodged in the sides of the boats. The boats returned but dont know whether they did any execution— A party of horse and foot assembled at the falls to go in pursuit of the savages, but the foot soon getting tired returned, the horse, going a little farther, thought they were not strong enough and returned likewise. The settlement of Kentucke appears to be in a perfect state of war. The Indians constantly stealing horses and frequently killing individuals;—supposed

to be done by the Wabash Indians. The people are now forming a expedition against them as also to defend the Americans at Post Vincent where they have had one or two skirmishes with the Indians and got rather worsted. It is doubtful whether the expedition will go or not as General Clark who is a very popular character there will not give his advice about it though asked frequently. A number of Delaware Indians round us hunting and some few Shawness who come in frequently, with skins to sell to the store kept in the Garrison by the Contractor. Have enlarged the fort this few days past—by building a small Block house in the front and center of the S side, and extending two line of pickets from the other Block house to it;—which forms an angle and better secures the landing and boats; also gives more room for Capt Ziegler's company to encamp—The fort as it now is, is nearly in this form. The last Block house being for a Guard house—*(Here a blank in Ms)*

*June 4*—Last night a Corpl and one man of Capt Ziegler's company deserted from the Guard at the landing and carried off a canoe with them; a few days ago one Col Perrie from Monongohela river passed here with a Kentucke boat 60 foot keel and deeply laden going to the Natchez and New Orleans, he having permission from the Spanish Commanders in these places. This must be a very profitable trade as no person can carry it on but those who have permission from the Spaniards.

*June 7*—The river, higher than has been seen by any of our Troops since we occupied this post, which has been



from Novr 1785, at least 25 feet perpendicular higher than it was when we came here and about 10 feet lower than the garrison, now begins to fall; have noticed that it has rained more or less every day from the 15th of May to the 5th of June which has kept the Garrison wet and dirty owing to the nature of the soil, getting soon muddy and soon dry.

*June 13th.*—This evening a Mr. Sovereign came in from the Shawness towns, with a speech from King Melunty of that nation expressing his friendship, &c. This Sovereign is a white man who has lived among the Shawness many years, got a family and property among them, frequently has passed with messages to and from the Garrison and bears a very good character. He informs me that there has arose two parties in the Shawness Nation; from some different interest and it is with difficulty the King can keep the Chiefs and Warriors from fighting, which he believes is the reason our prisoners are not sent in, agreeable to the treaty; that Sir John Johnston has sent a message to the Nation to meet him in a treaty at Niagara, but they had refused going; He saw a number of the different nations on the Wabash and Iawaa rivers going to said treaty; That the Chippewas over the lakes were at war with the Miamis and another nation of Indians on Lake Michigan; they have lately had a battle in which the Miamis were defeated and lost 100 men—Just before he left the Shawness town he saw a party of Chippewas, returning from war, and says they are very numerous—a number of them not armed—fight with Bows and Arrows, Spears tomahawks knives &c—and suppose

they will beat the two nations they are engaged against. Also says that about 4 weeks ago, some of the Mingos (a set of vagrants living on the headwaters of the Miami) had killed two or three of our traders and robbed [them] of their goods horses &c—this we heard a few days ago from the Delawares—Last night one man of Capt. Zeiglers and of Capt Finneys deserted and took their arms and amunition with them besides what cartridges they stole from their messmates—Also the former took their arms and amunition with them—Suppose they are all gone down the river.

*June 14*—Mr Sovereign returned to Shawness towns with a spirit of friendship and request to send in our prisoners to King Melunty from Maj Wyllys. The Shawness have only sent in of our prisoners since the treaty, one woman and two children, which they did last spring. A few days ago went with Maj Finney about 7 mile up the Miami in a barge; about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile up commences a very pretty high bank; on the W side appears to be an old Indian town; it then takes a circular course of about 6 miles and comes within about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles of the garrison in a N W direction it then runs northward again and at this point is a very pretty Island; one mile higher up a large fork comes in from the W side—beautiful situation for a settlement and fine land—The river runs some how so—*(Here a blank in Ms.)*

*June 15*—Major Wyllys in a barge set off for Muskingham; the officers accompanied 5 or 6 miles up the river and regretted parting with so good an officer and agreeable companion.

*June 17*—In the evening came up

the river four barge Canoes, rowed with oars and loaded with fur from Post Vincent; some distance below this they caught our two deserters who went off last, floating down on a raft made of two troughs and brought them safe to the garrison; they say that they made a little bark canoe, which one crossed the river in and carried the arms, while the other swam it, and endeavored to go across the country to Lexington but got lost and after rambling some days in the woods found themselves at the station 6 miles below and got the two troughs there which they made the raft of and were intending to go to the falls.

*June 23*—This morning about 2 o'clock one of Capt Ziegler's men who was on sentry at the landing deserted and took a canoe with him and another man of the same Compy from the garrison. They had not been gone above  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour before they were missed and as soon as possible Sargt Bains with a party in a barge was sent down the river in pursuit of them. A number of Delaware Indians, being yesterday afternoon in the garrison and having got liquor, kept an amazing noise and firing of arms all night, which was about 1 mile from us. Most innumerable quantity of Mosquitoes, here since the long rain, plague us very much in the mornings and evenings. Discovered the remains of an old fort close to the mouth of Miami and on the banks of Ohio;—it is small and we can trace the ditch and one or two of the bastions; suppose it was built by Capt Bird of the British when he carried on an expedition from Detroit to the stations on Licking river this last war. About  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile from the fort is an

old Indian grave of a large mound of earth thrown up with very large trees upon it. We have by digging discovered a great many human bones covered with large flat stones which must have been brought from the river as there is none near the grave.

*June 29*—This morning Capt Doyle arrived here from Muskingham in four days, brought letters from Col Harmar and others and orders for myself and McDowell to go immediately up. In the evening Sergt Barns returned who had been as low as the falls, could hear nothing of the two deserters he went after, they having left the canoe and taken to the woods at the Big Bone Lick—Heard of some others of our deserters who was distributed thro the Kentucke settlement; came up the river, with Sergt Barns a Mr. Parker in a boat from Kaskaskias, loaded with fur for Pittsburgh; Mr Parker went off next morning.

*July 4*—Being the anniversary of Independence the troops fired three rounds as well as the cannon; afterwards the officers dined together and drank thirteen toasts with a discharge of cannon to each; the day was spent in a great deal of mirth and harmony.

*July 5*—Mr. McDowell and myself, with 7 men in a barge set off for Pittsburgh; 6 o'clk, water midling low and falling; had a wind for about an hour which carried us past the Bars and strong water at the mouth of little Miami and below. Lay all night 6 or 8 miles above little Miami.

*July 6*—Set off at day light; midling good water all day, but no wind to signify; lay within 15 or 18 miles of Limestone all night.

# NARRATIVE OF THE PRINCE DE BROGLIE

1782.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL MS.,  
BY E. W. BALCH  
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PRELIMINARY NOTE.—In writing the "Les Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance, Paris, 1872," I made use of numerous manuscripts, amongst which I mentioned this, of which a translation is here given.

Claude Victor de Broglie, author of the following narrative, was of a Piedmontain family. One of the descendants of Suison de Broglie followed Mazarin to France, 1634, and on entering the French service changed the spelling of his name, but its Italian origin is indicated by the pronunciation, *de Broille*, given to it by members of the family. This *François Marie*, Comte de Broglie, became a Lieutenant-General, and was killed at Valentia, July 2, 1656. His eldest son, *Victor Marie*, was made *Maréchal de France*, 1724. The third son of this *Maréchal*, *François Marie*, was also a *Maréchal de France*, and was created Duke de Broglie, 1742. His son, *Victor François*, the second duke, also a *Maréchal de France* (1759), died at Munster, 1804, and his son, *Claude Victor*, our author, born in 1757, entered the service in 1771, and was made *Colonel-en-Second*, June 3, 1779.

The regiment of Saintonge was in the expeditionary corps, commanded by Rochambeau, and this, probably, is why some authors have said that the Prince de Broglie participated in the campaign of 1781. (See Drake's excellent Dict.

of American Biography.) But this is an error, as appears from the Prince's own narrative. The regiment was commanded in 1781 as follows: (*États Militaires*.)

*Colonel*: the Comte de Custine, who was succeeded in 1782 by the Vicomte de Rochambeau:

*Colonel-en-Second*: The Comte de Charlus, who was succeeded in 1782 by the Prince de Broglie.

*Lieutenant-Colonel*: The Chevalier de la Valette.

*Major*: The Marquis de Fleury.

The greater part of the regiment returned in *Le Conquérant*. On board of *Le Conquérant* were the Baron de Vio-ménil, de Custine, de Menonville, Blanchard and others.

It was quite natural that the heir of so many illustrious soldiers should follow the career of arms. The Baron de Vio-ménil was returning from France with the grade of Lieutenant-General as a recognition of his services in America, and de Broglie and some other ambitious young men sought for and obtained orders to accompany him. His adventures from the time he quitted Paris are told in this *Narrative*, the original of which is in the possession of his grandson, the present Duke de Broglie. The manners, the habitations, the towns, the scenery, the fashionable society of the day; in a word, whatever attracted the notice of a keen, observant young man, bred partly in the camp, partly in the court of the wittiest and gayest people in the world, are sketched with light but clear touches. The air of truth which pervades the relation makes it more attractive. A very lively account of the visit which he, de Lauzun, and

some others paid to the Convent at Angra, has been omitted in the translation, and also the longer part of the narrative which describes his sojourn in South America; as not being within the range of subjects entertained by this Magazine.

"The career of my grandfather," writes the present Duke to me, "was very short." On his return from America, he joined the party of nobles who maintained liberal ideas, and was sent to the Constitutional Assembly as deputy for the district of Colmar, where the estates of his wife were situated. He acted with the 'minority of the nobles' in the Assembly, and when that body was dissolved, he served as Chief-of-Staff in the Army of the Rhine, commanded by Maréchal Luckner. After the roth of August and the fall of the monarchy, he resigned from the service and retired to his country seat in Franche-Comté. There he was arrested Dec. 28, 1793, and was taken to Paris, where he was guillotined June 27, 1794, just a few days before the 9th of Thermidor."

Like many others of the young Frenchmen who fought for American Independence, the Prince de Broglie perished on a scaffold erected in the name of Liberty. He left one son by his wife, Sophie de Rauzun, who was only nine years old at the time of his father's death. As might be expected from the observations which he makes about the American women, the Prince had chosen well, and his son, Victor Charles, the late Duke de Broglie, received a wise and judicious education. He added to the honor of the name by eminent public services, amongst which not the least was his

energetic opposition to the execution of Maréchal Ney.

I propose to print in some future number of the Magazine a biographical notice of de Fleury, taken from the as yet unpublished part of *Les Français en Amérique*. A part of my materials were kindly copied for me from the archives of the French War Department by M. Maurice La Chesnais.

THOMAS BALCH.

*Philadelphia, February, 1877.*

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NARRATIVE.—I left Paris for America the 12th of April, 1782. The Chevalier de Lameth was my traveling companion. Our hearts were in that condition that one might expect in two young fellows who quit their relatives, their friends, their wives, their sweethearts and Paris; so we passed almost the whole of the first day without exchanging a word. We reached Brest with much difficulty on account of the wretched roads, where we were detained for six weeks, partly by adverse winds, partly by a vigilant blockade which the English maintained before the harbour. At last, on the 19th of May, *La Gloire*, a frigate of thirty-six twelve pounder cannons, and with two million livres on board, hoisted sail to carry her precious succors to the army of Rochambeau.

The Duc de Lauzun, the Comte de Ségur, de Scheldon, de Loménie, the Chevalier de Lameth, the Baron de Montesquieu, de Poleresky, (the Ms. of Dupetit-Thouars gives this name Solerski) the Vicomte de Vaudreuil, and an aide-camp to the King of Sweden, Mr.

de Lijliorn by name, and myself were the passengers confided to the luck of *La Gloire*, and to the care of the Chevalier de Valonge, who commanded her. Mr. de la Touche, commandant of frigate, (*L'Aigle*, and the officer commanding the expedition,) decided to stop at the Azores. He intended to go to the port of Fayal, but the wind was contrary and he directed us to Tercéira, where the port is so dangerous that we were compelled to cruise before it till the tide permitted us to enter.

Angra is the capital of this island, and the principal city of the archipelago of the Azores, composed of seven or eight islands. There the Portuguese governor resides as well as the consuls of the different nations, who make together a sort of little court. We landed in heavy weather and in a wretched boat. We called upon the governor who received us with unexpected pomp, with the most scrupulous etiquette, and with a parsimony more remarkable than either, for he did not give even a glass of cold water to any body. We dined with the French consul, Mr. Perez. He made an extraordinary effort to receive us handsomely. Besides a most capital sirloin of beef, some very nice fish, capital wine and limpid water, he introduced us after dinner to his wife, a poor little creature about thirty-five years old, with a face rather less unclouded than the water, and who never in her life had before dined with a foreigner. Her delight was really touching and she expressed everything that came into her head in portuguese so that our host was much put to it, and it required both on her part and ours a very active use of our eyes. After dinner we

went to a sort of bottle-washing establishment belonging to the consul, a fresh looking little house, but which was pompously designated a château. A little avenue of lemon trees, about fifty steps in length represented the park, and five or six acres composed the whole of the domain which was bought for about fifteen hundred francs and some day might bring thrice that amount according to the activity, the intelligence and the resources of its owner. There we were served with very fresh milk and fruits, after which we returned to the town by a road almost entirely dug out of the mountain. On entering the village we met the English consul who by chance was also chargé d'affaires of Spain, and who, taking no notice whatever of the war, treated all parties with an impartiality truly philosophic. We owned up to him, that, although we were bent on doing as much mischief as we could to his fellow-subjects, yet we participated in the noble impartiality of his sentiments. He took us to dine with him, where porter, tea and capital liquors were witnesses of how we invoked our mutual confidence and friendship. The English consul proposed for the morrow an excursion which at first appeared extraordinary but which we accepted.

We supped in the evening at the house of the English consul and there we saw the fandango danced by a young sub deacon who was soon to be appointed bishop of the country. The ignorance, the superstition, the arrogance of the Portuguese keep Tercéira and the other islands of this archipelago from having any useful and active commerce with other nations. They go no further than to

exchange some flour for wine at Madeira and for a few articles of merchandise which they get from the mother country to furnish them with clothing.

The highest court is presided over in matters of consequence by the governor, but the parties have the right to appeal from any judgment to the tribunals at Lisbon. There is at Angra a detachment of the Inquisition and the commissary who resides there gives from time to time examples of its severity. He is not allowed to get up an *Auto-da-fe*, but imprisonment, banishment, exile followed by confiscation of property are among his ordinary diversions. In consequence of which stupidity, ignorance, despotism, jealousy, the most unbridled licentiousness, are maintained and prosper at Angra more than at any other place in the world.

\* \* \* \* \*

We quitted Tercéira the 5th of August, but were much retarded by calms. With patience however we at last approached our destination, and we were not more than about two hundred leagues from the shores of North America, when just about mid-night, we found ourselves alongside of an English line-of-battle ship of 74. We since have learned that it was the *Hector*, captured in the battle where the Comte de Grasse commanded. The *Gloire* alone fought the *Hector* for more than three quarters of an hour, when the *Aigle* joined her. The combat lasted until daylight, when the enemy's vessel was discovered to be so much crippled that she could no longer manoeuvre and we were getting ready to board her, when we discovered a number of sails to the windward; and Mr. de la Touche was

reminded of his destination and forced to continue his route. Our two frigates were pretty badly treated in their sails and rigging and lost twelve or fifteen killed and about twenty wounded. We were afterwards informed, that the *Hector* was so thoroughly battered that she foundered whilst under sail, at about three hundred leagues from the shore and all on board perished.

Our frigates had not suffered so much as to seriously affect their sailing but the winds continued unfavorable for some time. At last early in the morning of the 12th we recognized the entrance to the Delaware, and we prepared to cast anchor opposite to Cape May and Cape James, when a contrary sharp breeze sprang up. The manning of a little English brig, which through its own carelessness had fallen into our hands, consumed the rest of the day in rather tedious work.

Mr. de la Touche found himself compelled to anchor off the coast. He sent a boat ashore to look for pilots so that we could enter the Delaware, but the wind dashed the boat against the bluff. Most of the sailors were drowned and it was with great difficulty that the officer escaped.

Early next morning, at break of day, an English squadron composed of a line-of-battle ship of 64, of another of 50, of two frigates and two other swift sailing vessels, appeared about two cannon shot off and to the windward. It was commanded by Commodore Elphinstone. Prince William Henry was on board of the Commodore's vessel.

The appearance of such a considerable force compelled Mr. de la Touche to weigh anchor with *La Gloire* as quickly.

as possible, and to hasten inside of the Delaware although he had no pilot. The navigation of that river is very dangerous. We took the worst channel. The *Aigle* touched twice. The tack which we held appeared so dangerous, even to our enemies that they decided to anchor at two cannon shot from us. Mr. de la Touche anchored likewise. At last the pilots came aboard. A council of war was held on board the *Aigle* in which considering the extreme danger of our position, the Baron de Viomenil decided to order all the officers who were passengers on board of the two frigates to embark at once in boats and to follow him on shore. He also ordered at the same time, that the longboats should be used to send ashore the two millions five hundred thousand livres with which the frigates were freighted. The first of these orders was executed without delay and we landed on the American shore the 13th August, about six o'clock in the evening without valets, without shirts and with the least possible luggage in the world.

We stopped first of all at the house of a gentleman named Mandlot (?) who gave us something to eat, after which General Vioménil, who determined to pass the night in this place, sent all of us young men throughout the neighborhood, some to call out the militia, others to find waggons so that the next morning we could transport the money which the launches were to bring ashore during the night.

Ségur, Lameth and myself left at once to execute these orders and during the night we walked about twelve miles to reach a sort of tavern, badly enough kept, and named Orth's tavern. I succeeded in getting three waggons each with four

horses and early in the morning, at four o'clock, I mounted a horse, which they let me have, and started to conduct my convoy to the general. I was within a league of the sea-beach when I met de Lauzun who told me the money was landed at three in the morning, and that about one half of it was already piled upon the beach when two other well armed boats, and which were supposed to be full of Tories, made their appearance and boldly approached the spot where the launches freighted with our riches were anchored. Thereupon General Vioménil having with him but three or four musketeers and seeing that he had no means of defense, had ordered about one hundred thousand livres to be flung into the ocean, as he had not time to land them, whilst the General with the rest of the money, which at first he placed on the backs of some horses, and then in a waggon, was making his way towards Dover, to which place Lauzun was preceeding him.

This information caused me to change my route.

I resolved to return to my companions and give them notice of what was passing. So I paid the waggon-driver and commenced to gallop by the side of the inlet, when I heard cries in the woods on the other side which attracted my attention. I stopped and saw some sailors and two or three of our valets, who fancying they were chased by the enemy, were running away as fast as they could. They thought themselves cut off when they heard me gallop up before them. I reassured them, and learned from them that the Marquis de Laval, de Lange-ron, Bozon and some others were wan-

dering about the woods, lost and anxious. I quitted these frightened creatures, believing that I saw a waggon which I imagined to be that of the Baron de Vioménil. I had so often heard that the American horses were excellent and jumped wonderfully that I trusted myself absolutely to the one I had who, in what was probably a fit of absent-mindedness, pitched me over his head. I scratched my nose a little. I was a little more bewildered than usual, but nevertheless as it was necessary to decide upon what I would do, I remounted my horse and rejoined my companions to whom I gave an account of our adventure; whereupon they decided to reach Dover as soon as possible, and we agreed to make that our point of meeting.

We left at once for that town, which was about seventeen miles distant. All my baggage consisted of a portfolio, big enough however to incommode me and I gave a right jolly curse on account of its size. I met with a sailor from *La Gloire* who, being as much frightened as his comrades, was also in flight. He was dying of hunger, and as necessity tames all animals, he threw himself before my knees, or rather the knees of my horse, and begged me to have compassion on him. I lifted him up in true princely style. I began by giving him something to eat and then, reflecting that I was altogether without servants, I thought proper to make of this forlorn creature, though all covered with tar, the intimate associate of my misfortunes. Thereupon I hired a horse for my squire, upon which he anchored himself as best he could. I gave him my portfolio to carry, and began already to plume my-

self towards my comrades in the superiority which my new man Friday gave me over them. So natural is self-conceit to man!

We had got about half-way to Dover when we met an aide-de-camp of Mr. de Vioménil, who told us that the General had just received word that our enemies had sailed off, and the tide had gone down. It was now possible to attempt the recovery of the chests of silver that he had ordered to be thrown into the sea, and the General was returning to the place of landing to oversee this work. This aide-de-camp added, that General de Vioménil ordered us to conduct to Dover the first load or convoy of silver, and that he left it entirely to our care. The convoy arrived a few minutes after. It was about 1500 thousand francs. We divided it among three waggons which the Duc de Lauzun had sent forward, and we reached Dover slowly but safely, where the General rejoined us at eleven o'clock at night. He had succeeded in saving the rest of our millions.

We passed the day at Dover which is a little town, quite pretty, with about fifteen hundred inhabitants. I made my entrance into Anglo-American society under the auspices of the Duke de Lauzun, for as yet I could only speak a few English words, but I knew how to relish excellent tea with the very best of cream. I knew enough to say to a young lady that she was *pretty* and to a gentleman that he was *sensible*—that is to say, that she and he were in a word good, honest, amiable, and so on. In these two words I had the elements for success.

I had not yet heard what had become



of our frigates. Their fate disquieted us so much, that I resolved to go on a reconnoitring expedition to the beach with my telescope. On arriving at the seaside I perched myself on a bluff and there I had the grief of seeing the decks of the *Aigle* as bare as a scow, wrecked on upon a spit and still surrounded by English boats, which had come to break her up and to pillage. *La Gloire* more lucky, of lighter draft, had escaped and three days after I saw her at Philadelphia where Mr de Vioménil had despatched me as bearer of letters to Mr. de la Luzerne, and to notify the commanders of the militia along the route to furnish escorts, so as to ensure the safety of the convoy of silver.

During the next two days I marched in quite a lively way so as reach Philadelphia. It was very warm, but the beauty of the woods, the charms of the country through which I passed, the solemn majesty of the forests which I crossed, the appearance of plenty exhibited everywhere, the hospitality of the inhabitants, the pretty complexions and the good breeding of almost all the women, all contributed to repay me by delicious sensations for the fatigues which I encountered, especially that of being mounted on a vile animal.

At last (18 August) I reached Philadelphia, that celebrated capital of the New World.

#### NARRATIVE OF GOV. HENRY HAMILTON.

LOOSE NOTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS  
AND SUFFERINGS OF HENRY HAMILTON  
ESQ., GOVERNOR OF LE DETROIT WITH  
THE PARTY THAT ACCOMPANIED HIM

FROM THAT POST TO THEIR IMPRISON-  
MENT IN REBEL GOAL AT WILLIAMSBURG  
VIRGINIA.

*From the Royal Gazette July 15, 1780.*

On the 7th October 1778 Lieut Governor Hamilton took his departure from Detroit, with a detachment of the King's VIIIth regiment, the Detroit Volunteers, a detachment of Artillery, two companies of militia, and a number of savages under his command, to retake the posts the Rebels had taken possession of in the Illinois; that, after suffering the greatest hardships, cutting the ice to make for their boats, transporting their stores, provisions &c, on the soldiers backs, at different places where the batteaux could not get over; they reached St Vincennes on the Ouebauch in December, when Fort Sackville, called by the Rebels Fort Patrick Henry, surrendered at the first summons, to the British arms; a Captain Helman, with a few soldiers, were made prisoners. The inhabitants of the town of St Vincennes who had taken the oath of allegiance to the Rebels, did, of their own free will, take a solemn oath of allegiance to his Majesty acknowledging that they had offended God and man by having deviated from their first engagement, that they returned to their duty and would shew themselves good subjects in future, praying the clemency of his Majesty and the protection of Governor Hamilton.

*February 22d 1779*—Accounts were brought in to the garrison, that a number of fires were seen nine miles below the town, a detachment of the VIIIth and Detroit Volunteers were immediately

dispatched to reconnoitre; they had got some miles from the garrison, when they were prevented pursuing their rout, by the great floods of water, which, at that time, had drowned several cattle, and filled the inhabitants houses, the party sent out agreed to return, finding it impracticable, when they reached the Commons behind the town, they heard to their great surprise a discharge of musquetry, they did not know what could be the occasion; after finding several men in the town, they were assured the Rebels had laid close seige to the fort; that a Mr Legras, a Major of Militia had joined the Rebels with other inhabitants; that they had met, the Rebels some distance from the town, furnishing them with ammunition, provisions &c—the Rebels having damaged all theirs by the long rout through the floods of water from the Kuskaskies to the town; the detachment from the garrison made their way into the town, and remained all night concealed in a barn, a continual firing from the garrison and the enemy.

On the 23d at daybreak they determined to get into the fort, which they effected in a few minutes by climbing the pickets without the loss of a man. The same day at XII o'clock A M a flag was sent in by the Rebel officer demanding the surrender of the Fort, that if a refusal should be made it should stand a storm and no mercy shown; our answer was sent by Governor Hamilton on a card, that he could not think of giving up his Majesty's flag by threats only &c. Hostilities again commenced and continued until evening, when a flag was sent out with terms of capitulation for

reasons obvious: The capitulation was agreed to and signed when hostilities ceased. The inhabitants of St Vincennes not paying any regard to their solemn engagement made a few days before, but immediately joined the Rebels; Sixty armed and assembled the day they came, and fired on us in concert with the Rebels; no way was left us to get off, the provisions exhausted, these obliged us to agree to a capitulation and surrender to a set of uncivilized Virginian wood-men, armed with rifles; they consisted of 160, with the *Creoles* of the Illinois under Colonel Clark; ours 60 men with officers.

In the morning, the 24th at 10 A M the garrison marched out with colours flying &c when the Rebels marched in and took possession. The Rebel officers plundered the British of their baggage &c contrary to the faith pledged by them by virtue of which they yielded their arms. Elated at their success they threatened to put several of the Indian officers in irons, and others to death. The Rebel Major with some Captains shewing their dexterity in firing cannon as a salute for the day were blown up by the explosion of a keg of cannon cartridges in entering the quick fire. At dark the British officers were in the Governors house in the garrison, where Colonel Clark used most harsh and insolent expresions, wishing he could have swam in their bloods; that as he wished to fight, would give Governor Hamilton his garrison, and he with an equal number of men would meet them; that he had young fellows that liked the smell of gunpowder. Governor Hamilton was cautioned to remain on his

guard, that two Americans were agreed to shoot him, and after application made to the Colonel, nothing was done to prevent so base and bloody design. In the morning they were admitted into town on parole. In March several boats from Detroit for this garrison were intercepted by the Rebels and the inhabitants of St Vincennes commanded by J. M. Legras, and a Captain Boderon, merchants of that place; at the same time they took the packet from Canada, private letters were returned to those directed to.

*March 4th*—They were embarked, viz Governor Hamilton, Major Hay, Captain Lamoth, Lieutenant Schieffelin, other officers, with 16 privates, under guard of two boats armed; they kept the privates with them, as we suppose, with a design to enlist them after their officers were gone. Ten days provisions were given them to transport them to the Falls fort on the Ohio (400 miles), to row against a strong current. A French gentleman in the Kings service (Batteau Master) was made prisoner by the Rebels, threatened to be hanged if he refused to give information of the party that was concealed before the surrender; he was pinioned, halter on his neck, and tied to a gallows, when he was cut down by the people of the town; they had the inhumanity to scalp him, after the repeated orders for so doing from Colonel Clarke; this gentleman is now in the dungeon with Governor Hamilton, of the name of Maifonaville, was discharged after numberless solicitations by the Illinois Volunteers in the Rebel service.

From the 4th March to the 31st on the Ohio, when they were landed, and

marched to the Falls fort, commanded by Captain Herrod; little or no refreshment was to be had; here we were to march to Virginia. In the morning were marched under a heavy guard for Henry Town (100 miles) through woods &c on foot with their necessaries and provisions; the 8th day they reached the fort, commanded by a Colonel Bowman, who treated them as well as his abilities would admit; they remained about ten days, when they were marched for the frontiers of Virginia, depending on providence for provisions; insulted by every dirty fellow as they passed through the country. In May they got to Chesterfield Court House, where they were kept to its limits under a strong guard; here they were in want of every necessary, bare-footed did they march, and very often without any food.

*June 15th*—An American officer came to them from Williamsburg with orders to lay Governor Hamilton in irons, with Capt Lemoth, which piece of cruelty was performed before his officers, who shed tears of indignation that their worthy Chief should be so treated; they were marched on foot hand-cuff'd through rain, their wrists much hurt from the chaffing of the irons, they would not allow him his waiting boy; they were marched in great pomp thro Williamsburg city, and committed to the dungeon with felons, murderers, and condemned criminals, not so much as a blanket allowed them, their hand-cuffs were knocked off and heavy chains put on their legs before great numbers of people. Mr. De-jean Justice of Peace for Detroit was also put in irons for reasons of State-

RETALIATION, and to prevent their acting with Indians, 75 days they were loaded with irons in a dungeon 9 x 10 feet, no one admitted to have access to them, except the jailors. (Cerberus) Major Hay, Lieutenant Schieffelin &c, remained at Chesterfield under a guard until the 28th of August, when an officer with a party arrived with orders to march them immediately to Williamsburg, to keep them close confined at nights, and in every instance to let them know they were prisoners, if they behaved unbecoming to punish them.

*August 31st*—We were marched on foot, passed through Williamsburg to the common jail, where they kept us at the door for 3 or 4 hours, when the jailor shewed them his orders to commit them in close confinement, searching them before hand, he desired them to follow him to his cell, when the dungeon where the worthy Governor was in was opened and locked therein; they were now 8 in number, hardly room to stretch themselves, no one permitted to confer with them, here we continued for the long space of 8 or 10 days without ever having the door once opened, the criminals were let out to get the air of the Court, but we were not; 8th day some of them fell ill at 12 at night and would have expired had not blood been immediately let, the jailor representing the dreadful situation they were in, as also their privates who were confined in another apartment, when after some deliberating the infamous Executive Council, indulged them by separating the officers, viz Capt Lemoth, Lieut Schieffelin Mr Dejean, and Surgeon Mc Beath in a Debtors Room an upper apartment, the others in the dungeon the doors to be left open until evening and to be

shut at the same time with the criminals. In October, a Col Mathews a rebel prisoner, who was on parole from New York, arrived in the city, some days after, a parole was sent to each of them to accept, on which they were to remain at Hanover Court House until exchanged, the parole not being with honor &c., was rejected unanimously by them, preferring confinement to an enlargement on terms they could not adhere to. Mr. Mathews with the rebel Commandant came to the dungeon to confer with Governor Hamilton, on the subject of our confinement &c.

*October 11th*—Mr. Dejean and Captain Lamothe wrote a memorial, when they wished to have their paroles tendered to them, that they would be enlarged, and remain no longer in confinement although they had before been unanimous in rejecting it; they were accordingly discharged. Lieut. Schieffelin being indisposed was told he could be admitted upon parole, sent the following—

"Gentlemen.—having been informed that it has been a general practice to permit prisoners of war on parole, to procure themselves an exchange, or wherewith to defray necessities of life during their captivity. My present unhappy situation prompts me to take this mode, to request that the indulgence be granted me to proceed to New York for the same purpose. I shall sign the usual parole, and a strict adherence shall be paid thereto, relying that my request will be taken into consideration, I am with respect, gentlemen, your humble servant,

Jacob Schieffelin,

*1st Lieut Detroit Volunteers."*

Williamsburg Prison, Oct 11 1779.

The Gov. and Council of Va.

The jailor returned with answer that they were resolved to keep them confined until they had signed the paroles first tendered to them. The whole winter did they pass without a stick of wood allowed them, blankets were demanded for them by the Keeper, who got for answer that no blankets could be given for them, that their friends who were at New York were ill treated by our people, some starved for want of provisions and blankets. This is the consolation they received from their cruel masters. General Philips was so obliging as to order a supply of clothing from Albemarle, when it came to our hands one third of them were only delivered to us, the blame laid on the waggoner, poor restitution!—The Executive restricted them from having their meals as usual from the tavern at their own expense, but ordered them to be put on prison allowance, salt beef damaged, and Indian Meal.

In January, a Mr William B. St Clair, Volunteer of the 44th Regiment, with ten troopers of 17th Dragoons, were committed in close confinement, and kept four days without an ounce of provisions issued for them. Governor Hamilton sent out of the mess a supply, or else they would have starved. The Executive power of the Rebels in Virginia were pleased to accuse (Governor Hamilton &c.) for having raised the Indian Tribes to murder women, children and defenceless men, most infamous falsehoods, propagated by them to inveterate the commonalty against the British, on the frontiers they say it is cruel in them to act with Indians. Here follows the resolve of the Rebel Committee May 21st 1776, Verbatim.

**RESOLVED.** That such Indian Warriors of the neighboring Tribes, as are willing, be engaged in the service of this country, provided the number so to be engaged in the service of this country doth not exceed two hundred, to be marched down to the assistance of the regular troops in the eastern quarters.

**RESOLVED.** That John Gibson Esq; be desired to negotiate with the Ohio or Western Indians, and inform them of the friendly sentiments of this country towards them, and of the purport of the foregoing resolution for calling in their assistance and that the same is warranted and directed by the resolution of the General Congress of the 1st day of July last.

**RESOLVED.** That the neighboring friendly Indians on the Ohio be assured, that if any encroachments have been made by the people of this country on their lands, beyond the boundary, established by the treaty held at Fort Stanwix, they have been without our concurrence, and shall be removed.

Lieut Schieffelin on the 19th April at 7 P M made his escape from the prison where he was confined for some time, marched in company with M. Rocheblare, late Commandant of Illinois to Little York, and embarked on board a schooner Mr Schieffelin engaged, and proceeded for the Eastern Shore, where they remained concealed for 9 weeks, waiting with impatience and the greatest anxiety the return of N. N. who was to transport them to New York. The 27th June they embarked on board the Peggy, and made sail, they were 12 days at sea, when they were taken up by the Roebuck, Capt Douglas, who was sent to

give them chase, the night after they appeared in sight, they made signals of distress without knowing who they were, they were taken up by a Capt Steel Little in the Delaware Bay, on Cape May the 2nd of July, having mistaken it for New York; he let them go, giving them directions for Lewistown, cautioning them from being taken by the British; (Lieutenant Schieffelin pretending to be a Frenchman, speaking the language with M. Rocheblare.

Messrs Rocheblare and Schieffelin return their thanks to Capt. Gayton, for the civilities they received from him, on board his ship the Romulus.

J. Schieffelin,

*1st Lieutenant Detroit Volunteers.*

P. S. In Oct. 1779 an Indian party from Detroit fell in with three rebel boats from New Orleans, loaded with 40 bales of dry goods, rum, fusees, a chest of hard specie, a French Gentleman of the name of Perault, from St Louis, on the Spanish side, with all the Continental bills in that country. The savages sent 8 or 10 of their warriors to attack them, in order to draw them on shore, which had its effect. Colonel Campbell of Fort Pitt had the command of them, he ran his boats on shore, landed his men, pursued the indians when to his great surprize, he found a number exceeding his expectations, he was made prisoner himself, and sixty of his men were carried to Detroit, and a Col David Rogers with others killed :—The booty valued at 2,000,000 livres, what was most extraordinary was, that several of Governor Hamilton's Men who were left at St. Vincennes prisoners, were on board one of these large boats, rowed by

20 to 30 oars, hand cuffed to be sent to Williamsburg Prison, were so fortunate to get clear. A Jacob Bougart, our batteau carpenter attempting his escape from the Rebels at St. Vincennes was taken, and *punished corporally 2 or 300 lashes;*

At the time our flag was sent out from Fort Sackville, an Indian party who had been on a scout returned, the rebels with the inhabitants of the town ran to meet them. The Indians not being apprized of the town having joined the Rebels imagined they came to salute them, when to their great misfortune, after they had discharged their pieces in the air, as a salute to them, were fired at by the Rebels, and citizens, several killed on the domaine in sight of our Fort, others brought in, kicked by them, they marched through the streets, with two Indian partizans, Frenchmen in his Majesty's service, were seated in a circle, when Colonel Clarke the Commandant of the Rebels, took a tomahawk, and in cool blood knocked their brains out, dipping his hands in their blood, rubbing it several times on his cheeks, yelping as a Savage, the two Frenchmen who were to share the same unhappy fate were Serjeants in the Detroit Volunteers, and were saved from this bloody massacre, one by his father, who was an officer with the rebels, did not know his son until they informed him that he was in the circle in Indian dress, and to undergo this cruelty exercised by Americans, the other was taken by force by his sister, whose husband was a merchant in the town, this is also a treatment unprecedented even between Savages, to commit hostilities at the time a flag sent them.

The dead carcasses of these unhappy fellows, were dragged to the river by the soldiery, some who had been struggling for life, after being thrown into the river. An Indian Chief of the name of Muckeydemonge, of the Ottawa nation, after Colonel Clarke had struck the hatchet in his head, with his own hands drew the tomahawk presenting it again to the inhuman butcher, who repeated the stroke. After the Governor and his officers were out on parole in the town, they had seen the blood on the ground, of these unhappy men for a considerable time; the dead bodies who were on the domaine of those they fired at, were stripped naked and left for the wild prey—Lieut. Schieffelin was an eye witness.

The Indians who have taken the hatchet at Detroit, Ottowas, Chippoways, Wyandatts, Pouttaawatomies, Shawanese, Quiquapous, Oiwattannongs, and other nations too tedious to mention, have always acted with the greatest humanity towards their prisoners; the number of prisoners brought in by them exceeded a hundred, who were allowed the settlement for their limits, furnished with good provisions and clothed, the grateful Americans have amply repaid these marks of generosity, in laying Governor Hamilton and his officers in irons, and hanging several Indian partizans, who would have expired had not the Creoles in their service cut them down; several prisoners who had been taken and brought to Detroit, which we had seen in Virginia expressed their indignation at our being treated so inadequate to that they received from us, a Major Daniel Boone, who commanded Boonesbury, was taken with 26 men some distance from his

fort by the Indians, who carried them to Detroit, without killing a man, this Gentleman expressed his gratitude for the good treatment received, with his men while with us. One John Dodge a blacksmith, who resided at Detroit, but now with the rebels at Fort Pitt, had the assurance to propagate the most infamous falsehood against Governor Hamilton and his officers, that they had excited Indians to kill prisoners when brought to Detroit, with a narrative of his treatment which was as false as himself was infamous. Mr Jefferson with his Council, was pleased to issue an order, which appeared the the Public Gazette in Virginia, accusing them with charges of the above nature, and resolved, that they should be laid in irons, without ever giving them a hearing, and added, "that they were fit objects for retaliation &c." this Dodge having obtained a pass from the Commandant of Detroit, to trade with the Indians, after having taken the oath as usual on the occasion, perjured himself by furnishing the rebels with merchandize, ammunition, &c, at Fort Pitt, and wrote a threatening letter to the Commandant of Detroit. A party of Indians were sent after him, and brought him to town, he was committed to a guard house where he remained some time, when after his discharge, not warned by the first breach of duty, he commits a second, by harbouring and concealing American prisoners, encouraging them to escape, he was taken up a second time, and sent to Canada, from whence he made his escape to the Rebels at Fort Pitt.

Copy of a parole which I gave to Colonel Clarke, at Fort Sackville. Also

a copy of a parole presented to sign by Colonel Batt which we refused :

J Schieffelin

*Chesterfield Court 3d July 1779.*

*St Vincennes March 1, 1779.*

THIS CERTIFIES, that I have given my parole of honor to Col George Rogers Clarke, commanding the American forces at this place, that I will not attempt to make my escape from this place, nor will I by word or action, behave in a manner unbecoming a prisoner at large, neither will I in any manner convey intelligence to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty in arms against the States of America. In Witness whereof, I hereunto sign my name without compulsion. J. Schieffelin  
*First Lieutenant Detroit Volunteers.*

The 7th October 1779, a parole much similar to the within was tendered to us in goal by Colonel Porterfield, who was ordered by Governor Jefferson and his Council—It was rejected unanimously for reasons obvious.

*Chesterfield July 3d 1779.*

WE, whose names are hereunto subscribed, officers in the service of the King of Great Britain, made captive at the reduction of Fort St Vincennes being admitted to our Paroles, do respectively promise, upon our sacred honor, as soldiers and gentlemen not to transcend the limits assigned us to remain in, which are two miles around Chesterfield Court, which distance we respectively undertake not to exceed during the time we are on parole at the said Court House; and we, with like solemnity, upon our true faith, respectively promise not to say or do anything detrimental to Amer-

ica intentionally nor to hold any intercourse or correspondence with the enemy during the continuance of our indulgence above mentioned, nor to converse or correspond with any British subjects other than those who are prisoners with us at said Court House, without permission from the County Lieutenant of Chesterfield or such other officers as they shall be put under the direction of. To the honorable and pointed observance of all which several articles we have respectively set our hands, the day aforesaid.

Done in the presence of John Batt, Esq; Lieutenant of the County of Chesterfield, and with the assent and direction of the executive power of the State of Virginia.

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## NOTES

THE CHRISTENING OF AMERICA.—This important event occasioned in its day a ridiculous disturbance. The French, out of spite to the Spaniards, and with their usual officiousness and vanity, christened it *Francia Antarctica*, pretending that they were the first discoverers, under some Lord of Villagagnon. ["Sub Villagagnonis Domino," says *Poreacch. Insulus*. III. 162.] This attempt perished in the bud; but others arose, who christened it the *Land of the Holy Cross*; by mistaking the appellation of *Brazil*, given to it by Cabral, upon the discovery, for the whole continent. *John Barros, Decad. i. l. 5. c. 2. Pet. Damasis. Dial. 5. de var. Hist. c. 2. f. 338. Anton. de San. Roman. l. i. Hist. Indic. Orient. c. 11, p. 57;* greivous-



ly lament, that this term *Brasil*, (on account of the wood for dyeing,) superseded the term "*Land of the Holy Cross*;" and observe, that it perhaps happened by the cunning of the devil. Borrellus (*De Reg. Catholic.*) contended that it ought to be styled *Orbis Carolinus*, from Ch. V. and this because Isidore, Pereira, Mantua, and a variety of authors were agreed upon this point, that to give names to nations and places was a peculiar privilege of kings and dukes. The majority, however, were for calling it the *New World*. This gave birth to a calumny upon mother Earth, that she had many sisters, *i. e.* that there were more worlds than one in the universe; which was vehemently attacked, upon the authority of Aristotle, Jerom, Isidore, and many more. James Pontanus (*Progymnasm* p. 315) ventured to say, that his information was not sufficient to denominate it the other quarter of the world, for which he met with due punishment. After much dispute, the vulgar both would and did call it *America*, which the learned adopted upon the authority of Quintilian, 1. Instit. Orator. *Utendum est verbo ut nummo cui publica forma sit*, not, however, without precautionary quotations from Alliatius and Brechæus, in *Rub. de Verbor. Significat.* and others related by Gutierrez, lib. 3. *Pract. Quest.* 14 a num. 132 Meron. Cevall. *Commun. Opin.* v, i. 2. 409. and Mar. *Burguy de Laudimio*, p. 1. c. 1. num 24, 25, &c., all of whom had taken infinite pains to inform the public, that the vulgar were not in the habit of taking much trouble about the exact interpretation and meaning of words. *The Monthly Magazine* XXVII. 49. W. K.

BENEDICT ARNOLD A DESERTER.—In *Weyman's New York Gazette* of May 21, 1759, among the "Deserters from the New York Regiment and Captain James H. Holmes's Company, advertised for by Thomas Willett in West Chester County," who offers the reward of forty shillings for the arrest of each or any of them, appears the name of "*Benedict Arnald*, by trade a weaver, 18 years of age, dark complexion, light eyes and black hair."

In Drake's Dictionary of American Biography, Arnold's birth is given as at Norwich, Conn., January 3, 1741. Drake says of him that he was "apprenticed to an apothecary, ran away, enlisted as a soldier, but soon deserted."

His age corresponds with that of the deserter advertised. The enlistment for bounty, and desertion of Connecticut men was a common source of annoyance to the New York officers. The use of the letter *a* for *o* is probably a misprint, and the change in trade is subject to more than one explanation.

Men's lives are said to be homogeneous. Arnold's subsequent career confirms the suspicion that he was the man here described. A. U. S.

CONTINENTAL LIGHT INFANTRY.—This corps was organized by order of General Washington, by taking the Light Infantry companies belonging to each of the Continental Regiments and forming them into Regiments and Brigades, the field officers being selected from the field officers of the army who had especially distinguished themselves. As the Light Infantry companies were the *élite* of each regiment, the corps was a *corps*

*élite* of the infantry. This was in accordance with the British practice. When Hamilton left Washington's staff he was assigned by him to a command in the Light Infantry, and was under Lafayette's command at Yorktown.

The Marquis de Chastellux, who visited the American army in New Jersey, in the summer of 1780, gives an interesting account of the "camp of the Marquis." [as he says Lafayette's camp was termed] on the Totohaw (Passaic) river. He describes the troops as "making a good appearance and better clothed than the rest of the army. The uniforms both of the officers and soldiers smart and military, and each soldier wore a helmet made of hard leather, with a crest of horse hair. The officers armed with espontoons, or rather with half pikes, and the subalterns with fusils; and both provided with short and light sabres brought from France, and made a present of to them by M. de la Fayette."

A. B. G.

THE FIRST BORN.—*In Iowa*.—It is claimed that Margaret Stilwell, now Mrs. Ford, was the first white American child born in the territory embraced within the limits of Iowa. She was born where Keokuk now stands, in 1831. *Record of the Year, II, 50.*

*In the Western Reserve*.—About six miles from Cleveland [Ohio], lives Mr. Williams. He was the first settler in the County of Trumbull, into which he removed in July, 1798, and fixed his residence upwards of ninety miles from the nearest white family. His wife was then pregnant; he himself was compelled to leave her and navigate the

lake as far as Buffalo Creek, in the State of New York, for fresh provisions. Returning late in November, he encountered a severe storm, and was driven far from his intended port. His wife supposed that he had perished, and was delivered early in December, in the midst of this distress, of a boy. She, however, got through her difficulties, and her husband, after some time, returned in the year 1800. When the Reserve was divided, the proprietors settled 500 acres on the boy, as the first born of the Reserve; he, however, did not live to enjoy the benefit, nor do I think the gift was well appropriated; it ought to have been given to the woman who so heroically endured so many evils. *Monthly Magazine XXVI, 218.*

*In Ohio*.—The first known birth of a white child, in the limits of Ohio, was that belonging to a white woman from Virginia, who had been taken prisoner by the Delawares, in April, 1764. This woman was, at the time of her capture, far advanced in pregnancy, and during the month of July, 1764, gave birth to a child near the present site of Dresden, Muskingum Co., Ohio. *Western Reserve Hist. Society Tracts, No. IV, 2.*

W. K.

PLAGIARE.—The following lines from Freneau were by Scott "conveyed."

Then rushed to meet the insulting foe  
They took the spear, but left the shield,  
*to the memory of the Americans who  
fell at Eutaw.*

When Prussia hurried to the field,  
And snatched the spear, but left the shield.  
Scott's Marmion, Introduction to Can-  
to III.

Cambridge.

B.

OUR NATIONAL FLAG.—The Union of Stars in the flag of the revolution represented in a circle by Preble in his *History of the American Flag*, (Plate VIII) is probably an error.

A Plan of the Siege of York Town, by Major Bauman, engraved at Philadelphia in 1782, has the stars arranged in parallel lines, in this manner :



This arrangement is similar to that on the standard of the Rhode Island troops, preserved at Providence, and described by Preble, page 208 and Plate VI, fig. 75. It was no doubt the disposition of the stars on all the National colors from June 14, 1777, to the close of the war.

W. K.

### QUERIES

FAMILIAR QUOTATIONS.—Where in Bronson's writings can be found his definition of a democrat—"one who has established his supremacy over his accidents." When and where did Calhoun make that bold utterance, "The Democratic party was held together by the cohesive power of public plunder;" and John Randolph, "The Democratic party has seven principles,—five loaves and two fishes; and Fisher Ames (?) "A lie would travel from Maine to Georgia while truth was putting on his boots;" and Horace Mann, "A Yankee would squeeze a half dollar till the eagle screamed;" and Martin Van Buren, "A northern man with southern principles;" and J. Fennimore Cooper, "To

face the music." Whence the quotation in speech of Daniel Webster, March, 1848, (referring to the Buffalo Platform,) "What is valuable is not new, and what is new is not valuable;" and the oft quoted "Eternal Vigilance is the price of Liberty," generally attributed to Jefferson. *Cambridge.* B.

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PORTRAIT OF KNYPHAUSEN.—Can any of your readers inform me whether there is any portrait of Genl. Knyphausen, the Hessian commander, in existence.

X. Y. Z.

—  
HUGUENOTS IN THE BAHAMAS.—(I. 53,131) I would repeat the inquiry of C. W. B. whether there is any reason to believe the colonists at Eleuthera were Huguenots. In Vol. 126 of Mass. Archives are four documents relating to these colonists, one being printed in Mass. Hist. Soc'y Coll., 3rd S. VII. 158-9. Another document (Arch. 126, p. 200) from Jeremiah Dummer, dated January 6, 1686, says that in July preceeding "many families" came thence, driven away by the Spaniards, and that nine families went to Casco.

Lastly (Vol. 126, p. 387) there is a document endorsed "Petition of the Eleutheran People," printed by me in Andros Tracts, vol. III, p. 70, being the petition of Nicholas Davis, Nath. Sanders, John Alberry and Daniel Sanders in behalf of themselves and the rest of the company.

Surely these are not French names. Again, in my Andros Tracts, III, 79-80, I printed Pierre Baudoin's petition for a grant of land. This was also at Casco, but apparently not on Dummer's

land; and Baudoin's petition does not allege any connection with Eleuthera.

The document printed in Boston News-Letter, I, 198, does not give any warrant for the suggestion that the Eleutherians were Huguenots.

Boston.

W. H. WHITMORE.

REGIMENTAL HISTORIES U. S. ARMY.—Can any of your military readers furnish a list of the printed histories of Regiments in the Regular Army of the United States? Your February issue gave the title of a history of the Second Cavalry. I have also met with a reference to one of the Eighth Infantry.

CADET.

MRS. HORSMANDEN.—The Rev. William Vesey, Rector of Trinity Church, New York City, died 1746. His widow Mary married Daniel Horsmanden, Chief Justice of New York: she died 1760. What was her maiden name?

P.

SENEVONI.—In *Rivington's Royal Gazette* of the 24th January, 1781, appears the following notice: "To be seen this Evening at the Golden Ball in the Fields a skeleton of a *Senevoni* the largest ever brought into this country. After the exhibition Mademoiselle Varole will dance a Rigadoon." What manner of beast or bird or fish was this?

T. I. N.

BURGOYNE'S SWORD.—At the Metropolitan Fair, held in New York in the spring of 1864, in aid of the "U. S. Sanitary Commission," a sword was exhibited said to have been that surrendered by Burgoyne at Sargtoga. In view of the approach of the centennial anniversary of this event, it is a matter of

interest to know what has become of this relic of the revolution.

R. E. M.

ANOTHER INTERESTING RELIC.—Noticing in your February number a description of the Gold Box presented to Andrew Hamilton, I venture to inquire if any information can be obtained concerning the Box presented to JOHN DICKINSON, "The Pennsylvania Farmer," some time before the revolutionary war.

PHILADELPHUS.

## REPLIES

BAW AND BATT.—(I. 81.) the words Baw and Batt were almost synonymous. The following definition is from Holt's Military Dictionary. "*Bat*, horses—*Baw* horses. Baggage horses belonging to the officers when in actual duty."

J. W. de P.

EARLY NEW YORK ARTISTS.—(I. 53.) In the records of old New York you will find Jacobus Strycker, who came to this country in 1640, and who was an Alderman in New Amsterdam in 1655, a gentleman of large fortune, of considerable taste and culture. He was an amateur artist, and painted his own portrait, still extant in the Stryker mansion on 52d street, New York. An account thereof may be found in *Appleton's Journal*, Nov. 23, 1872.

A. B. C.

AMBOY.—(I. 129.) This name was probably derived from the island of Amboyna in the Malay Archipelago, an important post of the Dutch East India Company, and familiar, no doubt, to the *matroozen* trading to New Amsterdam.

Elleboog, not "Am Bog" is the Dutch word for elbow. Your querist might take into consideration the words "Om Boeg," as Raritan Point is named Om-poge in a document of 1651.

PETERSFIELD.

AMBOY.—(I. 129.) "Een Boge" the Nether Dutch words for a bow, may explain the mystery of "Amboy." It seems probable that it was derived from this savage weapon.

HOBUCK.

AMBOY.—(I. 129.) "Het Ambacht," The Hundred, or Territory belonging to a town, may be the origin of Amboy.

A. E.

KILL VAN KULL, ARTHUR KILL.—(I. 129.) The peculiar shape of Bergen Neck, resembling an important part of the human structure, attracted the attention of the early Dutch colonists, who were mainly boors; from them it received the name of the "Kul." "Achter Kul" was applied to both the land and water *behind* or back of the Kul. "Kil van Kul," the channel from the Kul, and Arthur Kill, a corruption of Achter Kul were, in the course of time, improperly applied to the strait between Staten Island and New Jersey, now generally called the Kills.

STAPLETON.

KILL VAN KULL, ARTHUR KILL, AMBOY.—(I. 129.) The conjurations and ceremonies of the native Indians, convinced the settlers of New Amsterdam that they were in league with the evil one. Bergen Point being a favorite rendezvous of the natives for the above purposes, it received the name of "Kol," the Dutch appellation for witch, or sor-

cerer. The water behind the Kol was called the "Achter Kol," and the river leading to it the "Kil van Kol."

The derivation of Amboy can be found in Whitehead's Early History of Perth Amboy, pages 2, 415.

A. S. Y.

KILL VAN KULL.—(I. 129.) The old patents and deeds have constant reference to land on the Fresh Kills. Did not the neighborhood of Newark Bay receive its name of Col or Kul from the Low Dutch word "*Koel*, cool, or fresh."

L. B.

KILL VAN KULL.—(I. 129.) J. B. B. inquires what is Kill van Kull? It is simply Kill van Kull, and no more. If it is a corruption of Kil van Kul, let it remain as it is, lest the Philistines wag their heads. The harmless Dutch word *kil* is everywhere badly perverted to *kill*, which suggests murder. The unlettered American does not give time to *de taal die zalige ouders spraken*, and ignorance is claimed to be bliss in some respects.

Albany.

ANON.

GOVERNOR MONTGOMERIE.—(I. 130.) Gov. Montgomerie died at four o'clock on Thursday morning, July 1, 1731, in the Governor's House; his remains were interred the next evening in the King's Chapel. Both these buildings were in Fort George facing the present Bowling Green, New York City.

It is almost certain that the family of the Governor did not accompany him to America. He left no will, but letters of administration were issued July 10, 1731, to "Charles Hume of the city of New York Gentleman," to take charge of the estate of "His Excellency John W. Montgomerie, Esq deceased." W. K.

## FEBRUARY PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The stated Monthly Meeting was held in the Hall of the Society on the evening of Tuesday, February 2d, 1877, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D., in the Chair.

Among the donations to the Library was the ms. report of the Women's Centennial Union, of the City of New York, 1876, with names of members and names of subscribers to the Centennial Banner, the gift of the women of New York to Independence Hall, Philadelphia; with this interesting volume a letter from Miss M. E. Hamilton, Secretary.

After the regular business was concluded, the Executive Committee reported the following recommendations:

"The Executive Committee takes occasion to remind the Society that Friday, the 20th April next, will occur the One Hundreth Anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of the State of New York, and suggests the propriety of a recognition of this, the most important event in the annals of the State, under the auspices of this Society, an institution especially created by its Legislature to preserve the history of this great political community.

"The Committee takes occasion further to remind the Society of the later coming, Wednesday, the 10th of October next, of the One Hundreth Anniversary of the battle of Saratoga, a victory in great measure due to the valor of the officers and troops of this State, and now recognized as the determining contest in the struggle for American Independence.

"The Committee respectfully recom-

mend that each of these important events be celebrated by the Society."

This recommendation was unanimously adopted, and the Executive Committee charged to carry it out in a proper manner. The plans include an address in the City of New York on the progress of jurisprudence in this State during the century.

We learn that Governor Horatio Seymour has consented to deliver the commemorative oration on the field of Saratoga in behalf of the Monument Commission, and we presume the Historical Society will join in this celebration.

The Paper of the Evening was entitled "the Humorous Element in the American Revolution," which the orator, Moses Coit Tyler, Professor of History in the University of Michigan, announced in his opening had been prepared in the Library of the Society, from its abundant and curious material.

The point of the address, which was delivered with admirable and varied oratorical power was to illustrate a part of the colonial and revolutionary struggle which has never hitherto had special treatment.

Beginning with the epigrams and squibs with which the rival factions assailed each other at the Stamp Act period, Professor Tyler followed the combat of wit through its various forms of prose and verse, playful, satirical and malicious, with illustrations of each, which kept the audience in continuous merriment. To these he added descriptions of the tar and featherings, effigy burnings, and the huger practical jokes of the famous "tea parties."

The thanks of the Society were voted to the orator.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with  
Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA** BY THE COMTE DE PARIS, Translated, with the Approval of the Author, by LEWIS F. TASISTRO, edited by HENRY COPPÉE, LL. D. Vol. I., pp. 640. Vol. II., pp. 773, 8vo. Jos. H. COATES & Co. Philadelphia, 1876. Superbly illustrated with Military Maps.

This translation of the personal experience of the gallant young prince, who won his first spurs on the banks of the Potomac as an aide-de-camp to General McClellan, and finished his campaigning at the close of the seven days' battle before Richmond, will be read with rare satisfaction by both civilians and military men. There is no royal road to fame or literature, though examples are numerous of princes who have wielded the pen as skillfully as the sword since the day when Cæsar, founder of the imperial line, described campaigns with a vigor only equalled by that with which they were won. As to the military correctness of this history, we shall pass no opinion; this is not the field for such discussion. In literary ability the Comte de Paris upholds the well-known credit of his name. The Orleans family have, in more than one valuable historic memoir, proved their right to consideration in the world of letters.

The work has been variously appreciated, according to the temper, prejudices and nationality of the reviewers. In an able article in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1876, the Comte is said to have perfectly succeeded in showing the bearing of each incident of the war on the struggle as a whole, while at the same time the author asserts that "no one on either side of the Atlantic has yet been found to view the character of this war in its larger historical aspect as one impressed on it, not merely by the incidents of the day, but by the slowly strengthened force of precedent." The military opinions of the French prince by no means receive the cordial approbation of his English critic, who considers his judgment to be controlled by his feelings for his chief, whose personal magnetism is well known to all who have been brought in contact with him.

We must be pardoned for not entering upon any elaborate synopsis of a work, itself a synopsis of years of incident and change; but we will not dismiss the always interesting subject without a reference to a criticism on the book, which appeared in the *Southern Historical Society Papers* for November, 1876, in which the impartiality, the fairness, and the accuracy of

the Comte de Paris are sharply impugned. The people of the South are not yet reconciled to the result of the final arbitrament to which they made their last appeal. It is not now, nor perhaps for many a decade, that any opinions in gross or detail as to the conduct of the struggle can by any possibility be adopted as satisfactory to all sides. Meanwhile such carefully studied and conscientious opinions as those of the Comte de Paris, with many of which we are far from agreeing, are of invaluable service as testimony absolutely necessary to the final judgment.

One thing is certain; the results of the great political change in our institutions are each day showing themselves in unexpected ways.

**LES FRANCAIS EN AMÉRIQUE PENDANT LA GUERRE DE L'INDÉPENDANCE DES ETATS-UNIS, 1777-1783**, par THOMAS BALCH. 8vo, pp. 237. A. SAUTON, Paris; J. B. LIPPINCOTT, Philadelphia, 1872. The French in America during the War of Independence of the United States.

In our February number we noticed the work by Mr. Léon Chotteau, under a nearly similar title, and warned the reader against confounding it with Mr. Balch's volume, published some years since. On making further comparison of these volumes, we find that not only has Mr. Chotteau taken the title of Mr. Balch's book, but that he has used his matter without any recognition whatever. The crime in this case is more than ordinary plagiarism in that a large part of Mr. Balch's volume was made up from original sources,—such, for instance, as the *Military Journal* of the Comte de Ménonville, then first used. So that Mr. Chotteau has not only robbed the living, but the dead. Mr. Balch, however, need not feel disturbed at the appearance of this merely ephemeral work, and must console himself with the compliments lavishly bestowed on his contribution to French military history, by her best authoritative military critics.

**REPORT OF THE NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, VOL. II.** 8vo, pp. 388. Printed for the Society. New Haven, 1877.

An elegant volume, full of admirable matter. We especially notice a paper by Franklin B. Dexter, entitled *Memoranda respecting Edward Whalley and William Goffe*, comprising all the known information about two of the three Judges of King Charles I., who made their home

in the Connecticut Colony, and are to this day the romantic heroes of her romance. In this sketch Mr. Dexter finds cause for disappointment, that the materials under his hand give no information about John Dixwell, the third regicide, who had long been supposed to lie buried in New Haven.

We are not, therefore, surprised to find this paper followed by one by Thomas R. Trowbridge, vindicating the claim of New Haven to hold the bodies of all three. We shall not enter into the controversy, but leave it to our Connecticut friends to bury their dead.

There is a pleasing local sketch of the Ancient Houses of New Haven, by Thomas R. Trowbridge, Jr., and a review of the Life and Writings of John Davenport, one of the founders of the New Haven Colony, with a careful list of his works, of rare bibliographical value.

**MAJOR-GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER, AND THE BURGOYNE CAMPAIGN IN THE SUMMER OF 1771.** An Address delivered January 2, 1877, before the New York Historical Society by General JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER. 8vo, pp. 26. New York, 1877.

A synopsis of this paper, read at the January meeting of the New York Historical Society, was printed in our February number. Its purpose is to show that General Schuyler was the hero of Saratoga.

**AN ANSWER BY ROGER WILLIAMS TO GOVERNOR CODDINGTON'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR LEVERET.** A Reprint of the Original, printed at Boston by JOHN FOSTER (between 1678 and 1680), by the PROVIDENCE PRESS COMPANY. 8vo, pp. 10. 1876.

The author (R. W.) complains bitterly of the 'brutish tract' of the Governor, and enters into details of defense and attack so old fashioned in thought and manner that we must dismiss it, with the hope that the students of history in detail may find in it some grains of interest not to us apparent.

**NOTES HISTORICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL OF THE TOWN OF WORCESTER, MASS.,** by NATHANIEL PAINE. Large 8vo, pp. 5. (Thirty-five copies printed.) Worcester, 1875.

A curious sketch of this old city, printed in a form delicious to collectors of rarities of print and paper; including *fac similes*, a fine portrait of Issiah Thomas, the celebrated printer and first historian of the American Press, and a quaint sketch of the Old South Church of Worcester in 1776.

**A CENTURY OF EDUCATION, BEING A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE CITY OF PROVIDENCE,** by EDWIN MARTIN STONE. 8vo, pp. 84. Providence, 1876.

An account of the schools of Providence, divided into five epochs—the first two of which were the period of education from 1636 to 1800, when a free school system was adopted by law. An account of the later progress of the schools in the State of Rhode Island in this century, during which the law has been abrogated, renewed and improved, is beyond the scope of our columns. Enough to say that Rhode Island does not forget the duty she owes, from her exceptional privileges, to the great United States commonwealth.

**A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE REV. WILLIAM BUELL SPRAGUE, D. D., LL. D.** By CHARLES B. MOORE, Life Member of the New York Genealogical and Bibliographical Society. 4to, pp. 10. Privately printed, New York, 1877.

A succinct account of the long and useful life of this eminent divine, for forty years Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church at Albany, where his urbanity and hospitality gained for him a large and varied acquaintance with the most distinguished men in the country. The work gives an account of his numerous contributions to theological literature.

**DONATIONS TO THE PEOPLE OF BOSTON SUFFERING UNDER THE PORT-BILL, 1774-1777, COMMUNICATED TO THE HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER FOR JULY, 1876,** BY ALBERT H. HOYT, A. M., AND REPRINTED FROM THAT NUMBER. 8vo, pp. 10.

A list of the gifts made by the different Colonies to the sufferers in Boston, chiefly in kind.

**THE CLIMATE AND DISEASES OF AMERICA.** BY DR. JOHANN DAVID SCHOEPPF, Surgeon of the Anspach-Bayreuth Troops in America, translated by JAMES READ CHADWICK, M. A., M. D. 4to, pp. 31. H. O. HOUGHTON AND COMPANY, New York. The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1875.

The translator's preface announces that these letters, of a medico-historic kind, addressed to Professor Delius of Erlangen, were printed in the original at Erlangen in 1781. The second letter



from New York, December 20th, 1780, on the Climate and Weather of America is by no means complimentary. Thoroughly imbued with foreign prejudice, the Doctor says that if "America should ever have a Thomson (thus far she has not produced even a tolerable poet), I cannot imagine which season of the year he would find it worth his while to celebrate."—benighted Teuton!

**JESUIT MISSIONS AMONG THE CAYUGAS FROM 1656 TO 1684**, by Rev. CHARLES HAWLEY, D. D. 8vo, pp. 42. Auburn, N. Y., 1876.

A series of tracts or articles, the chief value of which consists in transcripts from the *Relations des Jésuites*, the earliest written record of events on the Cayuga soil by the first white men who visited it. The Cayugas were one of the five nations of the great Iroquois league. The pamphlet is a valuable contribution to this branch of our literature, which is more than usually attractive in that the history of the red man is the most romantic field of American historic inquiry.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE UNITED STATES, RELATING TO MILITARY COLLECTIVE BIOGRAPHY**, a paper read before the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society by R. S. GUERNSEY.

A history of the attempts made prior to 1874 to collect biographical details of military interest.

**HISTORICAL ADDRESS OF THE CITY OF NEWPORT, DELIVERED JULY 4, 1876**, with an Appendix, by WILLIAM P. SHEFFIELD, published by order of the City Council. 8vo, pp. 68 and pp. xv. Newport, 1876.

An authorized account of the proceedings at the Opera House, in pursuance of the proclamation of the President of the United States, 25th May, 1876, inviting an assemblage of the people of every city and town in every State, and the delivery of an historical sketch of said city and town. The history of Newport is well known. No city in the country is richer in historic memories. The sketch succinctly describes its rise and prosperity as one of the greatest commercial marts of the last century, its colonial life when it was the seat of fashion, the stirring events which occurred in its harbor during the revolution, and the visit of the French fleet under d'Estaing; and the appendix contains sketches of Wager and Lillibridge, de Courcy, Coggeshall, Coddington, Wanton, and others, and of the families of Channing, Ellery and Decatur. The careful author states the curious fact that in 1774, when Newport was at the zenith of its commercial prosperity, there were 300 families

of Jews residing there, represented by men of great learning, intelligence and enterprise. The history of this colony, now wholly extinct, should be written.

**A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF BLOCK ISLAND**, by WILLIAM P. SHEFFIELD. 8vo, pp. 62. Newport, 1876.

An account of this island from its discovery by Verezano, who gave it the name of Claudia, in 1524, and its second baptism in 1614 by Adrian Block in his "Jaght," the first vessel built on Manhattan Island by the old Dutch navigator. Mr. Sheffield does not give the name of this first American yacht. It was the "Onrust" or Restless, 44½ feet long, 11 feet wide, and 16 tons burthen. This sketch of the fog-bound island will find its way to the cabins of many a pleasure boat, and relieve the tedium of lazy anchorage.

**DER DEUTSCHE PIONIER—ERINNERUNGEN AUS DEM PIONIER-LEBEN IN AMERIKA**, Band 8, Heft 10. Redakteur: H. A. RATERMANN. 8vo. Cincinnati, Ohio, Jan., 1877. The German Pioneer—Remembrances of Pioneer Life of the Germans in America.

This publication of the German Pioneer Society occupies a high position in the German literature of this country. It is devoted to biographical notices of eminent Germans who have settled in this country, distinguished in the church, science, politics and commerce.

**CENTENNIAL DISCOURSES—A SERIES OF SERMONS DELIVERED IN THE YEAR 1876**, by order of the General Synod of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America. (A collection of pamphlets bound in one volume.) 8vo, Published by the Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1877.

A collection which will be read with universal interest, including, besides treatises of a purely theological character, a review of the relations of Religion to Civil Liberty by Rev. Dr. R. W. Clark; the Points of Similarity between the Struggle for Independence in Holland and America, by Rev. Dr. A. R. Thompson; the Character and Development of Our (the R. D.) Church in the Colonial Period, by Rev. Dr. E. T. Corwin; the Posture of its Ministers and People during the Revolution, by Rev. Dr. A. Todd; the Huguenot Element among the Dutch, by Rev. A. G. Vermilye. Of this latter article, originally an address before the New York Historical Society, a slight synopsis of which we gave in our January number, we have already expressed our unqualified praise. The matter of the volume is too abundant and too solid for light review.

**HISTORY OF THE CITY OF TROY** from the Expulsion of the Mohegan Indians to the present Centennial Year of the Independence of the United States of America, 1876, A. J. WEISE, A. M. With Maps and Statistical Tables by A. G. BARDIN, C. E. 8vo, pp. 400. WILLIAM H. YOUNG, Troy, N. Y., 1876.

An exhaustive account of all the incidents, historical, biographical and industrial, in the history of this enterprising city, from the day in 1659, when the pioneer settler, Jan Barentsen Wemp built the first log hut on the "Great Meadows," which, with the consent of the titular owner, the first Patroon, he had purchased from the Mohawks, who hunted and trapped in the neighborhood, and often sought the friendly shelter of his rude roof. Unlike the ancient city, whose name it bears, Troy was never the scene of armed conflict, although the course of war run often by the little settlement, which in 1789 assumed the ambitious title by which it is now known. The reader will find various details of the Van der Heydens, the Lansingshs, the Tibbits, the Warrens, and others, who by their industry and sagacity have contributed to its prosperity.

The illustrations are creditable, the tables full, and the index thorough. The style is unpretentious, and the matter excellent. In a word, a practical book.

**QUEBEC, PAST AND PRESENT. A HISTORY OF QUEBEC, 1608-1876**, in two parts, by J. M. LE MOINE. 8vo, pp. 466. AUGUSTIN COTÉ, Quebec, 1876.

This volume will be found not only a valuable historical text book, of interest to the general reader, but an admirable companion and guide for the traveler in the romantic country where France and England contended for the mastery of a continent. Taking up the history of the quaint old town, whose narrow streets and gable houses remind one of the old European cities, from the time when it was but a cluster of wigwams, styled *Stadaconé* by its savage occupants, Monsieur le Moine leads us, with careful step and easy grace, through the hot turmoil of battle of which the rocky promontory and its frowning bastions were the repeated scene. Four times Quebec was besieged. In 1629 its founder, Champlain, struck the French flag to the English admiral, after a hopeless struggle, and took passage home in one of the English ships. In 1690 the city (which had been restored to Champlain in 1632) repulsed with success the attack of Sir William Phipps, with his thirteen hundred Boston militia, "a defeat sensibly felt by the people of New Eng-

land;" in 1759 the battle on the plains of Abraham forever settled the fate of French colonization on this continent. The last was the unsuccessful attempt by the Americans to surprise Quebec in 1775, when the brave Montgomery fell. This the writer characterises as "a desperate attempt, suited to the temper of the fearless men engaged in it, the character of the times, and of the scenes which were about to be enacted on the American continent." The details of the action are related with spirit and fairness. As we have observed, the local sketches are of practical value to the tourist.

**HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF COSHOCTON COUNTY (OHIO). A Complete Panorama of the County, from the time of the Earliest known Occupants of the Territory unto the Present Time,—1764-1876—**by WILLIAM E. HUNT. 8vo, pp. 264. ROBERT CLARKE & Co., Cincinnati. 1876.

It must not be supposed that collections of this character are necessarily dry reading. Though a large part of the volume is, of course, given up to the origin of the various institutions which have sprung up in the county of Coshocton (can the lover of Hiawatha believe that the original name of this tract was Tuscarawas) since it was incorporated in 1802, yet there are many descriptions which will be read with pleasure. A chapter on the "Indian occupancy and early military expeditions" will repay perusal. When the first English-speaking white man entered the territory, the Delawares were already pushing out the Shawnees. In their turn, the Delawares were twice attacked by the white men—first in the campaign known as Boquet's Expedition in 1764: second, in the Coshocton Campaign of 1780. In these days, when there is so little belief in the possibility of any good in Indian nature, it is pleasing to read of the loyalty with which the Delawares, though thrice urged by their savage neighbors, refused in 1777 to take up the hatchet against the Americans—a diplomatic victory at the forks of the Muskingum, which the author claims to be one of the grandest of the Revolutionary War. The "fighting blood" of the county has its chapter, and here the curious will be glad to find an authentic report of Tom Corwin's famous description of that peculiar product of our civilization, "the Militia General."

**HISTORICAL SKETCH OF POTTSVILLE, SCHUYLKILL COUNTY, PENN.**, by GEORGE CHAMBERS, Esq. Read at Union Hall, Pottsville, July 4th, 1876. 8vo, pp. 19. STANDARD PUBLISHING COMPANY PRINT, 1876.

Pottsville is not a very large place, but it has its history, and deserves its place in history, and

evidently intends to keep it. In the days of Braddock, Schuylkill county, whose fame now burns with perpetual fire, was not visible on the map of the Pennsylvania colony. In 1800 Isaac Thomas, Lewis Morris and Lewis Reese began a furnace and forge in this neighborhood, but it was not till John Pott erected the Old Greenwood Furnace and forge in 1807 that positive progress began about Pottsville. We shall not follow the annalist through the various branches of the Pott family, nor the wonderful development of the industries of the Schuylkill Valley. We advise our readers to go and see.

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AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF MISSOURI, comprising its Early Record, and Civil, Political, and Military History, from the First Exploration to the Present time, &c., by WALKER BICKFORD DAVIS and DANIEL S. DURRIE, A. M. (Sold by subscription). 8vo, pp. 639. A. S. HALL & Co., St. Louis; ROBERT CLARKE & Co., Cincinnati, 1876.

A solid and complete history of this great State, whose astonishing progress in population, wealth, and intelligence, since its admission into the Union in 1820 are well known. In its pages will be found not only accounts of its topography and geology, and of the wonderful mineral deposits of iron, coal and lead, which are the base of its prosperity, but biographical sketches of the men who have led the State in her march of progress. The history is prefaced with a careful chapter on the Spanish and French discoveries of De Soto and La Salle, and the early occupation of the Valley of the Mississippi. Here is related how in 1764 Auguste Chouteau, the Lieutenant of Laclède, selected St. Louis as the site of the new French colony, to which the western region owes much of its enterprise and its civilization, and whose influence is still enduring and beneficial. The establishment of the Great Fur Company by John Jacob Astor in 1819, and the wealth which resulted from it, are noticed. The trade in peltry had been before the chief business of the inhabitants, but under his skillful guidance developed into enormous proportions.

The later prosperity of Missouri, we of the East, who have watched her career, believe to have been greatly due to the admirable manner in which her finances have been managed in harmony with, if not under, the guidance of the best of our New York financiers; and last, not least, to the decision of her people, in spite of bland persuasion, or threats of force,—indeed, in the face of force itself,—to stand by the Union in the trying summer of 1861. The book is illustrated with portraits, in which we find little to admire.

SOCIETY OF THE ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND—TENTH REUNION, PHILADELPHIA, 1876. Published by order of the Society. 8vo, pp. 236. ROBERT CLARKE & Co., Cincinnati, 1876.

An elegantly printed volume, from the press of publishers who not only do well all that falls to them to do, but who are known through the country as most generous contributors to the shelves of historical libraries. In addition to the proceedings, wherein will be found addresses by Generals Sherman, Sheridan, Schofield, Hartmanft, and others, there are memorial notices of the illustrious dead of this gallant army. It is illustrated with a beautifully executed portrait of Maj. General David S. Stanley, and a colored picture of the badge of the Society.

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SIR WILLIAM PENN, KNIGHT, ADMIRAL AND GENERAL-AT-SEA; GREAT-CAPTAIN-COMMANDER IN THE FLEET. A Memoir. By P. S. P. CONNER, Member of the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Large paper 8vo, pp. 70. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, 1876.

This volume, with its broad margins, its dazling paper, its well-spaced lines, clear, fresh type, and its ornaments of old style capitals, and graceful head and tail pieces, will captivate the eye of every disciple of Dibdin. The memoir is divided into eighteen chapters, in which all that is known of the valiant Admiral, the father of the founder of Pennsylvania, is gathered and recited in agreeable style. The titles of the chapters will give as good an idea of this monograph as our limited space will allow. They are: 1. The Penns of Penn; 2. The Penns of Penn Lodge; 3. The Young Admiral; 4. The Key of the Shannon; 5. William the Avenger; 6. Sinbad the Sailor; 7. The Battle of the Flag; 8. The Capture of Jamaica; 9. The Great Captain-Commander.—Admiral Penn died on the 16 September, 1760.

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NOTES, HISTORICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL, ON THE LAWS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE. BY ALBERT H. HOYT. 8vo, pp. 19. Press of Charles Hamilton, Worcester, Mass., 1876.

The opening paragraph explains the purpose of this work to be to show how greatly the history of the origin and development of the Laws of the Granite State will repay investigation, and to point the path which the student may most profitably pursue. It is a valuable contribution to legal bibliography.

**THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE AT THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC, NEW YORK, JULY 4, 1876.** Hon. JOHN A. DIX, presiding, with the Oration and other Exercises. 8vo, pp. 82. ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH & Co. New York, 1876.

A superbly printed pamphlet. The oration, the subject of which is announced in a second title as "The Declaration of Independence and the effects of it," by the Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs, is one of the most brilliant of the many fine addresses of the past year.

**THE HISTORICAL ODE—JULY 4, 1876.**

A fac-simile of the Ode delivered by Bayard Taylor at Philadelphia, reproduced by heliotype process, and published in elegant large quarto form by JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co., Boston.

**THREE MEMORIAL POEMS, BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.** Small 4to, pp. 91. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1877.

This elegantly printed little volume contains the three centennial odes of this favorite poet—Ode read at Concord, April 19, 1875; Under the old elm (Cambridge); An ode for the Fourth of July, 1876. They need no comment or commendation.

**THE OLD FARM AND THE NEW FARM.**

A POLITICAL ALLEGORY BY FRANCIS HOPKINSON, Member of the Continental Congress, with an Introduction and Historical Notes, by BENSON J. LOSSING. Second edition. 12mo, pp. 76. A. D. F. RANDOLPH, New York, 1864.

Although printed long since, this edition of "The Pretty Story," originally printed in Philadelphia by John Dunlap in 1774, is again "fresh and green" in this Centennial period.

**THE PENN MONTHLY. DEVOTED TO LITERATURE, SCIENCE, ART AND POLITICS.** (Vol. VII., No. 81.) September, 1876. Published for the Penn Monthly Association, by J. H. COATES & Co. Philadelphia.

Besides numerous miscellaneous articles on matters of general interest, European as well as American, the student of our history will find an interesting article, by Prof. Andrew Ten Brook,— "One Hundred Years of the North West."

**CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTANA,** with its Transactions, Act of Incorporation, Constitution, Officers, and Members. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 357. ROCKY MOUNTAIN PUBLISHING CO. 1876.

We gladly welcome this first historic venture from the mountain region of the Columbia and the Missouri. After a slight account of the Society, which was incorporated by the Assembly in 1865, the volume is made up of biographical sketches of some of the earlier pioneers to the Montana territory, a parallelogram which lies between the two lines of early travel across the continent. To the northward was the route of the Canadian fur traders from Montreal, by the Saskatchewan river, and across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia. Later the St. Louis and New York trappers passed up the Platte and through the South Pass, and by the Lewis Fork of the Columbia to Astoria. There are interesting recitals of the Yellowstone Expedition of 1863 from the journal of Captain James Stuart, and of 1874 by A. M. Quivey, a description of the upper Missouri River, from a reconnaissance made in 1812, by T. P. Roberts, and sundry geological notes by O. C. Morton.

Perhaps there is no region of country in the world which, from its remarkable geological structure, its wealth of mineral deposits, and its unexplored field of archæologic remains, is so attractive as the slopes of the Rocky Mountains, on either side of the great Continental Divide. We are not surprised at the energy and enthusiasm which the Montana Society displays, and we look for later publications as interesting as the pages of romance.

**COLUMBIA COLLEGE—HER "HONORABLE RECORD IN THE PAST, WITH A GLANCE AT HER OPPORTUNITIES IN THE FUTURE."** A Centennial Discourse delivered before the Association of the Alumni, December 21st, 1876, by the Hon. JOHN JAY. 8vo, pp. 48. Published by the Alumni Association. New York, 1876.

This pamphlet, which presents in a well arranged and simple form the outline history of this ancient seat of learning, from the date of its first charter as King's College in 1754, will prove an attractive volume to our New York citizens, many of the most eminent of whom received their training within its halls. The material development of the college is carefully reviewed. The rapid and extraordinary rise in the real estate value of city property has placed this institution on a footing of peculiar advantage, and entire independence. Mr. Jay points out the manner in which the influence of Columbia may be best exerted.

**EL EDUCADOR POPULAR: PERIODICO DEDICADO A LA DIFUSION DE LA INSTRUCCION PRIMARIA É SECUNDARIA.** Vol. III. May, 1875 to April, 1876. The Popular Educator, a Periodical devoted to the Diffusion of Primary and Secondary Instruction. Published under the authority of Sr. DON MANUEL PARDO, President of the Republic of Peru. Edited by N. PONCE DE LEON. New York, 1876.

We pass for once beyond the limitations of our historical notices, to commend to our Spanish-reading friends this excellent periodical, which is recognized as the serious organ of our South American neighbors. We commend it to support.

**BRIEF HISTORY OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, 1847-1876, BEING THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION, SUBMITTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGIC SOCIETY, JAN. 5, 1876.** Revised and enlarged. 8vo, 12 pp. DAVID CLAPP & SONS, Boston, 1876.

In our January number we gave full credit to the industry of this Society and our opinion of the value of its labors in the cognate fields of history and biography. A perusal of this work shows that our commendations were in no manner excessive.

**SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY PAPERS, VOLUME II., JULY TO DECEMBER, 1876.** Rev. WILLIAM JONES, D. D., Secretary. 8vo, pp. 466. Richmond, Va., 1876.

The object of this society is to preserve the records of the late war, and of the accomplished editor to make "its *papers* invaluable to every one who desires to know or to circulate the truth concerning our great struggle." It is, we believe, indispensable to true astronomic observations to examine the positions of stars from different points, that the errors of refraction may be corrected. The thought is not new with us that events appear differently when viewed from different positions; hence we gladly note the disposition of our Southern friends to put their material on record. The papers in the volume before us are purely military reports, diaries and correspondence, with occasional reviews by competent hands. They will no doubt be the subject of discussion in military quarters.

In a paper on the "Relative Strength of the Armies of Generals Lee and Grant," General Early compares the entire relative forces of the South and North as 600,000 Southern opposed to 2,653,553 United States troops, and hence ac-

counts for the defeat of the Confederacy. This was as apparent in 1860 as in 1865, and the only wonder is the South did not see it.

At the close of the volume is "a Roster of General Officers, Heads of Departments, Senators, Representatives, Military Organizations &c., in the Confederate service"—a pamphlet of 31 pages.

**REMARKS UPON THE TONKAWA** (read before the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, November 12, 1876), by ALBERT S. GATSCHET. 8vo, pp. 10.

This tract from the Proceedings of the Society is another of the contributions of a careful linguist and philologist to this always interesting subject, the Indian languages. The tribe of the Tonkawas are more than classical in their account of their origin—their national legend representing them as the offspring of the wolf. The author announces that this article merely contains the result of a closer investigation, hitherto unpublished, of the Tonkawa words and sentences included in the volume published at Weimar.

**ANALYTICAL REPORT UPON INDIAN DIALECTS SPOKEN IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, NEVADA, AND ON THE LOWER COLORADO RIVER, &c., and based upon Vocabularies collected by the expeditions for Geographical Surveys west of the 100th Meridian, Lieut. George M. Wheeler, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., in charge, by ALB. S. GATSCHET, being extract from Appendix J. J. of the Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1876.** Pamphlet, 8vo. Government Printing Office. Washington, 1876.

A linguistic report upon the Indian languages, vocabularies and sentences which were collected by members of the survey in 1875. It contains comments on the idioms of the Santa Barbara, Shoshonee and Yuma Stocks. The author asserts that the commonly admitted affinity between the Yuma and Pima dialects does not exist at all, and looks upon the Yuma stock of aborigines as thoroughly independent in race and in speech.

**THE CENTENNIAL: BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL, with a View of Charlestown in 1775, Page's Plan of the Action, Romane's Exact View of the Battle, and other illustrations, by RICHARD FROTHINGHAM.** 16mo, pp. 136. LITTLE, BROWN & Co. 1875.

A faithful and interesting account by a careful student. The illustrations are *fac similes* of the originals.

## PUBLICATIONS ANNOUNCED

**COUNT FRONTENAC AND THE AMERICAN WARS OF LOUIS XIV.,** by FRANCIS PARKMAN. LITTLE, BROWN & CO., BOSTON

We have been favored with extracts from the Preface and some of the proof sheets of this work. Mr. Parkman wears worthily the gay and graceful mantle of Prescott, and the announcement of a further volume from the pen which first attracted attention in the recital of his own experience in the West, in "The Oregon Trail," and has since with increasing power and grace of style recited in the "History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac," the "Pioneers of France in the New World" and the "Old Regime in Canada" the ever interesting narrative of French Colonization in this country. In the words of the gifted author of the forthcoming volume, "the events recounted group themselves in the main about a single figure, that of Count Frontenac, the most remarkable man who ever represented the crown of France in America. From strangely unpromising beginnings, he grew with every emergency and rose equal to every crisis. His whole career was one of conflict, sometimes petty and personal, sometimes of momentous consequence, including the question of national ascendancy on this Continent. Now that this question is set forever at rest, it is hard to conceive the anxiety which it awakened in our forefathers. But for one deep rooted error of French policy, the future of the English-speaking races on this continent would have been more than jeopardized. Under the rule of Frontenac occurred the first serious collision of the rival powers and the opening of the grand scheme of military occupation, by which France strove to envelope and hold in check the industrial populations of the English colonies. It was he that made that scheme possible. In the old Regime in Canada, I tried to show from what inherent causes this wilderness empire of the great monarch fell at last before a foe superior indeed in numbers, but void of all the forces that belong to a system of civil and military centralization. The present volume will show how valiantly and for a time how successfully, New France battled against a fate her own organic fault made inevitable. Her history is a great and significant drama, enacted among untamed forests, with a distant gleam of courtly splendor and the regal pomp of Versailles."

The proof sheets before us treat of matter of especial interest to the New York student, and tell of the unsuccessful efforts of La Barre to intimidate the hardy Iroquois, and the humiliating end of the French expedition of 1684.

We eagerly await Mr. Parkman's reasons for believing that French domination on this continent was ever even possible. The great strategic laws which govern military campaigns are

equally true of movements of hostile colonization. The French held the extreme points of the coast and an extended circumference line, the English the centre and the sea. The result was inevitable.

**A HISTORY OF ST. MARK'S PARISH, IN THE COUNTY OF CULPEPER, STATE OF VIRGINIA, WITH NOTES OF OLD CHURCHES AND OLD FAMILIES AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE OLDEN TIME.** By REV. P. SLAUGHTER, D. D.

The reverend gentleman gives notice of a publication of rare interest if the execution equal, as we doubt not it will, the promise of the prospectus. The realization of the announcement is conditioned on the receipt of the names of 500 subscribers, at about \$1. We trust that this new enterprise of our Southern friend may meet a hearty response from all sections of the country. The address of Dr. Slaughter is Mitchell's Station, Culpeper County, Va.

**HISTORY OF BELFAST, MAINE, FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT IN 1770 TO 1875,** by JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

This volume of 750 pages octavo, with numerous illustrations, portraits, autographs, maps, plans, &c., will be shortly issued by LORING, SHORT & HARMON, Portland.

**A CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR IN THE UNITED STATES,** by Rev. ASA MAHAN. Publishers, A. S. BARNES & Co., New York.**THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE SEVERAL STATES OF THE UNION, AND OF THE UNITED STATES,** presenting a Comparative View of these Documents as they existed before the late Civil War had wrought any Changes in them.**THE HISTORY OF CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,** by LUCIUS R. PAIGE, in 8vo, by HURD & HOUGHTON, New York.**ARNOLD'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST QUEBEC.** An account of the Hardship and Sufferings of the Band of Heroes who accompanied Arnold through the Wilderness of Maine and Canada in the Autumn of 1775, &c., by JOHN JOSEPH HENRY, one of the soldiers in the expedition. 12mo. JOEL MUNSELL, Albany.

## OBITUARY

### THE THREE ADMIRALS

It is not long since a strange spectacle was witnessed in Trinity Church, when all old New York gathered to pay their tribute of respect and mourning to the brothers Delafield, who had died within a few days of each other, and whose bodies lay side by side in front of the chancel.

Not less singular is the strange coincidence of the death, within five days, of three of the most distinguished officers of the American navy; all veterans in the service, all Rear Admirals, and each connected with events of rare historic importance in our naval annals.

The first to leave the quarter-deck, and report himself for action in a higher sphere of duty, was Rear Admiral James Alden, a native of Maine, who died at San Francisco, Tuesday, the 6th February; the second, Rear Admiral Charles Wilkes, a native of New York, who died in Washington, Thursday, the 8th February; and the third, Rear Admiral Theodorus Bailey, who was born at Plattsburg, New York, and died also at Washington, Saturday, the 10th February.

Of these the most distinguished was Admiral Wilkes, whose fame, as a brave, undaunted officer, was equalled at home and abroad by his reputation as an explorer, second to none in any service. Early noticed for his skill as a navigator and his success in special duty, he was selected to organize and command the National Exploring Expedition to the Southern Ocean. On his return in 1842 he was appointed Commander, and was for several years after employed in preparing the elaborate account of his expedition, which appeared in a series of sumptuous volumes, with scientific appendices, printed under the supervision of the Government.

In the course of his voyage he visited the Islands of the Pacific and afterwards discovered the Antarctic Continent, which he coasted westward with his fleet for more than 70 degrees. For this valuable contribution to science he received a gold medal from the Geographical Society of London.

The next important event in his career was the capture of the English mail steamer *Trent* in October, 1861, and the removal from her deck of the Confederate envoys, Mason and Slidell; an action which, though later disapproved by President Lincoln, under the advice of Secretary Seward, as contrary to the maritime rights of nations and true international law, nevertheless sent a thrill to the popular heart, and won from Congress a vote of thanks. Right or wrong, he became a hero by the fiat of the people, and his action will be ever remembered with pride by his profession and the nation.

In August, 1862, while in command of the

flotilla on the James River, he destroyed City Point, and later his squadron did good service on the West Indies Station in the capture of blockade runners.

We shall not distinguish between the merits of the other officers of whose services the country has been so suddenly deprived. The next in order of seniority was Rear Admiral Bailey, whose youthful ardor for the naval service was first kindled by witnessing, when about nine years of age, the famous victory of McDonough over the British fleet on Lake Champlain in 1814.

In 1848, when the land expedition under Fremont made the bold capture of California, Lieutenant Bailey, then on the Pacific coast, won great distinction by his expeditions against the seaport towns, several of which fell into his hands. This alone would forever connect his name with this marked historic event, but his services during the late civil war were no less brilliant and successful. When Farragut forced the passes of the Mississippi in his attack upon New Orleans, Captain Bailey joined the fleet with the Colorado, but finding her draught of water too great for the bar, transferred his force to lighter vessels, and placed second in command, led the attack upon the forts in person. Later, as Commander of the Eastern Gulf Blockading Squadron on the Florida coast, he shut up entirely this channel of supplies to the Confederacy, and closed the door to its English sympathizers. It is said that he captured 150 blockade-runners in a year and a half. No service was more arduous and none more important than this destruction of the sinews of war.

The third of these gallant officers, second to none in intelligence, dash and nautical skill, was Rear Admiral Alden. He was marked as a lieutenant in the Mexican war, and was later engaged on the coast survey with credit to himself and honor to the service. In the passage of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, and the capture of New Orleans, he commanded the steam Sloop *Richmond*, and indeed participated in nearly all the naval achievements of the war. His greatest distinction, however, was won when, in command of the Brooklyn, he followed Farragut through the sea of fire to the capture of Mobile. Later, while in the Mediterranean waters, he visited many of the chief European capitals and courts, and became widely known as an accomplished, urbane gentleman. The writer of these lines, to whom he was well known, will be excused for bearing personal testimony to his admirable social qualities. To a manly frankness, which is the traditional trait of the sailor, there was added in his character a simplicity almost childlike. He will be long remembered and regretted by all who knew him.

Only the chief passages in the career of the three Admirals have been here touched upon; their names pass down to fame as of those "who have deserved well of the Republic."

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## THE FIRST SEA-FIGHT OF THE REVOLUTION

### THE CAPTURE OF THE MARGARETTA

THE battle of Lexington had been fought, and the news of it, swiftly penetrating to the remotest corners of the North American colonies, reached in due season the little village of Machias, which, situated on the sea coast of Massachusetts, in a sparsely settled district bordering on the loyal province of New Brunswick, and at no great distance from Halifax, Nova Scotia, the rendezvous of the British fleet, was peculiarly exposed, in case of a rupture with the mother country, to invasion from within and bombardment from without; yet, true to the doctrines imbibed with their mothers' milk, the people here, as in the rest of New England, allowed no ignoble thought of danger to deaden their mental and moral perceptions where a great principle was involved. Massachusetts believed that "resistance to oppression was service to God," and little Machias, with her eighty able-bodied men, was resolved to stand by Massachusetts.

So a liberty-pole was erected on the village common, around which, each afternoon, as the labors of the day ended, were to be seen all the elders of the place—male and female—eagerly discussing "the situation." Outside of this charmed circle, and at a respectful distance from it—for Young America had not then come to the front—clustered the young men and maidens; and a little apart was a troop of boys, ready to throw up their hats and fill the air with their noisy hurrahs, whenever the uplifted *baton* of Deacon Libbee, standing near the liberty pole, gave the welcome signal that *hurrahing* was admissible.

It was on a warm sunshiny day of June that, just as the people were crowding as usual to the Common, two sloops, well known in Machias, the Unity and the Polly, hove in view, convoyed by the armed schooner Margaretta, carrying four light guns and fourteen swivels, a crew of forty men, and commanded by a youngster named Moore, a mid-



shipman in the British Navy, and a nephew of Admiral Graves, the Commander-in-Chief of the British naval forces in Massachusetts waters. The advent of the merchant craft diffused universal joy throughout the village, where supplies of all kinds, even the necessities of life, were well-nigh exhausted; but Benjamin Foster, the patriarch of the settlement, who had smelt powder at Louisburg, and been many times under fire with Abercrombie, shook his head distrustfully as he looked at the *Margaretta*. "Ichabod Jones" said he, in a low voice, as if communing with himself, "would not require such company if his mission were a lawful one. He will bear looking after."

It was not long after this before the three vessels were at anchor in the harbor, and Ichabod Jones, a Boston merchant of some substance, who owned the sloops, and had been for several years trading with the Colony, came ashore, accompanied by the master of the *Polly* and a number of the crew. As soon as he landed, Jones took the arm of his nephew, Stephen Jones, a captain of militia, and afterward, under the republic, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, who had been waiting on the beach to receive him, and after saluting Foster and some others of the principal men, proceeded with him to his house, a small frame dwelling, since much enlarged, which is still standing in Machias, at the foot of Centre street. As the two walked away Foster noted that Stephen, with a look of anxiety and concern on his face, was listening attentively to every word that fell from the lips of his uncle, who, with his mouth close to Stephen's ear, as if he were afraid lest what he was saying should be overheard by some passer by, was talking to him in the most earnest and impressive manner.

"Stephen is as true as steel," again muttered the old man, "but I distrust Ichabod; he has too much reverence entirely for the powers that be, and the tyrants across the water. He shall not hoodwink me."

While Foster was soliloquizing thus, Captain Horton, of the *Polly*, was busily engaged in exchanging news with his old acquaintances, and delivering the letters with which he was charged by the Bostonians to their friends and relatives in Machias, so that before long the full certainty of that which before had reached them in but vague rumors became known to the villagers; and as returning to their homes at night-fall and gathering around their hearth-stones, husbands narrated to wives, wives to their children, how Joseph Harrington was murdered at Lexington, how Isaac Davis and Abner Hosmer fell at the bridge of Concord, and how, in all, forty-nine Americans had been slain, for no offence save resistance to aggression, which, regarded by despots as a crime, is

a virtue among a free people, a feeling of hatred to George the Third, his tyrannical ministry and hireling soldiery took possession of their breasts, such as a few months before, not one of them would have believed could ever have found a lodgment there.

This, then, was the temper of the people when, on the next day (June 3d) a circular was sent to them from Ichabod Jones informing them that Admiral Graves had permitted him to bring provisions to Machias, under the express condition that he should return to Boston with a load of lumber, and requiring them to sign an obligation not to prevent his doing so, before he would consent to land his cargo. This the majority refused to do, and at Jones' request, a meeting of the citizens was called for June 6th, at which time the matter was fully discussed and considered, and "a vote (not unanimous) obtained to permit the vessels to load and sail;" whereupon Jones began to open his hatches and retail his goods to his old customers. It is said, though, that the Boston merchant "favored those only who had favored him," and would give credit to no man who had voted against him at the meeting, thereby creating a feeling of resentment against him, in the minds of those who were prejudiced by his unwise and unjust discrimination; however this may be, it seems quite certain that he would have been permitted to take on board the lumber and leave the harbor unmolested, but for the indiscreet conduct of Captain Moore, "who just then learning what the liberty pole signified, ordered it to be taken down, under the threat of firing upon the town." Then the pent up fury of the inhabitants burst forth in earnest, and animated by a single impulse, they rushed to the Common and rallied around the pole, as if they felt that with it would stand or fall that right to self-government, assured to them by their colonial charter, which they prized more highly than life itself. When the people were all gathered together, Benjamin Foster, as might have been surmised, was the first to address them, which he did in a few pithy sentences—for he seems to have been a frugal man, sparing even of his words—reminding them of what had happened near Boston, and calling upon them to resist the arbitrary and unwarrantable demand of the "British stripling," under penalty of being stigmatized by their fellow citizens of every other town of the province as "cowards unworthy the name of freemen." As he concluded this philippic, David Gardner, a stalwart, fine looking man in Quaker garb, called out: "Thee must not forget, Benjamin that if we refuse to comply with the demand, the King's ship will fire upon the place, and our wives and children may be killed before our eyes! Are we prepared for this?" Now David Gardner was a man of peace, but there

was no braver man nor purer patriot in all Massachusetts (as Foster well knew) than he; so the patriarch artfully gave an Irish reply to his query by asking: "Will you, then, David, help me to cut it down?" The Quaker made no response to this very direct question for perhaps a minute, while his whole frame seemed to dilate and his bosom heaved convulsively. Then, as if no longer able to master his emotion, he cried out, as he turned on his heel and started homeward: "Thee may do the dirty work thee self if it pleases thee, friend Foster; I'll see thee damned, though, before *I* lend thee a helping hand!" "God bless you, David Gardner, for your brave words," exclaimed Deacon Libbee from his post of honor, as, raising his heavy walking stick above his head, and handling it, in the excitement of the moment, as if it were simply a hazel switch, he described such magic circles with it in the air that it seemed, according to the testimony of an eye witness, "just like a revolving wheel." "God bless you, David Gardner, and give you length of days in the land!" "Hurrah! Hurrah!! Hurrah!!!" shouted the boys. "Since David Gardner, the Quaker, will not cut the pole down for us," said Foster, in quiet, measured tones, as soon as order was restored, "I invite any one else among you who would like the job to make a bid for it."

But Sam Hill, a brawny lumberman, with an arm like a bar of iron, and a fist like a sledge hammer, now came to the front, and swore, as he had sworn some years before about certain persons who wished "to stake *Marsh* off into lots," that he'd "be *squashed* but he would knock down the first fellow that entered upon any such business;" and as there was that in his eye which showed him to be in downright earnest "in his hard swearing and knock-down arguments," there was no one who seemed inclined to accept the patriarch's kind and considerate invitation. Ichabod Jones, it is true, endeavored to harangue the people, but each and every time that he opened his lips, the deacon's uplifted cane put the boys in an uproar, so that his voice was drowned amid their vociferous clamor, until at length he gave up the vain attempt, and retired in confusion. Then, by a unanimous vote, it was resolved that the liberty pole should stand "until it rotted away," and the people returned to their homes.

But at a "quilting" that evening the matter was still further canvassed, all the females present expressing their approval of what had been done, and even the minister's wife, who was "a meek looking, mild-eyed little woman," declaring she would rather be burned at a stake than see the people humbled before that "snip of a boy." She also

expressed herself in a very energetic way about Mr. Ichabod Jones, whom she characterized as a mean-spirited tool of the British authorities; but of this, it may be said, not a particle of evidence has been adduced, his conduct, both before and after the 6th of June, being only such as prudence would have dictated to a thrifty merchant whose property was at stake, and who believed, as he, like many others very probably did, that the difficulties with the home government would be settled without further bloodshed, provided the counsels of the moderate men on both sides were but listened to and heeded. And besides, to tell the honest truth, the minister's wife entertained an unwarrantable prejudice against Mr. Jones, on account of his having once sold to her husband, who was *color-blind*, a piece of scarlet cloth when the reverend gentleman proposed treating himself to a new garment, which she could never be made to believe was not a piece of trickery on the part of the trader; but the fact is, the worthy parson was alone to blame for the mistake; for, going on board the *Unity*, and laying violent hands on a piece of cloth, which he found to be of the finest texture, and imagined to be *black*, he asked for the number of yards he required, without saying to what use he intended putting it. So, of course, it was cut off and handed to him, and he started home to exhibit his purchase to his better-half. He was brought to a "realizing sense" of the situation, however, when *Martha* informed him that a *scarlet* coat would suit one of the Pope's cardinals better than an *orthodox clergyman*, and "a sadder, though a wiser man," he hurried back to the *Unity*, and returned the cloth to its former owner.

Leaving Mrs. Lyon, however, and her story, which during her stay upon earth she no doubt narrated *her own way*, many scores of times, to a sympathizing audience, it becomes our duty to look up Mr. Jones, who, after he understood "the turn things were taking," betook himself to the *Margaretta*, and communicated to Captain Moore what he had seen and heard. The youthful Briton waxed wrathful indeed at the recital, and threatened "to open upon the town without delay;" but the more prudent merchant counselled forbearance, recalling to the youngster's mind a conversation his uncle had with him just before he sailed from Boston, in which he had especially enjoined upon him to act with great circumspection in his intercourse with the colonists, and while affording full protection to the sloops, to be careful not to give offense where it could be avoided. "That's all very true, Mr. Jones," said the perplexed Captain, "but I declared I would fire upon *Machias* unless the pole were cut down, and if I recede from my position now, my men will

lose all respect for me. What would you advise?" "My advice would be to hold on awhile," was the reply; "for I have persuaded some of the citizens to call another meeting for the 14th instant, and you can tell your crew you have postponed action until then." This temporizing policy was readily accepted by Moore, who felt that he had already gone too far, and Jones "went ashore and began bargaining as usual with the town people," fondly hoping that before the 14th some expedient might be hit upon to relieve both the English and Americans from their awkward dilemma.

And in this he was not far out in his reckoning, though the *relief* was not such as he could have desired, nor applied in a manner altogether agreeable to him; for on that very night Foster rode to all the neighboring settlements, and communicating only with the boldest spirits, requested them to meet him secretly on Sunday morning, the 11th instant, in a thick wood at a little distance from Machias, "on the road leading to the Port." Accordingly, when Sunday morning came, a large party met at the rendezvous, and Foster made a direct proposition to them to seize the Margarett and take the officers and men prisoners, saying that war having been inaugurated by the mother country with the first drop of American blood shed at Lexington, the sooner they took a hand in it the better. Finding, however, that some of his hearers were inclined to demur to such prompt action, he put a stop to all debate on the subject—Pizarro like—by stepping across a small brook that ran at his feet and crying out; "Let all who are willing to strike for Freedom follow me! Those who are in favor of British tyranny, and think it right to send lumber to Boston wherewith to build barracks for our oppressors, may stay where they are!" As there was no resisting this appeal, "a large majority followed him at once, and the minority falling in, a unanimous declaration of war was agreed upon." This being the first instance of "*polling the house*," says Mr. John Talbot, "in Machias parliamentary proceedings." Close at Foster's heels, *as he crossed the Rubicon*, were the O'Briens, six strapping fellows, sons of Morris O'Brien, "an Irishman born on the historic Lee, the birthplace of many a rebel, whose grandfather had followed the banner of Sarsfield." Morris was a sturdy patriot, who hated everything English, the church not excepted, since, although he was not a Roman Catholic, he was an ardent Dissenter; and he had taken care to instill his principles and prejudices into the minds of his boys, at all times and in all places, as he taught them to spell and to read, to handle the plow, the pitchfork and the rifle, to raft timber and to sail a boat; and the result of the old man's training was made manifest in the conduct of his sons on this and many subsequent occasions.

As there were but two officers belonging to the *Margaretta*—Moore and another midshipman named Stillingfleet—both of whom it was well known would be at church that morning, the plan agreed upon was to surround the meeting-house about the middle of Divine Service, and to take them prisoners, after which it was supposed there would be no difficulty in getting possession of the *Margaretta*. A part of the company, therefore, remained with Foster to do this at the proper juncture, and the rest dispersed, attending church as worshippers, though perhaps giving less heed than usual to the services." John O'Brien, the third son of Morris, after hiding his gun in a convenient place, walked boldly into the tabernacle, and took a seat on a bench behind Moore, in readiness to seize him so soon as Foster should announce by a shrill whistle that his men were in position outside.

The day was an exceedingly warm one, and all the windows in the little sanctuary, which was only twenty-five by forty feet, and crowded to suffocation, were thrown wide open to admit the southerly air. On the inner ledge of one of these was seated the colored servant of Mr. Lyon, a thick-lipped, woolly-headed fellow, of the true African stripe, named London Atus. During the singing of the opening hymn Atus remained quite erect, but at the conclusion of the first prayer, the heat of the parson's exhortations, and of the weather combined, proved too much for him, and his head gradually inclined from the perpendicular until his chin touched his breast; then he sunk into a doze, regained his consciousness for a moment, and looked with great gravity toward the minister; again relapsed, and again recovered himself, and finally fell fast asleep. He had not slept long, when he was awakened by the stentorian tones of the parson, giving out the first verse of the seventieth psalm of the old English prayer book (for, while rejecting other parts of the book, Mr. Lyon, it is said, clung fondly to the grand old Psalms)

"O Lord, to my relief draw near,  
For never was more pressing need:  
For my deliv'rance Lord appear,  
And add to that deliverance speed."

Now the aptness of the sacred melody to the events transpiring around them, added to the fact that on this occasion Mr. Lyon repeated the whole of the first verse instead of the first line of it, as was his wont, always led his congregation to believe that he was cognizant of Foster's schemes from the first; and as he not many months later addressed a most sensible and patriotic letter to General Washington, offering to lead an expedition into Nova Scotia, "because the reduction of that

place lay near his heart on account of his many suffering friends there," it seems quite likely they were right in their belief, as they most assuredly were in applying to him the sobriquet of "the fighting parson."

We have said that the African was aroused by the voice of the preacher, but must qualify our statement with the remark, that he was not thoroughly aroused until the whole congregation began singing. Then Atus straightened himself up, and averting his face from his master's gaze, which he fancied was fixed reprovingly upon him (for "conscience makes cowards of us all"), he chanced to espy Foster and his band, with their muskets over their shoulders, "crossing a foot-bridge which led from Dublin Mill Island to Single Mill Island." Imagining that the "Britishers," of whom he had recently heard so much, were marching upon Machias, London, with one leap, was out of the window, and making tracks for the woods, crying out lustily as he went: "Lord-a-massy! Lord-a-massy!" Mr. Jones, suspecting that something was wrong, and deeming it best "not to stand upon the order of his going, but to go at once," immediately followed suit, and being a good runner, reached the woods a little ahead of Atus, where he remained secreted, it is said, several days, while the English officers, also taking their leap from the window, repaired, on the full run, to White's Point, where the schooner's gig was waiting for them, and pulling directly on board, "weighed anchor, and dropped down below the narrows, whence Moore sent word to the inhabitants that if they molested Jones or his sloops in any way, he would return and fire upon the town." His message was treated with shouts of derision by the citizens; and Foster and Jeremiah O'Brien, the eldest of the brothers, "seeing that the thing was out and that the whole district was with them," now set about making preparations in downright earnest to take the *Margaretta*, *vi et armis*.

And first it was determined to throw crews on board Jones' sloops, and proceed to attack at once; for Foster was a devout man, who believed himself to be engaged in the Lord's business on that still Sabbath day; but the Polly, from some unexplained cause, not being available for such service, Foster turned the Unity over to O'Brien, and hastened himself to the East village to get a schooner there, called the Falmouth Packet, and a volunteer crew to engage in the enterprise; the agreement being that the two vessels should join company early the next morning at the "Rim."

Before leaving Machias, the patriarch, who seems to have had an eye to everything, dispatched "a swift messenger" to Jonesboro to beg of its inhabitants all the powder and ball they could spare; but this modern

Hermes, whose name, fortunately for his descendants, has not come down to us, proved recreant to his trust, since, although he made good time to Jonesboro, he refused to return with the ammunition to the old soldier (who he perhaps feared might oblige him to make trial of a portion of it himself), "pretending to be weary and foot-sore;" so as all the men of the place were either in or on their way to Machias, two patriotic young women, Mrs. Hannah Weston and her sister-in-law, Rebecca, "volunteered to carry the load themselves," and although their only path through the trackless forest was indicated "by nothing but a line of blazed trees," they would doubtless have set off with it that very night, had they been fully aware of the plans of *the devout man* and his confederates; but not deeming matters so urgent, they deferred their departure until the following day, when, bright and early, they trudged forth, carrying between them about forty pounds of powder and ball. They emerged from the woods and first struck the river, "a little below the falls of Whitneyville," when Rebecca's strength "failing somewhat," they seated themselves on a log to rest. They had not been seated long, however, when the booming of a distant gun, followed by several discharges of musketry, in rapid succession, brought them to their feet. "Rebecca," cried Mrs. Weston, "I do believe our boys are attacking the Margaretta!" "May God lead them to victory then!" answered Rebecca; and without further words, these noble and high spirited women seized their relinquished burdens and hurried with renewed ardor, though with faltering steps, toward their destination,

At Machias that morning O'Brien and his brave comrades commenced, at early daylight, on board the *Unity*, then lying at Scott's wharf, to make ready for the fray. The sloop's cargo having been landed the previous evening and her sails bent, there remained nothing for them now to do but to get provisions and arms; "so with one impulse they collected and put on board twenty fowling pieces, with three rounds of powder and ball, thirteen hay forks, a number of axes, a small bag of bread, a few pieces of pork and a barrel of water;" the last thing they did being to mount an old wall piece that they had found somewhere in the village, "on the bitts of the windlass," with which *formidable battery* they declared themselves ready about sunrise to go in pursuit of the *Margaretta*, whose Captain, "observing with his spy glass what was going on aboard the sloop," had got his vessel under weigh an hour before, so that she was now out of sight down the river.

The crew of the *Unity* consisted of from thirty-five to forty athletic young men, and on the wharf was assembled every other living soul in Machias, from the minister down to London Atus; prominent



among whom, "the central figure of the group," to use the language of the newspaper correspondents, stood our friend, David Gardner, in his broad-brimmed hat and shad-bellied coat. "Friend Jeremiah," said he, approaching the end of the wharf, and in a low voice accosting him whom he recognized as the master spirit of the occasion, "let me whisper a word in thy ear. For a helmsman of steady nerve, I can recommend to thee Steele, of Pleasant River, whom I see forward leaning against the bowsprit, and if thee intends to board the *Margaretta*, thee must remember not to strike her amidships, unless thou art minded to do her an injury; for verily that schooner is weak in the waist, and the *Unity* with her solid bow would be apt to crush her."

While the Quaker was yet speaking, the lines were cast off, and the great mainsail and jib hoisted, and without chart, pilot, or captain, amid the tears of women, the cheers of men, and the best wishes of all, the good sloop *Unity* left the western Palos, and steered for the open sea—the pioneer vessel of the New World on the unknown, untried voyage of Liberty.

As they sailed down the river, it seemed to strike the young men simultaneously that they were without an acknowledged leader, and so they proceeded to hold an election forthwith—Jeremiah O'Brien being chosen captain, and Edmund Stevens, of Addison Settlement, lieutenant, on the first ballot, and without a dissenting voice.

Just as this ceremony was concluded, news was brought to them by a man in a little fishing skiff, that the Falmouth packet was hard and fast aground, and could not be got afloat before mid-day. But the blood of the young men was now up, and they swore loudly they "could take the Englishman without her;" and giving three rousing cheers, they dispatched the boat back to Foster with the news of their spirited determination.

The *Margaretta* meanwhile, before a fair north-westerly breeze, had been making the best of her way toward the ocean, until abreast of High Point, "when some person fired at her from the bank," causing the man at the tiller to shift his helm so suddenly, in order to shoot over to the other shore, as to bring the wind on the schooner's port quarter; whereupon the main-boom, not being properly guyed, jibed with great violence, and "snapped short off a few feet from the crutch."

In this disabled condition Moore ran into Holmes's Bay, and "swapped booms with the sloop lying there in charge of Captain Robert Avery, whom he pressed on board his vessel as pilot," and as soon as his new spar was in place, he again crowded all sail on the *Margaretta*, "this time heading for Boston."

As he got clear of the bay, however, he beheld to his chagrin the *Unity* steering after him, and not more than a mile away, and from the number of men on her deck, he felt sure that her object was to attack him; yet remembering the admonition of the Admiral (made known to us by Mr. Ichabod Jones in his conversation with Moore relative to the liberty pole), he resolved to avoid hostilities if possible; and as the breeze just then freshened and hauled a point forward of the beam, he felt somewhat encouraged, since he knew by experience that on a wind, and with a little sea on, he "had the legs" of his pursuer.

So, in his anxiety to carry out his instructions, the unfortunate young man kept steadily on his course, when his only wise plan would have been to "bring by" at once, or go on the other tack (according as the wind held), and open with his full battery upon the *Unity*, which must then have been whipped, and fallen into his hands beyond all doubt; whereas, within small arm range, the advantage was entirely with his adversaries, since, although they had but *twenty fowling* pieces on board, they had been trained from infancy to their use; while of the British seamen of a much later period, it was commonly remarked by the Americans, that they scarcely knew one end of a musket from the other. Besides, it is very doubtful whether the men of the *Margaretta* were armed with anything better than the old fashioned horse-pistol, the boarding-pike and the cutlass; for it must be borne in mind that to vessels of her class no marines were assigned. Thus we see that the defeat of the British in this case was owing entirely to the fact of their commanding officer being *too strict a constructionist*, than whom, in time of danger, a captain regardless of all authority but his own, is to be preferred, be he the commander of a little schooner of war or of the great ship of State.

The wind was exceedingly fitful; now freshening to half a gale, now dying away to a moderate breeze, and veering and hauling four or five points. So it continued for three hours, during which the *Unity* alternately dropped farther astern of, or gained upon, the chase; but about noon it fell almost calm for a few minutes, when a light, steady air came up from W. N. W., and it soon became evident to all that the sloop was steadily gaining.

Moore now wet his sails down fore and aft, and in order to lighten his vessel, cut away his boats; but all was of no avail, and he finally gave the order with great reluctance "to pipe to quarters," determined to resist to the last extremity, when *successful* resistance was no longer possible.

For the *Unity*, "as steady as a church," with Steele of Pleasant River at the helm, was but a few hundred yards away, and coming up, hand over hand. Her men, who had at first been drawn up "in ranks across the deck, from the windlass aft," at the instigation of some fellow, doubtless, who having served in the militia, had an eye for military display, were now, under Stevens' direction, judiciously seeking such cover as could be found. Thus one of them was kneeling behind the water-cask, another lying flat on the deck, behind a well filled bread-bag, three or four in rear of the windlass bitts, &c., but all having their weapons in their hands, and ready to spring to their feet at the word of command.

"Keep as close as you can, boys!" said Stevens, who was himself standing as upright as a drum-major. "We shall hear from the Britisher presently!" Scarcely had the last word fallen from the speaker's lips when there came a hail from the *Margaretta*—"Sloop ahoy! keep off or I'll fire into you!"

"Fire and be damned!" was the response, followed instantly by the discharge of the Englishman's stern swivels, whereby a man named McNeil was killed outright, and James Colbrooth mortally wounded.

Nothing daunted, the crew of the *Unity* returned the fire with their small arms, firing two volleys in rapid succession, which drew upon them a second discharge from the swivels, whose balls this time, however, whistled harmlessly in the air; yet as the ammunition of the Americans was nearly exhausted, the fight was rather in favor of, than against, the *Margaretta*, when Jonathan Knight, stepping up to the wall-piece and squinting along it for a second "blazed away" at the helmsman with such certain aim as to send a ball straight through his head, so that the schooner, no longer under the control of her rudder, broached to directly under the fore foot of the *Unity*, whose heavy jib-boom, passing through her mainsail, held her fast.

Then, high above the crash of the colliding vessels, was heard O'Brien's voice, "To your feet lads! The schooner is ours! Follow me! Board!"

And in an instant the Americans—some with fowling pieces, which they discharged at close quarters as they went over the Englishman's side, some with pitchforks, the rest with axes—had gained the *Margaretta's* deck, and were engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with her officers and crew, who fought with great gallantry until their Captain fell, mortally wounded to the deck, when losing all hope they ran below.

Captain O'Brien now hauled down the ensign with his own hands, while Joseph Wheaton lowered the pennant; and the *Margaretta* being no longer under English colors, the victory of the Americans was complete.

Of the British besides the Captain, five were killed or mortally wounded and ten disabled, while of the Americans, the only men slain were the two named; Isaac Taft and James Cole were laid up some time under the care of a surgeon, and John Berry, who afterwards lived at Hadley's Lake, received a pension of eight dollars a month during his life; "a ball having entered his mouth and come out behind his ear."

The most melancholy part of the affair, perhaps, was the death of Captain Avery, who while unwillingly acting as Pilot of the *Margaretta* was killed by a ball from the fowling piece of one of his own friends.

"As soon as order was restored," says Wheaton in a letter written to Gibson O'Brien many years after the battle, "I remember that we recovered the *Margaretta's* boats, and then made all sail before a southerly breeze, which had just sprung up, for Scott's wharf, where we arrived before sunset."

The greeting which the heroes received on their landing was enthusiastic in the extreme; but the public admiration seems to have been about equally divided between them and the women of "stout hearts and willing hands," who reached Machias at the same time with their forty pounds of powder and ball, "to whom the Committee of Correspondence and safety which had been appointed, made a present of twelve yards of camlet, each, as a testimony of the appreciation in which the people held their services."

Amid the rejoicing on this occasion, the wounded were not neglected, and Captain Moore was carried to the house of Steven Jones, where he was "tenderly cared for." He died, however, on the following day, much to the regret of the townspeople, who could not but feel that he had fled from the place, not through a want of courage, but from a desire to avoid bloodshed, and that when *that* was no longer possible, he had fallen as became a British officer, with his wounds in front and his drawn sword in hand.

Such were the incidents attending the capture of the *Margaretta*, which Cooper, in his History of the Navy of the United States, appropriately calls "the Lexington of the Seas, since like that celebrated land conflict," he remarks, "it was a rising of the people against a regular force, was characterized by a long chase, a bloody struggle and a triumph. It was also the first blow struck on the water, after the war of the American Revolution had actually commenced."

FOXHALL A. PARKER

## MASSACRE AT FALLING CREEK, VIRGINIA

MARCH 22, 1621-22

In the year 1618 the treasury of the London Company was, in the language of its presiding officer "utterly exhaust," and a number of merchants and gentlemen were encouraged to send out colonists at their own expense. Among the first settlements made by private enterprise was Martin's Hundred, seven miles above Jamestown, on the north side of the river, and Southampton Hundred, extending from the mouth of the Chicahominy to Wayonoke,<sup>1</sup> within the county of Charles City.

In 1619 Sir William Throckmorton,<sup>2</sup> whose sister was the wife of Sir Thomas Dale,<sup>3</sup> late Governor of Virginia, Richard Berkeley, George Thorpe of Wanswell, John Smith of Nibley, all of Gloucestershire, and Captain John Woodliffe<sup>4</sup> formed a partnership to establish a plantation in Virginia. The interest of Throckmorton was soon assigned to William Tracy, and Captain Woodliffe was made Agent, who was succeeded by Thorpe and Tracy.

It is worthy of note, that on February 2d, 1619-20, O. S., at a meeting of the London Company at the mansion of Sir Edwin Sandys, near Aldersgate, that gentleman alluded to four patents that had been granted to private adventurers, "and now lying all engrossed before them."

The third was to William Tracy, Esquire, and his associates, for the transportation of five hundred people, and the fourth to John Peirce<sup>5</sup> and his associates, their heirs and assigns. It was under the Peirce patent

<sup>1</sup> Governor Yeardley in November, 1618, received the grant of Weynoak, and a parcel of land adjoining called Kouwan, part upon a creek called Mapscock, and from the head thereof, to the head of Queen's Creek, within the territory of Charles City.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Throckmorton on May 11th, 1620, at a meeting of the London Company stated that one of the Indian maids Sir Thomas Dale brought from Virginia, and who had lived as a servant girl with a mercer in Cheapside, was now at the house of the Puritan divine, Mr. Gouge, of Black Friars', sick with consumption. The Company agreed to give twenty shillings a week for two months towards her support, and Throckmorton promised to give forty shillings out of his own purse. The Rev. Mr. Gouge was the cousin of the Rev. Alexander Whitaker, the Virginia missionary.

<sup>3</sup> Fanny was the name of Dale's second wife, and she was the cousin of his first wife.

<sup>4</sup> Woodliffe received a patent for 600 acres with the territory of Wayonoke.

<sup>5</sup> The "May Flower" returned to England in May, 1621, and on the first of June, Peirce took out a new patent from the Northern Company. At a meeting of the Virginia Company of London, on the sixteenth of July, "it was moved, seeing that Mr. John Peirce had taken a patent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and therefore seated his company, within the limits of the Northern Plantations, as by some was supposed, whereby he seemed to relinquish the benefit of the patent he took of this Company, that therefore the said patent might be called in, unless it might appear he would begin to plant within the limits of the Southern Colony."

that William Brewster and the Leyden colonists sailed, although they eventually landed at Plymouth Rock, beyond the limits of the Southern Colony of the Virginia Company.

The Tracy Company hired a ship of a Mr. Williams, of Bristol, which sailed in March, 1620, with Tobias Felgate in charge as pilot, who had several times made a voyage as master or mate to Virginia. Among the passengers was George Thorpe, who had been a gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, and for years an active member of the Virginia Company of London, as well as the Somers Island Company.

He was appointed before sailing Deputy Governor of the College lands of the London Company, with a grant of 300 acres perpetually belonging to that place, and ten tenants to be placed upon the lands, and on the 20th of May, 1620, he and William Tracy were designated as members of the Council in Virginia.

Tracy did not, however, leave England until the eighteenth of the following September, when he sailed in a ship commanded by Captain Ewans. There is a letter preserved, written to John Smith of Nibley, dated December 19, 1620, from Southampton Hundred, in which Thorpe writes, "that the country is very healthy and that they have found a way to make a good drink from Indian corn, which he prefers to good English beer." Among those who settled with Thorpe and Tracy in the valley of the James River was Rev. Robert Pawlett, who came out in the threefold capacity of pastor, physician and surgeon, and was made one of the Councillors of the Colony.

Thorpe, Richard Berkeley, and Smith of Nibley had been acquainted with the iron works of Gloucestershire. The same year that the patent for Southampton Hundred was taken, one was granted to a Mr. Barkley or Berkeley, who probably gave the name to Berkeley Hundred, above Westover. The London Company in 1621 determined to establish iron works at Falling Creek, now Richmond, and in the ship *George*, which arrived in October, 1621, at Jamestown, with Governor Wyatt and family, also arrived John Berkeley of Beverston Castle, Gloucestershire, a man of an honorable family. The London Company in a letter to the Virginia authorities, wrote: "The advancement of the iron works we esteem to be most necessary, by perfecting whereof we esteem the plantation is gainer, we therefore require all possible assistance to be

<sup>1</sup> Thorpe, also, on May 17th, 1621, wrote to the London Company: "No man can justly say that this country is not capable of all those good things that you in your wisdom, with great charge, have projected both for her wealth and honor, and also all other good things, that the most opulent parts of Christendom so afford, neither are we hopeless that this country may also yield things of better value, than any of these."

given to Mr. Barkley now sent, and all furtherance to his ship, especially good entertainment at their landing, that they may be well lodged and cherished."

In the same letter, there is an allusion to George Thorpe's efforts to civilize the Indians in these words: "We exceedingly approve the course in taking in of Indian families, as being a great means to reduce that nation to civility, and to the embracing of our Christian religion, the blessed end we have proposed to ourselves in this plantation, and we doubt not of your vigilancy that you be not thus entrapped, nor that the savage have by this means to surprise you. And to you, Mr. Thorpe, we will freely confess that both your letters and endeavors are most acceptable to us."

Upon Governor Wyatt's arrival at Jamestown, with the advice and consent of the council, Capt. Thorpe was sent, with a message and present, to the Indian chief Apochankano, who agreed to continue his league with the English, and to send a guide to convey explorers to certain mines beyond the falls of the James river. He also willingly acknowledged that the religion of his tribe was not the right way, "desiring to be instructed in ours, and confessed that God loved us better, and that he thought the cause of his anger against them was their custom of making their children black-boys."

As often since, these professions and confessions were a prelude to treachery and massacre. Berkeley, as overseer of the Iron Works at Falling Creek, was busy during the winter of 1621-2 in the erection of a furnace, and hoped to smelt iron early in the next summer. George Sandys the Poet, then Treasurer of Virginia, declared that Falling Creek was so fitted for iron manufacture "as if nature had applied herself to the wish and direction of the workmen; where also were great stones, hardly seen elsewhere in Virginia, lying on the place as though they had been brought thither to advance the erection of these works."

An awful Providence soon ended the labors of Berkeley and Thorpe for the welfare of Virginia. On Friday morning, March 22, 1621-22, O. S., the Indians, by arrangement, came unarmed to the houses of the colonists, and sate at the breakfast table with some, and then suddenly arose, and with such axes and tools as they could seize, barbarously murdered about three hundred and fifty of the population, sparing neither age nor sex; and besides Master George Thorpe, writes a Secretary of the London Company, "Master John Berkeley, Captain Nathaniel Powel (and his wife, daughter of Master William Tracy and great with child), and Cap-

tain Maycock,<sup>1</sup> all gentlemen of birth, virtue and industry, and of the Council there, suffered under this cruelty and treason."

The Iron Works at Falling Creek, after the massacre was known at London, were entrusted to Maurice Berkeley by the Company, but in a few months he abandoned them, and early in 1623 returned to England. The Treasurer of the Colony, George Sandys, was charged with the care of the tenants on the College lands, and the Company in their directions write: "As for the brick-makers, we desire that they may be held to their contract made with Mr. Thorpe, to the intent, that when opportunity shall be for the erecting of the fabric of the college, the materials be not wanting."

The inventory of the goods and estate in value amounted to 1323 $\frac{1}{4}$  pounds tobacco weight. There is a letter extant dated August 14, 1634, from William, son and heir of Captain Thorpe, relative to some lands in Berkeley Town, probably Berkeley Hundred, known in the days of the Civil war as Harrison's Landing. In 1672 there was living at Wanswell, Berkeley Hundred, Gloucestershire, a William Thorpe, gentleman, who was without doubt the son of George Thorpe, formerly of the same parish.

EDWARD D. NEILL

<sup>1</sup> Maycock was a Cambridge scholar, and in March, 1618, Governor Argall requested that he might be ordained as a clergyman.



## JOHN ALSOP

NEW YORK DELEGATE IN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774-1776

John Alsop, delegate from the Province of New York to the first and second Continental Congresses, was the elder son of John Alsop, of Newtown, Long Island, later of New Windsor and New York. His grandfather, Richard Alsop, ancestor of the American family of the name, emigrated from England to the New York Colony towards the close of the seventeenth century, and settled on the Maspeth Patent, Long Island.

The precise date of the birth of John Alsop, the delegate, is not known, but it was not far distant from the year 1720. Although the son of a lawyer, he was brought up as a merchant, as was also his brother Richard, the latter in the counting house of Philip Livingston. In business for himself as early as 1753, at which time his name appears among those of "the principal merchants of the City" of New York, he later engaged with his brother, under the firm name of John and Richard Alsop, in a general European trade, and the importation of dry goods. Their partnership was dissolved in 1757, Richard removing to Middletown, Conn., and John continuing the business in New York in his own name. He soon reached the first rank among the merchants of the city, and accumulated a large estate.

During the period which preceded and followed the passage and repeal of the Stamp Act, 1765 to 1770, he was active with his fellow merchants in measures of resistance to the oppressive laws of the British Parliament, and in May, 1769, was chosen by the merchants of the city to read their address of acknowledgement to the Colonial Assembly for its resolution of thanks for their faithful observance of the non-importation agreements. He was then a member of the Chamber of Commerce of New York, of which he was one of the founders the year before.

In 1770, the non-importation agreements being again continued, he was one of the Committee of Inspection charged with their enforcement. How thoroughly this voluntary agreement, entered into by the merchants and traders of the Colonies, was observed by those of the City of New York, is testified to by Mr. Bancroft. He states that "Canada, Carolina and Georgia, and even Maryland and Virginia, had increased their importations, and New England and Pennsylvania had imported nearly

one-half as much as usual. New York alone had been perfectly true to its engagements ; and its imports had fallen off more than five parts in six." Even Lord North in Parliament bore unwilling testimony to the strictness with which New York kept to its engagements.

In May, 1774, the news of the passage of the bill closing the Port of Boston reaching New York, a Committee of Correspondence was raised, to concert measures of resistance. Of the fifty-one members, Mr. Alsop was the first named, and in the organization of the Committee was chosen Deputy Chairman. This was the famous Committee which declined any longer to be held by the non-importation agreements, which had been so irregularly observed, and to whose persistent determination the meeting of the first Continental Congress, first suggested by them to the Massachusetts Colony, was chiefly due. To this Congress New York City sent five delegates, all of whom received the unanimous vote of the freeholders ; among them John Alsop. He left New York for his post, with his fellow delegates, Thursday, the first of September, 1774, escorted, as the journals of the day report, "by a large body of the inhabitants with colours flying, music playing," and saluted by cannon from either side of the river, the citizens "dating the salvation of the Colonies from that hour, well knowing in whom they have placed the greatest confidence that ever men were entrusted with, each and every of them solemnly avowing they would support at the risk of everything sacred and dear such resolves as their delegates, in conjunction with those worthy Gentlemen of the other Colonies should think necessary to adopt for the good of the common cause."

John Alsop took his seat in the Congress assembled at Philadelphia, on the 14th September, 1774, his associates having preceded him by some days. The proceedings of this, the first Continental Congress, were confined to a declaration of rights and grievances, to obtain security and redress, for which they prepared an Address to the People of Great Britain and Memorial to the inhabitants of British America, a Petition to the King, and entered on behalf of the Colonies into a non importation, non-consumption and non-exportation agreement or association. To this association John Alsop, with his fellow delegates from New York, on the 24th October, 1774, affixed his name. The Congress, after recommending the meeting of a second Congress at Philadelphia on the 10th of May succeeding, dissolved itself on the 25th October, and the delegates returned to their homes. Among the recommendations of Congress to the Colonies was the appointment in each of a Committee of Inspection, "*to observe* the conduct of all persons concern-

ing the association," and secure its objects. These committees are indiscriminately known in history as Committees of Observation or Committees of Inspection.

On the 18th of November, 1774, a committee (of observation) of sixty was elected by the freeholders, of which Mr. Alsop was the fourth named, the report of whose proceedings shows a thorough attention to this laborious and disagreeable duty.

The New York Colonial Assembly, under the influence of Lt. Governor Colden and the Royal patronage, having on the 23d February, 1775, refused to entertain a motion for the appointment of delegates to the General Congress, on the 10th May the Committee of Observation called a meeting of the freeholders at the Exchange for the 6th of March, to elect deputies to a Provincial Convention for the sole purpose of appointing such delegates. This Provincial Convention assembled at the Exchange on the 20th April, and appointed the delegation; and the following day agreed to a form of credentials, which authorized them "to meet the Delegates from the other Colonies, and to concert and determine upon such measures as shall be judged most effectual for the preservation and re-establishment of American rights and privileges, and for the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies."

The delegation appointed was that of the preceding year, with the exception of Isaac Low, who declined to serve, whereupon Francis Lewis was appointed in his place.

The Assembly of the New York Colony adjourned on the 25th March, and was never again convened. It had lost the sympathy, the respect, and the obedience of the people. When the news of the battle of Lexington reached the city, the people rose in mass, seized upon the public buildings, and overset the royal authority. At the call of the Committee of Observation, a Provincial Congress was elected, which met on the 22d May, and assumed the general direction of the affairs of the Colony.

It will be observed that the Congressional delegation and the Provincial Congress both sprang directly from the people, and were entirely independent bodies; a novel position in the history of any of the colonies. It will be observed also that the Congressional delegation carried credentials specially defining their duties and powers.

The Congress which met at Philadelphia in 1775 was the famous body which declared the Independence of the Colonies. John Alsop appears to have concurred with his colleagues upon all matters concerning the national defense, and joined his name to the recommendations to the

New York Provincial Congress, with regard to Continental currency, the appointment of officers for the army, and other important subjects during the summer of that year. The diary of John Adams mentions him as one of the secret committee raised to contract for the importation of gunpowder in September of the same year.

When, on the 7th June, 1776, "certain resolutions respecting independency," as the journal of Congress recites, were introduced, the New York delegation found itself in a peculiar situation. Their original instructions confined their action to measures effectual to restore "harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies." In their dilemma they applied for instructions to the Provincial Congress, but this body, on the other hand, did not feel themselves authorized to pass beyond the limits of their own warrant. Moreover, the Provincial Congress, foreseeing the need of an early decision of the question of independence, had ordered an election of a new Congress by the people, *with power* to pledge the Colony to this solemn step. This election was ordered on the 31st May, and the 9th of July set as the day of assemblage. On the 19th of June the election was held, the new Provincial Congress appointed, an action which clearly placed it out of the power of the delegates to cast the vote of the Colony for independence, or for the Provincial Congress, then sitting, to instruct them so to vote. The New York delegates were, therefore, excused from voting by the Continental Congress. The new Provincial Congress met at White Plains the 9th of July (the City of New York being menaced by the large British fleet which entered the Bay at the close of June), and the letter of their delegates being read to them, announcing the Declaration of Independence, they declared New York free and independent, and pledged themselves to support the other Colonies "with their lives and fortunes." This resolution was communicated directly to the President of Congress, and was read on the 16th July. Mr. Alsop seems to have been extremely hurt that this communication should not have passed through the hands of the delegates, and addressed a letter to the Provincial Congress, complaining of their action, and resigning his seat. This may have been the determining cause in his conduct. He states, however, in an open and manly way his dissatisfaction with the Act of Independence. Like Dickinson and Robert Morris of Pennsylvania, Read of Delaware, and, indeed, many others of the delegates, Alsop did not feel that the time had come when, to use his own words, "to close the door of reconciliation with Great Britain." Alsop was alone of the New York delegates in opposition to the measure, and does not appear to have made very active resistance to what was clearly the wish of his constituency.

John Alsop was by nature mild, averse to contest. John Adams gives a clue to his character, describing him in his Diary as "a soft sweet man;" and John Morris Scott thought him of "good heart, but unequal to the trust of delegate in point of abilities." However this may be, he was a favorite choice of New York on all occasions of peril. From neither Adams nor Scott was an unprejudiced opinion to be expected. They were both Presbyterians, while Alsop was an ardent supporter of the Church of England. In all judgments of character, this disposing bias must not be forgotten. The knife of separation sundered no tie more tender than that between Church and State.

Upon his resignation, Mr. Alsop withdrew to Middletown, where the family of his brother were settled, and there remained in quiet retirement until the close of the war. While he deprecated the formidable struggle, his heart was on the side of his countrymen. On the peace he returned to New York, and resuming business, he was, on the re-organization of the Chamber of Commerce, under a new charter from the State of New York, by men of approved loyalty, their unanimous choice for President of this body,—a certain testimony to the esteem in which he was held by his fellows, and his undoubted fidelity and attachment to his native land. After a few years of business, and of underwriting, from which he reaped large profits, he gradually withdrew from active life, and died on the 22d November, 1794, at an advanced age.

By his wife, Mary Frogat, whom he married in 1766, and who died while still in youth in 1772, he left only one child, Mary, who in 1786 became the wife of Hon. Rufus King, delegate from Massachusetts in the Federal Congress.

The descendants of John Alsop are well known. Hon. John Alsop King was Governor of the State of New York; Hon. Charles King, LL. D., the President of Columbia College; Hon. James Gore King, member of the great banking house of Prime, Ward & King, and Representative for New Jersey in the 31st Congress.

The descendants of Richard Alsop have sustained the name of the family. Richard, his son, was distinguished for literary culture; his grandson, Richard, was the founder of the great house of Alsop & Chauncey, which, with its connections on the west coast of America, has carried the honored name to the four corners of the earth, and made it a familiar sound on the commercial marts of the Eastern and Western Worlds.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

NOTE—A sketch prepared for the Congress of Authors, which met at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Saturday, July 2, 1876.

NARRATIVE OF  
THE PRINCE DE BROGLIE

TRANSLATED FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MS  
BY F. W. BALCH

Part II

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Philadelphia, or the city of Brotherly Love, is situated on the eastern bank of the Delaware, five miles above the confluence of that river with the Schuylkill. It is the capitol of the province of Pennsylvania which now has about three hundred thousand inhabitants, of which a full fourth are Germans. The population of Philadelphia is estimated at thirty thousand souls, without counting the negroes of whom there are but few and almost all of those are free.

Penn, the son of the admiral of that name who died at London whilst in prison for debt,\* founded Philadelphia at the end of the last century. He laid it out upon a regular plan which he pretended was an exact copy of the famous Babylon.

According to his projected plan, the city was to extend one mile parallel to the Delaware and two miles perpendicular to the course of the river, which made of Philadelphia a regular parallelogram divided into equal squares. Five large parks, called squares, of which the largest is in the centre and a wide quay all the length of the river, were intended to render this town both commodious and magnificent. But this charming plan was not altogether carried out. Each merchant used the lower floor of his house for merchandise, and constructed a sort of quay in front of

his own ware house, so as to put his ships out of danger when the ice broke up, and this assemblage of irregular quays formed in front of the water-level a sort of street, unhealthy and wet and properly called Water Street.

In spite of this drawback, the city of Philadelphia is vast and its streets are laid out regularly. They are sixty feet wide, with excellent side walks for the people who go on foot, but there is no promenade nor public garden.

The hospital, state-house, prison and some churches are the only remarkable buildings. Christ Church is perhaps the handsomest. It is not however decorated, either with pictures or gildings, but only with some pillars, an organ, and a great velvet curtain which covers the altar.

There are at Philadelphia presbyterians, baptists, methodists, new-light believers, quakers, catholics, all living together with the greatest freedom of worship and in the utmost possible harmony.

The state-house, where Congress assembles, as does the council of Pennsylvania and where also the courts of justice are held, is a building literally crushed by a huge massive tower, square and not very solid.

Congress meets in a large room on the ground floor. The chamber is large and without any other ornament than a bad engraving of Montgomery, one of Washington and a copy of the Declaration of Independence. It is furnished with thirteen tables each covered with a green cloth. One of the principal representatives of each of the thirteen states sits during the session at one of these

tables. The president of the Congress has his place in the middle of the hall, upon a sort of throne. The clerk is seated just below him.

Each member of the assembly has the right of discussion or expressing his opinion verbally or by writing, and the majority of votes decides, for the president has no vote more than any other member.

In a wing just by the hall of congress, is an apartment for the reception of indian deputations. The war department is also in that part of the building, and has a large room, where are kept with the greatest care and order, the flags and other trophies taken from the enemy. Just back of the state-house the prison is to be seen, which queerly enough is the only building which has any architectural beauty.

Philadelphia, situated at the extremity of a smiling and fertile plain, is not very striking when seen from a distance as the houses have but little elevation.

The town is entirely unprotected on the land side. The Schuylkill which covers it on one side is fordable in many places, and therefore no barrier to an enemy.

The English were badly fortified during the winter of 1778. A long chain of redoubts formed their line towards the north and the south that is to say the Schuylkill side. Their flank was entirely without defense. It is true that they counted, and justly so, upon the superior numbers of their troops.

Philadelphia is less attackable on the side of the Delaware. The navigation of this river is dangerous for vessels of heavy draft. Ships of fifty cannon can-

not mount higher than the Horseshoe. Sloops and other light vessels can go ten leagues higher up; that is to say to Trenton, where a sort of quite rapid water-fall stops the tide.

The Delaware would be easy to defend by constructing some forts on several little islands, which exist in the middle of the river.

The wretched fort of Mud Island, which consisted merely of stockades, by which the channel was obstructed, sufficed in 1777 to stop for six weeks the squadron of Admiral Howe. Two vessels of this squadron, the *August* and the *Merlin*, were blown up on the 22d of October by the fire from Mud Island fort.

Red Bank fort is on the eastern bank of the Delaware in the province of New Jersey, which is separated from Pennsylvania by that river. This fort serves the same purpose as that at Mud Island. Both of them were evacuated by the Americans the sixteenth of October, and demolished by the English.

Four miles above Philadelphia there is a town called Gloucester. It also affords an advantageous position for the defense of the Delaware.

It results from these observations, which an intelligent and well instructed officer communicated to me upon the spot, that if Mud Island and the other points above indicated were properly fortified it would be impossible to attack Philadelphia by the river Delaware, but by landing upon the beach below Chester, about 15 miles from the city, no other obstacle to a march upon it would be encountered except the Schuylkill, which is fordable in two places. These how-

ever could be defended by earthworks. I found on my arrival at Philadelphia our charming minister, the Chevalier de la Luzerne. He gave me a chamber in his house. He showed his generosity towards me to the extent of lending me a shirt, the thing that I had been most in want of for the last six days. A capital table and his thoroughbred manners caused me to forget all my fatigues.

I began that same evening to go about a little. I saw with great pleasure the frigate *La Gloire* and all on board. I took possession of my servants and all my baggage, which I had looked upon for some time as lost; in fact, this day was for me one of the most agreeable of my life.

Mr. de la Luzerne conducted me to the house of Mrs. Morris to take tea. She was the wife of the Comptroller General of the United States.

The house is simple but well furnished and very neat. The doors and tables are of a superb mahogany and beautifully polished. The locks and hinges in brass were curiously bright. The porcelain cups were arranged with great precision. The mistress of the house had an agreeable expression and was dressed altogether in white; in fact everything appeared charming to me.

I partook of most excellent tea and I should be even now still drinking it, I believe, if the Ambassador had not charitably notified me at the twelfth cup, that I must put my spoon across it when I wished to finish with this sort of warm water. He said to me: it is almost as ill-bred to refuse a cup of tea when it is offered to you, as it would indiscreet for the mistress of the house to propose

a fresh one, when the ceremony of the spoon has notified her that we no longer wish to partake of it.

Mr. Morris is a stout man, who is considered to be thoroughly honest and possessed of great intelligence. It is at least certain that he has the best of credit and has used it skillfully, as well as his own private means, for the service of the republic. Besides which, he has made a very great fortune, some millions, since the revolution.

Mr. Morris appears to have great talent. He speaks well, at least as far as I could judge and his ample head seems, like that of Mr. Guilloume, as well formed as any other to govern an empire.

Mr. Lincoln, the Secretary of War is also quite corpulent. He has given proofs of his courage, of his activity, of his zeal many times during the war and especially at the siege of Yorktown. His work is not immense and all important points are decided by the Congress, but nevertheless Mr. Lincoln passes for being slow in making reports, and it seems to me as though they were already thinking of giving him a successor.

Mr. Livingston, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is quite as lank as the other two gentlemen above mentioned are rotund. He is thirty-five years of age, his face is very fine and it is generally conceded that he is a man of talent. His department will be more extensive and interesting as soon as peace arrives, when the United States will take rank in the world. But, as all important political decisions emanate always from Congress, the Minister for Foreign Affairs will, like his colleagues, remain rather a secondary agent, a sort of head clerk.



The president of Congress is elected every year. The one for this year seems a sensible man but not very bright.

On the whole, the unanimous opinion of all those people whose intelligence and whose knowledge of affairs are such as to inspire us with confidence, is that Congress is composed of very ordinary people, and the reasons they give for it may be thus stated; 1, that in the commencement of the revolution it was quite natural that the most active minds, the most energetic characters, the most eloquent men were chosen as deputies to the general assembly, where they were the leaders and carried their propositions by the superiority of their intelligence, and thus seemed to have exercised interference with the liberty of voting in Congress; 2, that the clever people had discovered the secret of obtaining for themselves the most important offices, governments and positions, and therefore had deserted Congress.

Since that time, it seems as if the State legislatures took good care to avoid sending as delegates to Congress the men most distinguished for their talents. They preferred rather good sense and sagacity, which in fact are found to be the best at the end of the year.

One of the men, who appeared to me to possess the most spirit and nerve among those whom I met at Philadelphia, was a Mr. Morris, generally called Governor. He is very well educated, speaks excellent French, is very sarcastic but generally liked. I fancy however that his superiority, which he has taken no pains to conceal, will prevent his ever occupying an important place.

The Philadelphia ladies, although hav-

ing magnificent garments, are not generally attired with taste. They have in their headdresses as well as in their heads less frivolity and attractiveness than our women. Although very well shaped, they lack grace and make very bad curtsies. They do not excel in dancing but know how to make capital tea. They bring up their children with great care, and they pride themselves on a scrupulous fidelity towards their husbands. Many of them have a great deal of natural wit. Such at least is the sketch which was made to me, and which my own observation during my sojourn at Philadelphia appeared to confirm.

Such are in short my observations concerning the City of Brotherly Love.

The spirit which reigns there, thoroughly republican, ought to maintain amongst the inhabitants the most perfect equality. Nevertheless vanity and self-love, those passions so natural to the human soul, commence already to make themselves felt and although the words, distinction of class, are banished from there, the inhabitants, who can trace back their families to the foundation of the city, assume to themselves certain privileges, and this pretention is much more notable amongst those who join to the possession of this great advantage the possession of great riches.

The Chevalier de la Luzerne lives magnificently at Philadelphia, he is generally liked and esteemed. His gentleness, his sagacity, and even his greeting, which is rather reserved, render him precisely fit to deal with a people naturally phlegmatic and very fond of money.

Mr. Marbois, who has been here for some short time, consul and counsellor to

the legation of Mr. de la Luzerne, is originally from Metz. He seems subtle is very skillful in business affairs, of a very reserved demeanor and with apparently very just ideas concerning the government, the character, the interest and the manner of treating with the Americans.

I enjoyed myself greatly at Philadelphia, but my duty called me elsewhere, for which reason, as soon as I could buy some good horses I asked leave of the Baron de Vioménil to rejoin the army, which was at that time camped at Crampond, about two days march beyond the river Hudson.

\*By reference to the *Life of Admiral Sir William Penn*, London, 1833, ii, 560 et seq., it will be seen that the information received by our author was not correct. This gallant officer, who had been also General of the Fleet under Cromwell, and Navy Commissioner after the Restoration, died at his residence at Wansted, September 16, 1670. For some time preceding his death, he had corresponded with his son and son-in-law about the purchase of another estate in Yorkshire.

T. B.

DIARY OF  
MAJOR ERKURIES BEATTY  
PAYMASTER OF THE WESTERN ARMY  
MAY 15, 1786 TO JUNE 5, 1787

Part II

*July 7*—Arrived at Limestone between 11 and 12 o'clock; 5 or 6 miles below is a large sand bar under N W shore—bare in low water only—and makes it very rapid;—Some severe showers of rain this morning; to here we generally kept under S E shore; staid at Limestone to cook provisions—Set off at 4

o'clock; lay all night about 1 mile below the 3 islands, as these people call them, 12 or 15 miles above Limestone.

*July 8*—As we lay at anchor in the middle of the river last night (and every night since we started) we heard some persons hallooing on shore; Suppose it to be Indians, as the people at Limestone, who have stockaded themselves in, told us there was a party some where about these islands. Started early; very strong water; passed the Islands, as also another about 8 miles higher up; lay all night about 5 miles below the mouth of Sciota.

*July 9*—Heard a gun fire close on shore last night and a good deal of hallooing; passed Sciota a little before 7 o'clock; about 10 miles above Sciota begins a short bend to the southward and had very strong water a great way, and a large bar from S E shore, not quite bare; halted about 11 o'clock, suppose 15 miles above Sciota, S E Shore, to cook provisions, where there was a number of very elegant springs close on the beach; overflows I imagine when the water is high but now they are very fine water. Staid 2 hours, had strong water all the afternoon and a very long bend to the northward—lay all night near the upper end of it in strong water perhaps 8 miles above Hutchins Creek; 20 yds wide S E Shore; met 8 or 10 Kentucke Boats all together this afternoon going to Limestone—no news.

*July 10*—Very foggy morning; before we could make either shore found ourselves going down the river, soon found our mistake and kept under S E Shore all day. River rising fast up and strong water chief of the day; passed Sandy River

which is beautiful and very large; a large creek about 6 miles above it same side; lay all night about 2 miles above Guyandot.

*July 11*—Clear morning, started early, river very high, a long round point under N W Shore 15 or 20 miles above Guyandot; crossed over to it and gained considerable. N W Shore now, but to come up all the way to Great Kenhawa.

*July 12*—Rained a good deal last night, stopped at Great Kenhawa in the rain about 9 o'clk to cook provisions; set off again 5 o'clk P M. Lay all night about 8 miles above Kenhawa, and about 2 miles above the uppermost of the 2 Islands. River fell a great deal to day.

*July 13*—Set off early, passed a good deal of strong water; Met Capt Armstrong in a barge going to Miami about 11 o'clock, 4 or 5 miles below the little falls; staid a good while with him; The little falls, very strong water; S E shore best to come up but rocky; 2 Islands just at the head of little falls; passed a 3rd Island and lay all night 4 or 5 miles above it; pretty good water this afternoon except at the falls and Islands. There is no appearance of these falls in high water, but if the river is exceeding low, it is very dangerous on account of its being so very rocky and rapid.

*July 14*—Passed a good deal of strong water and an Island. The river narrow and rocky. N W Shore about Devils hole Creek; Stopped at 1 o'clk to cook and staid till  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 o'clk, passed the Scotch Settlement and lay all night at Flinn station, being the first night we lay on shore since we started.

*July 15*—Set off early; passed a good

many Islands today, at all of which there is strong water. Arrived at Fort Har-mar, Muskingham, found the Garrison out of meat and had been so three or four days. The same troops in as when I went down. Building a large house in the West Bastion for Col Har-mar who intends making this Head-Quarters.

*July 16*—Rested all day waiting for provisions—severe storm of thunder, lightning and rain about 2 o'clock. River rising all day.

*July 17*—No provisions come; started without anything but bread at 6 o'clk. Kept S E Shore; 6 or 8 miles below long reach, is a very large Island close under S E Shore, only separated from the main by a narrow piece of water, like a Creek; this we took up—made at least 2 miles as it cuts off a point—about  $\frac{1}{2}$  way up it a large Creek empties into it, at least 40 yds wide, called I hear since Middle Creek: lay all night about half way up the long reach, just above the 3rd Island.

*July 18*—Started at day light, past Fishing Creek 9 o'clk, where the people have put in Corn. Several improvements between that and Fish Creek and about the latter: one Island opposite the mouth of Fish Creek and another about 5 miles higher up, a little way above Grapevine Creek: lay all night at Grave Creek 12 miles from Wheeling where we were first enabled to purchase meat from the people, as there are some very good improvements about here; had not time to go and see the large Grave, but saw several old Breast works and they tell me it is very perceivable, about the Grave, where the dirt has been taken from it to raise it up.

*July 19*—Arrived at Wheelin 9 o'clk.

Stopped to purchase and cook provisions till 5 o'clk—went 8 miles up and lay ashore all night, where lives a Jersey Methodist, very religious—some showers of rain today.

*July 20*—Set off early : rained a good deal this morning. Stopped at Cox fort and breakfasted with Mr Crawford. Met Col Harmar, Maj Doughty and others in a boat going to Muskingham. Staid an hour with them; lay all night at Bakers station, one mile above Yellow Creek. There is one house situated on a most elegant bank which commands a beautiful prospect.

*July 21*—River rose 9 or 10 foot last night—water strong: was obliged to tow our boat up one or two ripples. Stopped opposite the mouth of little Beaver to see Capt Hutchins and the Surveyor who is here encamped intending soon to cross the river and begin the survey of the Continental Land; 6 or 8 miles below McIntosh met two boats with the Baggage of 3 Companies who left McIntosh this morning for to encamp at Mingo Bottom. Arrived at McIntosh 5 o'clk where was only Capt Ferguson's Company—there is 3 Islands between Big and little Beaver and several more between that and Yellow Creek and below the latter.

*July 22*—Lay here all day to draw and cook provisions.

*July 23*—Started 6 o'clk. Water not fell any; arrived at Pittsburgh 4 o'clk P M being 30 miles in 10 hours against strong water—indeed the tour from Miami has been very short and agreeable, considering we had only 6 men who rowed constantly.

*July 26*—Within this day or two has come here a trading and on business 300

Indians, men, women, and children, of the Sennecas, Wyandotts, Delawares, and Chippewas, the latter only a few chiefs who have come from Lake Superior on business. For a number of years there have not been so many Indians here at one time.

*July 29*—The chiefs of all the nations met in council near the fort when Major North, Inspector, and other officers attended. The Chippewas spoke and gave several belts and things; they expressed their friendship for us and said they were very poor indeed; wanted us to give them clothes, guns &c. The other nations spoke in turns and told us their friendship and wanted a little provisions to carry them home. Major North gave them all a little provisions and whiskey.

*July 29*—Captain Ashton answered the Chippewas and gave them several things but no clothes or arms; gave them a good deal of provisions to carry them home. These Chippewas are very good looking men and their chief speaks exceeding well in their own language. The Indians all gone and going home.

*July 31*—Having completed my business in Pittsburgh, and Mr McDonald gone home on furlough, at 12 o'clock set off in my boat for Muskingham agreeable to Col Harmar's orders and in 3 hours and  $\frac{1}{4}$  arrived at Fort McIntosh—the river by no means high.

*August 1*—Staid here all day waiting for letters &c from Capt Ferguson—Some Indians here called the Moravians going to Pittsburg to trade; a number of these have long beards on their chins.

*August 2*—Started early, stopped opposite the mouth of Little Beaver and

breakfasted with the Surveyor who is waiting for troops. Arrived at Mingo Bottom 3 o'clk where were Capts Hamtramcks', McCurdy's and Mercer's Companies encamped and had just been mustered and inspected by Maj North. Showers of rain to-day. The troops encamped on the bank of the river opposite the lower end of a small Island.

*August 3*—Waiting for Maj North who is going with me to Muskingham—about 2 o'clk two detachments from Capt Mercer's Company, one commanded by Lt Kersey the other by Ens. Rigart marched to destroy some improvements on the River 10 or 15 miles up Short Creek; orders were issued for the other to march early tomorrow morning to join the surveyors and as soon as the two detachments return Capt Mercer joins them likewise. Major North and myself set off about 5 o'clk, went 3 miles to Cox's fort where we staid all night.

*August 4*—Set off early. Stopped and Breakfasted with Mr Lane. Stopped at Grave Creek and went to see the large grave, as they call it, which is about 1 mile from the river in a level piece of wood and answers the description I gave it May 9th, except that I think it is about 70 feet high and perfectly regularly built, which I certainly think must be done by art and there is no place perceivable where such a quantity of earth would be taken from; rather believe it has been a place of defence, as there appears to be an old Breast work thrown up all around the out edge of the top which is I suppose 50 or 60 yards diameter. Got to Fishing Creek in the evening where we found Mr Brittons

boat lying on their way up from Muskingham. Several of the Surveyors on board who had been down to see Fort Harmar. Staid and supped with them. About 9 o'clock shoved off our boat and let her float keeping one man up at the helm; found ourselves in the morning,

*August 5*—Almost at the lower end of Long reach; suppose we floated about 16 miles; arrived at Fort Harmar 12 o'clk where we found the Col and all well, and Mr. Denny had just arrived from Miami going to Pittsburgh and from there on Furlough; as I expect to remain here some time, had my boat unloaded.

*August 7*—Rec'd orders to go to Miami with Maj North and take charge of the two boats with the men belonging to Fort Finney.

*August 8*—The troops in the Garrison were inspected and mustered by Maj North. Capt Doughty's Compy made a very handsome appearance, also Capt Strong's—Capt Hart's Compy was very weak owing to a number of his men being sick at present.

*August 9*—Major North and myself set off with two Barges about 11 o'clk. Stopped at Flinns station a little while; about 6 o'clk, about dark, passed Devil hole Creek and had a very severe storm of thunder, lightning and rain; rowed till 11 o'clk then let our boats float; passed the little falls in the night, began to row again at day light and arrived at Great Kenhawa  $\frac{1}{2}$  after 10 o'clk and staid till 1 P M.

*August 10*—Passed Guyandot at dark and floated all night; in the morning,

*August 11*—Found ourselves a little below Sandy river, passed Sciota 12 oclk,

and to 2 Islands at dark, and got to Limestone at 11 o'clk at night—where we halted and staid till morning.

*August 12*—Left Limestone about 8 o'clk, passed Little Miami between 9 and 10 o'clk at night; then floated; found ourselves in the morning,

*August 13*—about 10 miles from Fort Finney; began to row about 5 o'clk and got to the fort between 7 and 8 o'clk; found only a Mr. Sovereign who informed us that Major [Finney] had evacuated the Post yesterday agreeable to Col Harmar's orders and had gone to the Rapids of Ohio taking with him all his boats, plank, clapboards &c but had not otherwise damaged the Fort. Our provision being entirely out, cooked part of a Deer which we happened to kill yesterday—which we ate without bread—set off between 9 and 10 o'clk for the rapids—wind high and ahead which made the river very rough—passed a large sand bar, bare, and a small Island a few miles below about 12 o'clk; passed Big Bone Lick Creek about 2 o'clk and one or two sand bars a few miles below it. Went to sleep and let the boat float a little after dark—passed Great and Little Kentucke Rivers which come in from S E Shore near together about 11 o'clk.

*August 14*—Did not float far last night, as the river is very wide and nearly straight for about 30 miles, the water low and of course not rapid; began to row about day light, overtook Major Finney and the troops about 8 o'clk in five Kentucke boats and eight Keel boats—halted 9 o'clk, drew provisions (which were very acceptable) and cooked it—Kept in company with

the troops which went very slow, the water very dead—halted in the evening about 2 miles above the 18 mile Island from the rapids and lay all night.

*August 15*—The whole moved off at 6 o'clk, passed the Eighteen mile Island which is large and fine; 6 miles lower down is the Twelve mile Island much like the other, and six miles lower down is the Diamond or Six mile Island; all these are the distances from the Falls or Rapids. A little below the Six mile Island Louisville appears in view, pretty, as the river is straight and wide. We halted N W shore, 2 miles above the rapids, to look for encamping Ground and found a very good Second Bank about 90 yards from the river. The troops arrived about 12 o'clk and encamped on it; the river opposite us is rather more than one mile across. The rapids seem to form a dam for 12 miles up, and indeed for 80 miles above them the water is very still and dead; am informed the water is now as low as it generally is, and when it rises two feet where we now are, it is 6 or 8 feet higher below the rapids, owing to the contraction of the river; it appears a very level country about here, and for a great distance up. In the afternoon went over to Louisville in the Barge, and when on the river could hear the noise of the rapids, but the suction does not extend above half a mile above the rapids or a mile at most, where the river can be crossed with safety any time; found Louisville situate on a second bank very high; just at the head of the rapids; it consists of about 50 or 60 houses a good deal scattered, chiefly log, some frame. A good strong fort here during the war now

going to decay. Found every body busy in preparing for Genl Clarke's expedition against the Indians, as they have been very troublesome to this country lately. This expedition is ordered by the Government of Virginia, to consist of 1,500 or 2,000 men, by drafts from the different counties this side of the mountains, and is to rendezvous here the 10th of Sept. every part of Provisions, Horses &c. is impressed from the people for it, and the people takes it middling kindly. I imagine the expedition is chiefly designed against the Wabash Indians—but it is very uncertain how far Genl Clarke may extend it, as he has discretionary orders, and a perfect command of the country and every thing in it. Suppose they will return the latter end of October or beginning of November.

*August 16*—Genl Clarke paid us a visit in our camp (found him old way); seemed to insist for our going over the rapids and taking post at Clarksville on this side 4 miles below here, which Major Finney did not seem to approve of, however Gen Clarke, Maj Finney, Maj North Capt. Ziegler and myself got into a Barge with 6 good oars and a pilot to go over the fall, which at this stage of the water is very dangerous; was obliged to keep near the N W shore, as the water is too low to go on the other side; and by hard rowing, dashing and several times crossing the current, got safe over and landed at Clarksville just at the lower end of the rapids N W side on a pretty bank; about 15 Log houses. From the beginning of the rapids to the lower end is about 2 miles and the whole fall Gen Clarke says is 28 feet; in the present state of the water it is almost impossible for any loaded boat to pass them, but

when the water is high it is not the least dangerous for any kind of a boat to pass. The river just in the rapids takes a turn to the Westward; close under S E shore and just beginning the rapids is a small Island, they say never overflowed; there are two rocky Islands about the middle of the river and middle of the falls, and towards the lower end, which is generally bare, great quantities of Geese sit on them—according to my idea the rapids and two villages lie in this manner. (*Blank in ms.*)

The current seems to run in all directions in the rapids, sometimes crossing from shore to shore, and a great many counter currents which runs up almost as rapid as the other part of the river runs down. Some very pretty cascades formed by the water just flowing over a rock 6 or 8 foot perpendicular, but when the water is high that does not appear. We returned by Land to camp and the men found great difficulty in dragging up the Boat again; it took them better than a day. Major North and myself walked all along up shore and found a great many petrefactions such as Roots, shells, nuts, acorns &c.

*August 18*—Took a walk out about two miles in front of the Camp, found the Land rich and perfectly level; chiefly with Beach, Ash, and some Oak; about 1½ miles from the river are several large ponds in Winter; but now nearly dry, I hear of one which is never dry and contains a large quantity of excellent fish. No springs near our Camp nor running streams of water except the Ohio. Some good springs on this side near the Lower end of the Rapids—they generally have a peculiar disagreeable smell, but the water is cool and well-tasted.

*August 21*—The troops were mustered and Inspected and made a very good appearance considering their situation—Maj Finney has determined to remain this side of the rapids and build his fort, about three quarters of a mile above the rapids, on a pretty bank where there is a good landing for his Boats, and the Fort will not be above 90 yards from the margin of the river.

*August 23*—The troops moved down to where they are going to build and began clearing out a place for the fort—One of the greatest Freshets in the river that was ever known at this season of the year, occasioned I suppose by some heavy rains up. The rapids now very passable. A canoe, passing from our Camp to-day with one man in her to Louisville, got into the suck of the falls thro carelessness and when he found he could not recover himself he put her head straight down and went over them very safely—Major North and myself concluded to hire horses here and go by the way of Bardstown Danville & Lexington and meet our Boat at Limestone, a distance of about 180 miles by land, 250 by water—Dined with Col Anderson to day at Louisville; a very gentlemanly man I think, and saw several very clever people about here, a number of whom had been officers in the Continental Army—

*August 25*—Dined to day with Genl Clark in Louisville; a number of gentleman at table; had a very elegant dinner and was treated politely—After dinner walked to the dancing school kept here by a Mr Nickle where there were 12 or 15 young misses—Some of whom had made considerable improvement in that polite accomplishment and indeed were middling neatly dressed,

considering the distance from where Luxuries are to be bought, or the expence attending the purchase of them here. Beef and flour are cheap but all kinds of goods imported here sell at least 500 per cent. advance on prime cost in Phil. or N York. For instance Spirits 36/o a Gallon Virginia currency; a gallon of wine very bad at 40/o per gallon &c &c I understand this Mr Nickle has several dancing schools in the country. I dont doubt in a little time this country may excel in politeness some of our oldest settled Cities. A few days ago some negroes ran away from this place and suppose they had stole some horses within two or three miles of the town as they were missing the same evening. The people found where they had crossed the river to the Indian shore and immediately a party raised and went in pursuit of them;—they this day returned and report that they were six Indians and had with them five horses (the number missing) and that they followed their trail upwards of 50 miles towards the Shawness town, and suppose them to be of that nation—but they went so fast they could not possibly be overtaken tho' every exertion was used.

*August 26*—Sent off our Boat this afternoon with our Baggage to meet us at Limestone as soon as possible.

*August 27*—Remained all day at Louisville being disappointed by Genl Clarke who promised to procure us horses; tried thro the town ourselves, and found every person, almost, ready to impose upon us, knowing our necessity; however Col Anderson, with his natural politeness and goodness, interfered as soon as he heard our situation and procured us two on reasonable terms.



*August 28*—Left Louisville about 6 oclock in the morning in company with a Mr Hare a noisy Irishman who kept store at the Rapids. Breakfast 6 miles from town at Sullivans old station;—about one mile beyond this left the main Road and took a path to our left; crossed Floyds fork of Salt river and Salt river itself very little water in them; got on the main Road about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Bardstown where we arrived 8 oclock in the evening, 40 miles from Louisville; few inhabitants on the path we travelled, but hear there is a good many on the main Road, which is very passable for a waggon. On the main Road about 30 miles from Louisville there is a salt spring called Bullets Lick where they boil a great deal of salt. About 60 Gallons of water will make a gallon of salt. This village is near Salt River towards its head and consists of 50 or 60 Log houses regularly laid out and pretty well built, the Capital of Nelson County, as Louisville is of Jefferson—

*August 29*—Left Bardstown early and crossed the Beach fork of Salt River. Breakfasted at Mr Parkers; 7 miles—a very decent family—several handsome daughters; particularly one who wanted nothing but education to have shone in one of the most brilliant assemblies: Got a sort of a dinner at Mr Wilsons on the Beach fork, half way to Danville, found the houses very open, people very poor, lazy, and dirty; nothing to eat or drink for ourselves and little for our horses, with no stables. Got ourselves a little dry and slept some on Benches Chairs &c—amongst numerous Bugs and Fleas. Here is a hole in the Earth which is a very good spring and the rock forms

an arch 10 or 15 foot under ground which serves for a very fine Milk and Butter house. The water keeps on under ground for upwards of 100 yards and then empties itself into Champlain fork.

*August 30*—Rained all night slowly; glad to get clear of the house as early as possible; got to Danville to Breakfast, this is 45 miles from Bardstown and lies near the waters of Dicks river which empties into Kentucke and also near the headwaters of a branch of Salt River. The Capital of Mercer County and where all public business of the county is done; it being the most central place—the town is new about 40 Log houses in it neatly built, and a frame Court House; appears to be some Genteel people here; a pretty good tavern kept by Mr. Barber; as we staid to dine I rode to see Mrs Shields 6 miles to the Eastward of this. She lives in a large neat log house beautifully situated on a branch of Dick's river with a fine farm and I believe a mill. Here Mr Hare staid and we got Mr Parker to accompany us to Lexington—went 5 miles, crossed Dicks river which was very high; had to swim our horses and cross it in a canoe; yesterday Mr Parker crossed it and it was not over 6 inches deep; got to Mr Grants five miles further and a private house, where we staid all night; a very decent family with a well improved farm; has a daughter that is handsome, about 18 years old and has been in this country since 1779—very sociable and able to chat upon various subjects.

*August 31*—Paid our bill this morning and set out; 5 miles from here crossed the Kentucke river and breakfasted; this is a pretty large stream nav-

igable, they say, a great distance above this, but I imagine only for Canoes, as we forded it and it was raised a little with the rain ; it seems to lie very low and most stupendous rocks bound it on each side as also does Dicks river ; a ferry kept here. Hickmans Creek 10 or 12 miles above, where it receives Dicks river, went on and got to Lexington 3 o'clock—this is 35 miles from Danville the largest of any of the villages in the settlement, and the oldest. I suppose there are 90 or 100 houses in it, all log but some neatly built. It lies upon the headwaters of the branches of the Kentucke and is a good deal scattered ; a small brook runs thro the town which is supplied by a number of fine springs, which supply the town with water that is very good. Genl Wilkinson lives about 12 miles from here in the Country ; had not time to visit him. Dined and rode on ; 5 miles from here passed Bryans Station which is 15 or 20 Log Cabins, very compact, where a number of families lived during the war ; 5 miles further came to Grants on one of the branches of the Licking where we staid all night ; private house, poor accommodations and he took pay, like all his neighbors, who expect a great deal of money for very little furnished.

## THE WONDERS OF CANADA

A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN TO THE  
ANTIGUA GAZETTE

*New York, August 21, 1768*—To write you, good Sir at this distance, a mere letter of compliment would have as much the air of stiffness and formality as a

full journal of my travels, would be too familiar and troublesome ; yet I flatter myself to tell you, I am again after looking into Lake Erie and visiting Quebec, in the land of safety and repose, will not be unacceptable, and possible I may amuse a leisure hour ; excuse me, then, when I say, I cannot at this juncture, refrain giving you an account of what has been most striking to me in this tour, and whether it entertains or not, I am sure you will take the intention for the act, and good naturedly smile upon the performance.

With the compliment then of General Gage's order to all the posts in the rout, which anticipated my wishes through the whole communication, I set out from hence on the 19th of May, and with all the variety of travelling and sojourning on the waters and in the woods, up Hudson's River to Albany, across the country to Schenectady, on the Mohawk River, up its fertile banks to Fort Stanwix, then descending the Wood Creek and Onida Lake, by the Onondago River, arrived on the third of June at Ontario ; whence disappointed of the king's vessel I was obliged to coast it along in a open batteau, exposed in the day to a disagreeable navigation, and at night in the woods, encountering every inclemency to Niagara, where I was again detained by the same vessel the stores all out, living on garrison fare for 27 days. At length she arrived, and I accompanied the famous Major Rogers in her to Oswegatchey, being thus detained in that lake near six weeks, the weather so cold as to compel the use of fires to the 10th of July. In short contending with many unexpected difficulties, and being over-

set in a sloop for want of ballast within two miles of Quebec, I arrived here four days ago, with this remark on the whole, that the tour affords greater satisfaction in the reflection than in the execution, that is, there is more pleasure in having seen, than in the seeing, except the Niagara falls, the lakes and river St. Lawrence; these are indeed altogether surprising and new, not even to be imagined; the rest is what we see every day, up to German Flats on the banks of the Mohawk river, which is the best land in all the route and finely cultivated. — Thence I went, dashing through difficulties, over vast lakes, rivers, rapids, creeks, swamps and deep forests, inhabited by savages and wild beasts, all the way except the different posts of communication, to Lake Erie. There are indeed some beautiful and extensive views, that afford vast scope to the imagination, and tempt one to wish for a resurrection to the empire, that will surely flourish there some centuries hence, when Seneca the tragedian's prediction will be fulfilled, who in his *Medea* says, that the time will come when the ocean shall not separate nations, that the new Tiphis shall discover another world, and that Thule will not be the utmost boundary of the earth. But to return to the present state of the objects that strike me most in these vast wilds.

About nine miles up, on the eastern side of Niagara is an encampment of the last Indian War on Mount Pleasant, affording a most noble prospect of vast level woods, the deep rapid, meandering river, and the distant lake, bounded by the high lands beyond. At this place it is probable that the falls originally were,

and broke up by slow degrees, to their present situation, which is seven miles higher, for it is still as equally level country, from the top upwards as from the foot of the mount downwards, and the banks of the river very high, especially from the mount to the falls, where I stood level with the upper bed of the river. Here it is also, that the portage of nine miles commences, to the upper landing place or little Fort Niagara, in crossing the river from whence going upward, about three miles over Midway at Navy Island, where the King's vessels for Lake Erie's navigation are built, the several inlets and surrounding woods afford a beautiful view, and looking down the river from this point of the island, in a fair, calm day, there appears a pyramidal cloud, very high, arising like the steam of a mighty furnace, from the violence of the falls forcing the spray so high, that, becoming lighter than the air, is suspended, and said to serve as a mark, in the navigation of the lakes above and below, for fifty miles. In my return, I went to the island that divides the river into an east and west branch at the Falls, which will scarcely be credited but by such as have made this tour. but it is nevertheless true: Five sturdy men under the pilotage of a Mr. Stedman who lives at the carrying-place, and had ventured there once before, conducted me thither in a *batteaux*, and back again, with great safety, keeping dexterously between the two streams that rush on each side, to the Falls with the rapidity of a cannon ball. Indeed the risque is great, for mistaking the Land-marks, breaking a setting pole or paddle, or even missing a single stroke,

and all is lost. Faith nor all her works will protect you from perdition. But curiosity was great and I gratified it, though it adds nothing particular to the view, except the precipitation of the waters down to the rapids, on each side, amid its huge rocks and a number of broken islets.

I had many views of these mighty water-falls, and was astonished and delighted at each; but the last, from the western side of the river exceeds all imagination. There are here three views, fully before both Falls (measured 136 feet high) and opposite to Stedman's Island, a precipice of about 400 yards in length and equal height with the Falls, the tall wood on the top of which having a good effect.

I first arrived at the brow of a high hill, over the upper bed of the river, the western branch of which, seen to Navy Island, about two miles up affords great diversity. The wide seemingly still water surrounded above, and on all sides, by a tall forest, then rolling an immense body down the rapids, falling tremendous, like a vast sheet of melted lead, over the middle part of a half circle, the two ends of which flowering off in thinner sheets, the eastern fall of irregular appearance, dazzling the imagination with streaming beauties of various forms. The precipice and wood between the two, altogether terrify the mind, while it is charmed into rapture; for great as the idea was which had led me so many hundred leagues, and heightened by the imperfect views taken before, it so far exceeded my most sanguine expectations, that my imagination had not immediate scope for it, and I felt

distressed till my mind had expanded itself to the immensity and variety of the objects that struck it all at once.

I next went to the foot of this hill, which is level with the upper bed of the river, and all around was amazed and delighted. But new expressions are wanting.—To go on then.—From hence I walked a mile, through a thick wood and swamp, and then descended a steep, rugged precipice, suspended by hands and feet; sometimes on notched wood, half decayed, and at others by broken points of rocks, at the verge of destruction, the idea a delirium always distresses me with, till I got to the lower bed; and scrambling about a mile over vast slippery rocks and loose stones, fallen out of the precipice, I arrived at the foot of the falls, where the immensity of the impending rush of the water, the diversity of the falls and spray, the various reflections of the sun, the regurgitations, foamings and vortices, bewilder and astonish beyond conception. Which is all I can say of it; for description fails me, as any words, I can put together, would be too feeble to convey but a faint idea of what the imagination, when present, is too narrow to receive the impression of, but by slow degrees, and will not therefore take up your and my own time to so fruitless a purpose.

The best view, here below is from a projecting rock just under the bare precipice, opposite to Stedman's island. To go further, only serves to fatigue beyond measure; for under the Falls (where is the point of ambition to arrive at, and for no other reason that I perceived but the difficulty of clambering thither, often losing one's footing, and the proba-

bility of tiring in the return, quite back to the first point of view) here, I say the spray obstructs the sight, all is noise and confusion, one continued uproar. You are wet to the skin in a moment, and if you persist in pressing on under the sheet of water, you lose your breath by the violence of the spray, which happened to me in two attempts.

The beauties of the river St. Lawrence are not less various, its noble width, extensive communication (exceeding thought which is lost in it) thousand islands, various and lofty surrounding woods, the gradual diversity near St Francis' Lake, (especially of the more distant approaches) rich settlements to Laponte Dulac, 550 miles up the river, and on each side from Quebec to Montreal like one continued street adorned with churches; I say, these all conspire to charm, contending which shall longest detain the imagination; but above all, the numerous rapids, are a subject of astonishment, not to be described. I think it is like enchantment. The rushing vast waters terrify the mind while it is smoothed with the thoughts of safety, amidst a giddy precipitation from flying forests at one place, nine miles in sixteen minutes, expand, if you can, your ideas to such a transition, and feel horrors while you are delighted; but you must see and go down them, before you feel as I do.

As to the cities (Quebec and Montreal) they are both in ruins; the one still in consequence of the siege, the other of a late terrible fire. The houses standing are irregular, ill built, and the dirtiest I ever saw; floors never washed must be so; but these have contracted a smell very offensive—like our jails.

The inhabitants of Canada are generally a sober good sort of people, whose only luxury is a pipe, and would be good British subjects, but for the priests, who keep alive the aversion to Heretics, and the enthusiastic notions of the grand monarch, thro' fear of whom alone it is, they are persuaded that the English treat them with the mildest they have experienced; yet has the court of London lately allowed them a bishop from France, to whom they implicitly look up for relief in all distress, and complaining that the severity of the rains this summer, had ruined all their grain, had the consolation of a high tax for masses to bring about fairer weather, and to this power perhaps it is, that they owe their present appearance of poverty, tho' they pay no taxes, government supporting all contingencies. This is some what unaccountable, and I will not say what their circumstances really are, or from what cause; but Canada, tho' the Mohawk land is much better, is certainly the finest country I have seen in North America; and Quebec a very noble part of it.

All around, from the memorable heights of Abraham, to the furthest reach of the eye, are rich prospects of woodlands waving, cultivated fields, enameled with houses, water, and every shade of near and distant mountains, beautifully diversified. The falls of Montmorency and Chaudiere are also natural ornaments in the neighbourhood, very worthy the attention of a stranger.

The hospitality of the English inhabitants and general Carleton's politeness, with the gaiety of his court, three days in the week, a levee, rout and ball, all heightened by the time I had passed at Lake

Ontario, raised a ten days enjoyment there, to the highest relish, and I too soon reluctantly found it was time to return to Montreal, and without any remarkable occurrence, going thence up the Sorrel River and Lake Champlain to Crown Point, and Ticonderoga, crossed Lake George, and on to Saratoga and Albany, after a circuit of about two thousand miles, returned to this place, and proceed to Boston, when a little refreshed, which I believe you will want now to be, after the fatigues of this long letter, inspired by the tour, now fresh and strong in my imagination, and the desire I have, my dear good Sir, of approving myself

Your most obedient and most humble servant

A. B.

# TRANSFER OF THE BODY OF COLUMBUS TO HAVANA

Expressions of gratitude, addressed to the Illustrious Corporation of the City of San Cristobal de la Habana, by his Excellency the Lord Admiral Duke of Veraguas, Marquis of Jamaica upon hearing of the respectful pomp and ceremony with which the mortal remains of his ancestor in the seventh generation of ascent Don Cristobal Colon were received in that City.

*Illustrious Señor*; My Dear Sir, my representative Don Pedro Juan de Erice, under date of the 25 of January last, informed me of the special honor and piety with which you have received the remains of the body of Señor D. Cristobal Colon, Discoverer and Conquerer of the New World, High Admiral of the

Ocean, first Viceroy and Governor-General of the Indies, of whom I am descendant in the seventh generation and successor in his home and estates, as the head of his legitimate line; the first born according to the declaration of the Supreme-Council of the Indies expressly confirmed by his reigning Majesty. This removal would be to me the cause of the deepest grief were it not for the satisfaction which your honorable reception has given me, or if the discovery of the island of Cuba were not a proof of the worth, intelligence and zeal of the High Admiral, as was also that of San Domingo. Certain it is that the discovery of this great island, believed at first from its magnitude to be a Continent, displayed the worth and zeal of this immortal general in the autumn of 1492 soon after the discovery of the smaller islands—the Lucayas or the Bahamas—consequently its discovery was anterior to that of Hispaniola; and not only is Cuba entitled to this prerogative, but the Lord Admiral himself made a reconnoissance of it and there repaired his little fleet, while noticing the island of Hispaniola, all due to the good disposition and humanity of the Indians of Cuba. To this disposition were due the later discoveries of the New World. In consideration of which his first born son, Señor D. Diego Colon, my ancestor in the sixth degree of ascent—already there established and married to a grand daughter of the Duke of Alba, Donna Maria de Toledo the Viceroy of the Indies in San Domingo, and declared in his person the heir of the dignities of his father,—in order to complete the work begun in the year 1492, undertook

in 1512 to conquer the island of Cuba as the first object of his solicitude. Companies and plans were hastened on every side to carry out the noble work. The spread of the Catholic religion and the desire for riches were strong motives to success; thus the most worthy persons, as well as those merely moved by their ambition, united in this vast project. Indeed, the second Admiral of the Indies placed this expedition under the command of Diego Velasquez who had accompanied his father on his second voyage; whom truly could he more fitly choose than a veteran schooled in the service and maxims of the discoverer of the New World? Three hundred men sufficed to complete this worthy and memorable conquest, the importance of which was shown by the ambitious projects of other courts to occupy it in the future, and it proved a day of glory for the Spanish arms and a worthy possession of the kings our masters; and if any opposition were made to the Spanish flag, it was only from some foreign Cacique, for the natives of this island always showed a friendly disposition towards the Spaniards and to the memory of its first discoverer; Where could the remains of the discoverer of Cuba find a more secure monument than in the place which had the glory of having received, entertained and welcomed him, in the first steps of his glorious enterprise, and which gives an honored sepulchre to his ashes, now that the fortune of war has caused them to be removed from the island of San Domingo? and what have you done in this but follow in the footsteps of its first inhabitants? so deeply rooted is your admiration of

the illustrious discoverer. But, for more than three centuries, to preserve such a memory and to extend it to his successors, is a virtue so rare that scarcely can it be found to exist among men, whom time, distance and the want of personal intercourse render oblivious and careless of the most sacred duties and obligations. For which reason, taking into consideration, what my representative has communicated to me of the splendor and pomp with which your Highness anticipated my purpose and intention to celebrate the transfer the 19th of January last, I can not but express to your Highness my respectful acknowledgement, assuring you that had any other, than yourself, interfered with the last honors which his own house owed to its founder and origin, compliance would have been very painful to me; but the high consideration, to which you are entitled and the ancient origin of your Titles of honor and piety, give to you a right superior to all others; because before Señor Don Cristobal Colon thought of founding a house and estate, you had already protected and aided him in his conquests and discoveries: and his first will and testament was of the year 1497 five years before which Cuba had received and warmed him in her bosom; could I pass by in silence a circumstance so agreeable and opportune as the removal from the cathedral of his beloved island Hispaniola of the remains of the body of this immortal discoverer and its transfer to Havana? Receive in my name and in that of all my family our most profound thanks, and the warmest expressions of our hearts, and in the hope that your Highness will on this

occasion count me in the number of your most obliged and grateful friends and command me when I may be of service to you I meanwhile pray that God may prosper you.

Corunna March 30th 1796.

M. Y. S—B. L. M. de V. S.

Your most obliged and obedient

The Admiral Duke de Veraguas

Marquis of Jamaica.

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### NOTES

THE FIRST VOYAGE EASTWARDLY ACROSS THE PACIFIC OCEAN.—Andres de Urdaneta the navigator, was born in 1498 at Villafranca in the Province of Guipuscoa. He accompanied Don Garcia Jofre de Loaysa, the Commander in Chief of the great expedition sent out in 1525 to the Moluccas, by the Straits of Magellan, by order of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. The voyage proved disastrous; and Urdaneta, after eleven years absence, returned to Lisbon in 1536, with the reports and maps of Fernando de la Torre, the last one in command. He was in fact sent home in a Portuguese vessel, and his papers were taken away from him on his arrival, but his own Report has been preserved. He had acquired much nautical experience, and had witnessed the ineffectual attempts of one of Loaysa's vessels to cross the Pacific in an easterly direction. He probably left some record in Spain concerning the possibility of such a voyage.

In 1529 the Emperor ceded the Moluccas to Portugal, but the Spaniards soon afterwards undertook to traffic with

the East from the coasts of Peru and New Spain. We pass over the early expeditions along the coast, and the unlucky voyage of Hernando de Grijalva across the Pacific in 1537, as well as the inland explorations northerly from New Spain, with some of which undertakings Urdaneta may have been associated, though his name does not appear in them. In 1552 he became a secular brother of the Order of St. Augustin, and was charged with various duties by the Viceroys of New Spain.

Philip the Second, wishing to conquer the rich islands which have been named after him, wrote to Don Luis de Velasco in 1559, ordering an expedition to be fitted out for this purpose. At the same time, Sept. 24th, he wrote to Urdaneta requesting and commanding that he should accompany it as an advisor both in temporal as well as spiritual affairs. Urdaneta of course yielded to the behests of his sovereign, and being consulted by the Viceroy, recommended Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, then in his 59th year, as the Commander. We omit any further details concerning the Expedition, which sailed in 1564, and its results, which are given by Burney (*S. Sea Voyages*, Vol. I.) and the Spanish historians, excepting the remarkable fact that when, after forty nine days sailing, they sighted land, the pilots disagreed in their reckonings as much as two hundred leagues. Urdaneta's reckoning proved to be the most correct one.

On the 1st of June 1565, a vessel commanded by Felipe de Salcedo, but navigated by the Padre Urdaneta, was dispatched from Tebu, back to New Spain. They sighted some part of



Japan, and attained a northerly latitude of 43°, and entered the harbor of Acapulco on the 3d of October, having sighted no land after leaving Japan.

Urdaneta had thus successfully demonstrated the possibility of a return voyage across the Pacific. His theory was based on the supposition that the N W tradewinds prevailed in the north Pacific as well as in the Atlantic Ocean, and the result justified his predictions. To be sure, a deserting vessel from his squadron reached New Mexico before him, and its commander Arellano, had the impudence to seek personally a reward from the King for his supposed discovery. Urdaneta, however, soon appeared before the King, and Arellano was sent back to the Philippines as a deserter. The way to be followed on a return voyage had, no doubt, been freely talked about in Legaspi's squadron, and Arellano took a base advantage of this information.

We lose sight of Urdaneta afterwards, but the rumor of his exploit became so disfigured, that Willes in his History of Travayle &c. 1577, fol. 233, has it that he "*came out of Mar del Zur this way into Germanie,*" and refers to a chart so drawn by him which had been "*scene by gentlemen of good credite.*"

Oscar Peschel, in his Geschichte der Erdkunde, 1865, pages 322 and 395, awards to Urdaneta the full credit which he deserved, and which we have here presented as a sketch only of the nearly forgotten enterprise. J. C. B.

A NUGGET FOR DARWIN.—*The Japanese.* To be seen at the House of Mr. Edward Willet at Whitehall. A Creature

called a *Japanese* of about 2 Feet high, his Body resembling a human Body in all Parts except the Feet and Tail: He walks upright, and performs various Actions to Admiration; such as walking upon a Line, hanging and swinging under it, exercising the Firelock, dances to any Tune, and sundry other Things too tedious to mention. The Sense and Agility of this Creature, renders him worthy the Observation of the Curious. Attendance is given at said Place every Day in the Week (Lord's Day excepted) from 2 o'clock in the Afternoon, 'till nine at Night. Price, One Shilling for each grown Person; Children, Nine Pence. *New York Gazette February 18, 1751.*

W. K.

WASHINGTONIANA.—The following incident may not be generally known to your readers, and some people will learn for the first time, that a "Book of Constitutions" was kept on the table of the Continental Congress. It would have been a choice morsel for the gifted Weems. The extract is from *Discours sur la grandeur et l'importance de la Révolution qui vient de s'opérer dans l'Amérique Septentrionale; par M. Mailhe, avocat au Parliament, Toulouse 1784.* "When Washington resigned his command of the army in the presence of Congress, some one had placed a royal crown, adorned with precious stones upon the Book in which were inscribed the Constitutions. Suddenly he snatched up this crown, crushed it, and flung the pieces out to the assembled People.

"How contemptible does the ambitious Caesar appear in comparison with the Hero of America!" T. B.

A GOOD SPEED TO VIRGINIA, 1609.—The name of the author of this tract, hitherto unknown to bibliographers, was Robert Gray, whose initials appear at the end of the dedication. PLUS.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S "TRUE RELATION" OR "NEWES FROM VIRGINIA," 1608.—Mr. Charles Deane's admirable reproduction of this rare tract in 1866 has made it familiar as one of the most important documents of Virginia history. His preface and notes leave little to be desired in the knowledge of it, but one or two points which he omitted to notice may be interesting to some readers of the Magazine. Mr. Deane describes three of the variations in the title which appear in the copies—but failed to recognize the fourth.

These variations are all in the statement of the authorship of the tract, viz :

"Written by Captaine Smith one of the said Collony, to a | worshipfull friend of his in England."

"Written by Captaine Smith, Coronell of the said Collony, to a | worshipfull friend of his in England."

"Written by Thos. Watson Gent. one of the said Collony, to a | worshipfull friend of his in England."

"Written by a Gentleman of the said Collony to a worshipfull | friend of his in England."

Mr. Deane's statement that the text is the same in all the copies also requires a slight modification. On the second leaf of signature C, Mr. Deane supplies conjecturally two words ["had occasioned"], an omission which was corrected in some copies of the original text by inserting the words "had done." Unfortunately this correction does not furnish a satisfactory clue to the order

of the various title pages—as it occurs in a copy having the Smith title page, and also in one having the "Gentleman" title page.

The recent publication by Mr. Arber, of his *Transcripts of the Stationers' Registers*, 1554–1640, furnishes the following interesting additional item for the history of this tract:

"13 August 1608, William Welby and John Tappe entered for their Copie . . . a booke called *A true relation of suche* occurrences and accidentes of note as have happened in Virginia synce the first planting of that Colonye which is nowe resident in the South parte of Virginia till Master NELSON'S cominge away from them," &c.—*Arber*: III, 338.

Mr. Deane mentions six copies of this rare little black letter quarto as known to him in this country—five of which he "had the privilege of examining." We can refer to eight, of which six are in New York—three in the Lenox Library, two in the Library of the Historical Society, and one in the collection of Mr. S. L. M. Barlow. These copies are all complete, while those in the Harvard College and John Carter Brown Libraries are noticed by Mr. Deane as imperfect. PLUS.

AN HISTORICAL PORTRAIT.—Among the pictures in the gallery of the New York Historical Society is an oval portrait, (No. 144 of the catalogue) 19½ x 24 inches, of Lafayette, presented by General Ebenezer Stevens. The Marquis is represented in the uniform of the light infantry of the American Army, viz : dark blue coat, with white facings, buttoned back, so as to display the facings, with standing collar

or cape of scarlet, white waistcoat with gilt buttons, white breeches, white cravat, and ruffled shirt; gold epaulets of a Major-General; the hair powdered and curled, the face clean shaven; on the left breast a cordon with three decorations—the bald eagle of the order of the Cincinnati, the cross of St. Michel, and a lozenge-shaped medal of an order of which we find no description. This uniform was not the “blue and buff” prescribed for Major-Generals, but that of the corps he had commanded. Napoleon later followed the same practice, wearing the uniform of his favorite guards. This portrait was loaned by General Stevens to the American Academy of Fine Arts for its second exhibition, and appears in their printed catalogue of 1817, but no artist’s name is attached, and it is not now known by whom it was painted. In the account of the reception of Lafayette by the New York Historical Society on the 17th August, 1824, published in the *Commercial Advertiser* of the 19th, it is stated that over the chair to which he was conducted “was hung the portrait of the General painted for the late General Stevens in 1784.” As Lafayette was in the United States in this year, there is no doubt that he then sat for this picture. General Stevens was a warm personal friend of the Marquis, by whom he had been selected to command the artillery in his Southern campaign. Of the correctness of the account in the newspaper of 1824 there can be no doubt, as John Pintard, who was the cotemporary of both parties, was at that time one of the officers of the Historical Society. His accurate antiquarianism is well known.

HISTORICAL.

OUR FIRST SETTLERS.—John Lerijs Burgundus (1578) in his *Hist. Navigat. in Brasiliam* says, that after Joshua had routed the Canaanites, that it is probable, from their terror, that they took shipping, and became the ancestors of the Americans.

Joseph Acosta (1589), in his *Lib. i. de Natur. Nov. Orb. c. 16*, gravely decides that no second ark of Noah landed in America, nor any angel conveyed the ancestors of the Indians through the air.

Herrera (1601), in the *Hist. Gener. Ind. dec. i. lib. 9. c. 4, p. 496*, says, that the old inhabitants of Cuba had a tradition that Noah’s curse upon that son, from whom they descended, was that they should be made, particolored, and walk on foot, naked; while those, whom he blessed, were to have clothes, ride on horse back, &c.

Peter Martyr (1516), *Dec. Nov. Orb. l. i.*, states that he had often heard Columbus say, that, when he landed at Hispaniola, he had found *Ophir*.

It is singular that the Phallus, the indelicate amulet of the Greeks and Romans, was found suspended round the necks of the Mexicans. *Rodin. Dæmon. l. 3, c. 15. Theatr. Vit. Human. v. 17, l. i. p. 3114.*

PETERSFIELD.

AUDUBON’S BIRDS OF AMERICA.—The following memorandum was preserved in the first volume of Audubon’s Ornithological Biography, formerly belonging to the late J. Prescott Hall:

“This work is presented to J. Prescott Hall, Esqr by his poor Friend and sincerely attached servant

“John J. Audubon

“New York, April 4, 1844.

"Mr. Audubon told me in the year 184— that he did not sell more than 40 copies of his great work in England, Ireland, Scotland and France, of which Louis Phillipe took 10

"The following received their copies, but never paid for them: George IV., Dutchess of Clarence, Marquis of Londonderry, Princess of Hesse Homburg.

"An Irish lord whose name he would not give, took two copies and paid for neither. Rothschild paid for his copy, but with great reluctance.

"He further said that he sold 75 copies in America, 26 in New York and 24 in Boston; that the work cost him £27,000 and that he lost \$25,000 by it.

"He said that Louis Phillipe offered to subscribe for one hundred copies if he would publish the work in Paris. This he found could not be done, as it would have required 40 years to finish it as things then were in Paris. Of this conversation I made a memorandum at the time which I read over to Mr. Audubon and he pronounced it correct.

"J. PRESCOTT HALL."

F.

FIRST MUSTARD MILL IN AMERICA.—The *Pennsylvania Chronicle* of February 15, 1768, contains a statement of Benjamin Jackson, that he "was the original establisher of the mustard manufactory in America, and am at present, the only proper mustard manufacturer on the continent—I brought the art with me into the country." His first experiment was made at the Globe Mills, on the Germantown Road. The mustard was sold in bottles, with the stamp of the manufacturer affixed. W. K.

INDIAN TRIBES HOSTILE TO THE AMERICANS DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.—*Philadelphia August 12, 1783.*

Captain Dalton, superintendent of Indian affairs for the United States, arrived here last week from Canada, which he left about a month since, in company with 200 Americans, who are at length happily liberated from a cruel captivity with the savages. But he is sorry to inform us that there are a number of unfortunate fellow sufferers who are still retained as prisoners by the Indians. The sufferings of Captain Dalton and his lady have been very great, both having been many years prisoners with the enemy, and forced to endure the most cruel treatment from their captors. For the satisfaction of their friends, Captain Dalton has given a list of the unhappy people who are confined chiefly among the six nations, *viz.* the Shawnese, Delawares, Munseys, Oniactenaws, Putawawtawmaws, &c &c. [Here follows a list of the names of 137 prisoners.]

Captain Dalton says, that on their way home, through Canada, they experienced the most polite treatment from the English officers, but were more than once abused by different parties of those wretches who had fled to Canada from the back parts of the United States to avoid the vengeance of their countrymen, for the many horrid murders and burnings committed by them in conjunction with the English and Indians.

As Captain Dalton has been among the savages for many years, he has now given his friends and the public an estimation of the different savage nations they had to encounter, with the number of warriors annexed to each nation that

were employed by the British, and have stained their tomahawks with the blood of Americans, *viz.* Chactaws 600, Chickisaws 400, Cherokees 500, Creeks 700, Plankishaws 400, Oniactmaws 300, Kickapoes 500, Munseys 150, Delawares 500, Shawanaws 300, Mohickons 60, Uchipweys 3,000, Ottawas 300, Mohawks 300, Oneidas 150, Tuskeroras 200, Onondagas 300, Cayugas 230, Jeneckaws 400, Suez and Sothuze 1,300, Putawawtawmaws 400, Fulawain 150, Muskulthe or Nation of Fire 250, Reinars or Foxes 300, Pityon 350, Sokkie 450, Abbinokkie, on the St. Lawrence 200, making a total of 12,690 Warriors. *The Pennsylvania Packet No 1,079 August 12, 1783.* W. K.

SPANISH MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO AMERICA.—“Varios paraceres manuscritos originales sobre legislacion de Indias, Siglo XVI.” This is the title of a handsomely bound volume containing seventeen original manuscripts in the possession of Señor Don Hilario Cisneros, a distinguished Cuban exile, now residing in New York city. They are: I. A letter of his Majesty the Emperor Charles V. to the Council of the Indies, 27 August, 1545, relating to the revolt of the Spanish troops in Peru, under the command of Pizarro, the treatment of the Indians and the settlement of the colonies and sundry commercial matters. II. Letter from the King of Spain to the Council of Brussels, 15 February, 1557, concerning the administration in Chili, the bishoprics in the Indies, and orders regarding Peruvian affairs. III. IV. V. VI. Orders relative to the government in Peru and New Spain. VII. Two ordinances, one establishing departments,

the other relating to the treatment of the natives. VIII. Opinion of the Cardinal of Toledo, 18 June, 1545, on the same subjects as the preceding. IX. Articles of agreement between the authorities of the City of Mexico and the Marquis de Falces, Viceroy, establishing Courts of Justice, and the land tenures. X. Opinion of the Licenciado Salmeron in regard to the land tenures in the Indies. XI. Information of Hortuño de Ibarra, Fleet Commander, as to the condition of affairs in New Spain; XII. Memorial to the Commander of Leon. XIII. Address to the King, dated 15 Jan., 1545, on the administration of justice in New Spain. XIV. Document relating to Peru. XV. XVI. Report to the King of Doctor Bernal, Bishop of Talavera, and the hidalgos Gutierre Valesquez and Gregorio Lopez, of the Council of the Indies, and appendix. XVII. Letter of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas to the King on his appointment as Bishop of Chiapa, with orders to sail with the first fleet for South America, giving the opinion of the Fray as to the proper management of the Indian missions.

It is to be hoped that this extremely interesting collection may be retained in this country. EDITOR.

CASTLE WILLIAM, BOSTON HARBOR.—The following letters may serve to fill up blank spaces in the documentary history of Castle William, now Fort Independence, Boston Harbor, a subject in which the writer was interested in earlier years. They are from the Haldimand MSS., British Museum, not from the so-called Haldimand MSS. of Vermont.

DE C.

"Castle William, 27th Sept. 1773.

"Sir

"By the arrival of the last ship from London, I have received accounts of the most pressing necessity for my immediate return to England; and as Col. Leslie is now gone up the country for some days, I hope you will excuse the impropriety of my applying for my own leave of absence for four months, as the least delay might be of the utmost consequence to me, & as there are seven captains now in America with the Regiment I flatter myself you will not deny me a request, the refusal of which would be of the greatest disadvantage to

"Sir

"your Most Obedient

"Humble Servant

"Thos Musgrave

"General Haldimand 64th Regt.

"Add MSS. 21730."

"Castle William Novr 10

"Sir 1773.

"Inclosed I have the honor to send you the Bill for supplying this Garrison with water from Town or a Neighboring Island, from the 1st of July to the 4th of October, it was done with the utmost economy.

"I beg your Excellency's orders to pay the amount, as these accounts and vouchers shall be forwarded to headquarters.

"I also inclose the monthly return.

"I have the honor to be Sir

"your most obedient

"and humble servant

"Alexr Leslie

"His Excell-y Gen. Haldimand.

"Add. MSS. 21731."

TWO COLORED JOKERS OF THE REVOLUTION.—The day on which the American troops at North River fired a *feu de joye* for the capture of Lord Cornwallis's army, a scouting party being on their return to camp heard a firing, and soon after met another party sent out as a relief. A negro belonging to the first, calling to one of the latter, said, "Cuffee, what all dat firing we hear to-day?" The other replied, "O, my dear soul, nuffing tall, on-ly General Burgone had a bruder born to-day."—*N. J. Journal, Dec. 19, 1781.*

On the arrival of the news of the capture of Lord Cornwallis and his whole army, one African meeting another, salutes him thus: "O! how do Cuffee. You hear bout Cornwallis?" "No. What about Cornwallis?" "Why, General Washington shell off all de Corn, and now he Cobwallis."—*Mass. Spy, Feb. 28, 1782.* W. K.

WIGGLESWORTH'S "DAY OF DOOM:"—Thorp's *Catalogue* for 1834, Part III, "736, *Day of Doom*, a Poem. 12 mo. 3s. 1666. *Bibliotheca Heberiana*; Part IV. p. 71. Lot 492. *Day of Doom or a Description of the Great and last Judgment. With a short Discourse about Eternity* (in verse). Printed by W. G. for John Sims; 1673. Watts' *Bibliotheca Britannica* gives title same as last. Lond, 12mo, 1676. PLUS.

A CORRECTION. *Mount Washington and its capture*.—In the article published in our number for February, page 80, line 18 from the top, the reader will please erase the words "*the younger*," which lead to an erroneous impression as to the family of the author. EDITOR.

AN ANCIENT MOTHER-IN-LAW.—“*Lu-nenburgh (State of Vermont), August 23, 1780.* Whereas Sarah my Wife has without just cause, left my bed and board, and absented herself from my family, and now resides at Westminster, (State of Massachusetts): I therefore caution all persons from trusting her on my account, as I am determined not to pay any debts of her contracting from the date hereof.

“*Cursed are they that part man and wife—Amen—praise ye the Lord!* As the Lord liveth before whom I stand, he will judge between my wife and me, and between her mother and me, and between any who will disturb me or my children, and discomfort us, Jacob Emerson.”—*Massachusetts Spy, Sept. 27, 1781.*

W. K.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.—The following letter of General Hamilton is not included in his printed correspondence. It may be of interest to your readers.

D. V.

“Albany April 12, 1795.

“Dear Sir:—The last post but one, brought me your letter transmitting me a certificate of the ‘Freedom of the City of New York.’

“Among the previous testimonies I have received of the approbation of my immediate fellow citizens, none is more acceptable or more flattering to me than that which I now acknowledge.

“I beg you to convey to the ‘Board’ the expression of my high sense of the honour they have done me (which I shall be happy in every opportunity of manifesting) as well as of my sincere respect for themselves.”

“With true friendship and regard  
“I have the honour to be Dr. Sir

“Your very Obedt. Servant,  
“Alexander Hamilton.

“Richard Varick Esqr

“Mayor of the City of New York.”

CONNECTICUT YANKEES.—In the year 1771 a party from the Colony of Connecticut crossed into Pennsylvania, to take possession of the disputed land at Wyoming. A number of letters printed in the Pennsylvania Archives describes the intruders as Yankees. I append a few specimens: *Thompson to Van Campen*, July 3. “The Yankys were coming soon” *Van Campen to Tilghman*, July 4: “the Yankes are about”—“there are great matters in hand with the Yankes” *Thompson to Stewart*, July 5: “the Yanky’s coming” *Tilghman to Shippen*, July 23: “The number of the Yankees as they are called, is reported to be increased to 160.” *Tilghman to Shippen and Gordon*, July 26: “the Block house is infested by four different Camps of the Yankees.”

PETERSFIELD.

INDIAN ANTIQUITIES.—A number of Pyramids stand on the banks of the Tiago, which is a branch of the Susquehanna, between two and three hundred miles from Philadelphia. The place is called *Assenmissing*—that is, *Standing Stones*. There was formerly a large Delaware Indian town (which in the year 1763 was taken, ransacked and burnt by the Mohawks) standing there; some remains of which are yet to be seen. The smallest of those Pyramids are about fourteen or fifteen, but the largest about fifty

feet high. They are not all of one form, some being round, some oval, and some square; but most of them are oval at the base. They go up regular in the form of a Pyramid; they are not so smooth as a common stone wall, but appear as if they were made by unskillful masons, and seems to have been done with lime-mortar, but are much weather-beaten, and open in the joints, as if they could be taken to pieces, and seem in many places without as if daubed with lime. At a small distance below them are a parcel of stones which are of the same sort as the Pyramids, soft and of a dark bluish color when broken, but are not lime stone. They don't appear to stand upon any rocks, but to have their foundation laid upon the ground. Several have large flat stones on the top of them, as if put there to keep off the rain, which project from four to six inches over, and the largest have stones on them of two feet square and a proportionable thickness. Though these Pyramids don't appear as if they were formed here by nature, but made by the hands of men, yet the Indians can give no account of them—*Pennsylvania Chronicle*, April 18, 1768.

W. K.

### QUERIES

LONG ISLAND INDIANS.—On a short excursion trip which I made in September, 1875, to the southern coast of Long Island, I visited, south of the village of West Moriches, the western bank of the large Moriches Inlet, also called Moriches Creek. There I met the farming and fishing remnants of the *Poospdtuk* tribe, who at the present time number about

twenty families, and are to some extent intermarried with negroes. The same is found to be the case with the Chinna-cock Indians, who live about ten miles further east, right on the coast. On Moriches Creek I met two men who possessed all the characteristics of pure blood Indians; a cinnamon complexion, long straight hair, and that peculiar expression in their looks which might be appropriately termed "savage quietude." One of them, a stout man, about 50 years of age and born at the railroad station of Manor, or Manorville, otherwise called *Punksole* (as he said), gave me the three following words, which formed all the stock of the paternal Algónkin dialect left in his recollection: to bi ni *thank you, sir*; skuk *snake*; metchik *land turtle*. I confess that these terms may give rise to linguistic doubts. The informant said, that no other Poospátuck remembered any words of the old Indian tongue but he.

Can anybody tell if these Indians formed a portion of the Unquachogs? what time they are first mentioned in local history and what is recorded of them?

A. S. G.

PHILAGATHOS.—Who was "Philagathos," the author of a "Poem Commemorative of Goffe, Whalley, and Dixwell," three of the Judges of Charles I., (8vo. pp. 28, Boston, 1793)?

A. H. H.

JOHN BACON, A BOSTON BOY.—In the March number of Scribner's Magazine, p. 635, the author of the interesting article on the "College of New Jersey," mentions "John Bacon, a Boston boy, who afterwards became distinguished as a member of the Continental



Congress, a United States Senator, and the Chief Justice of New Hampshire," &c. What is the authority for that statement? A. H. H.

—  
 WAS MILES STANDISH A ROMANIST? —  
 Of late there has been much discussion concerning the religious views of Miles Standish. Was he a Roman Catholic? In this connection the following provision of the Charter of Nov. 3d, 1620, should be considered:

"Wee should be loath that any Person should be permitted to pass that Wee suspected to affect the superstition of the Chh of Rome. We do hereby declare that it is our Will and Pleasure that none be permitted to pass in any Voyage from Time to time to be made into the said Country, but such as shall first have taken the Oathe of Supremacy." *Hazard I., p. 117.*  
 CAPE COD.

—  
 VOYAGES OF THE FRENCH EMIGRANTS.  
 —Can some one give me information as to where I can find the following entitled brochure?

"Voyages, adventures and situation of the French Emigrants from the year '89 to '99, by A lady. Lexington, Ky."

This is written I think by Mad. Waldeman Mentelle, one of the French colonists of Gallipolis, O., who afterwards removed to Lexington, Ky.

JOHN M. NEWTON.

—  
 BOOTH FAMILY. — Will some reader please give the etymology of the name "BOOTH?"

Charles Booth, a member of the Society of Friends, settled in the bounds of

Chester Meeting, Chester Co., Pa.,—now Delaware Co.,—prior to 1713, and so far as known had three children, Mary, Lydia, and Jonathan. When did Chas. Booth first settle in Chester? Where did he emigrate from? Where are his progeny? Was he related to the Robt. Booth who settled in Bethel, Delaware Co., Pa., in 1713, and if so, how were they related? JOHN T. BOOTH.

Wyoming, Hamilton Co., Ohio.

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 LE PETIT CENSEUR.—A French newspaper, conducted by M. Didot, entitled *Le Petit Censeur*, made its appearance in the city of New York, July, 1805, and attracted considerable attention. The following is a sample of the editor's curious prospectus, written in the form of a dialogue between a Printer and the Author:—"Author: Do you imagine I am to keep a little canoe, at White Hall, to run after the vessels, as they enter the river, to snatch *authentic* intelligence, and publish it one day to contradict it the next? No, Sir: I'll invent news in my study, and don't you think I have sufficient talents to set kings a fighting at pleasure, bring fleets together and confer the victory on the flag I like best; create tempests and other untoward events, kill and revive many, and divorce princes and princesses, &c."

How many numbers of the *Censeur* were printed? W. K.

—  
 CHASTELLUX MEMOIRS.—In Rich's *Bibliotheca Americana Nova*, there is a record of a "Voyage de Newport à Philadelphie, Albany, &c., Quarto, pp. 188, de l'Imprimerie Royal del'Escadre, Newport, R. I.," and the following note:

The Marquis de Chastellux caused *twenty-four* copies of this journal to be printed at a press on board one of the ships of the French Squadron at Newport. It consists of only that part which forms the first volume of the edition of Paris of 1786, comprising his travels in the winter of 1780-1, and was printed, he says, to avoid the work of making *Ms.* copies to send to his friends in Europe.

Is there any copy of this literary curiosity in this country? HISTORICAL.

—  
WILLIAM EUSTIS.—What was the date of his resignation as Secretary of War, or removal, as it might more properly be called, from President Madison's Cabinet? His last official note, which we have seen, was to General Dearborn, dated "War Department, December 18, 1812." James Monroe, then Secretary of State, performed the duties of Secretary of War between the time of the retirement of Doctor Eustis (so-called from having been a Hospital Surgeon in the Revolution) and the accession of General John Armstrong, who was confirmed by the Senate as Secretary of War, January 13, 1813. From these data, it appears probable that Eustis resigned about December 20, 1812; but we cannot positively fix that as the date. The Assistant Secretary of State at Washington says, "that the resignation of William Eustis, as Secretary of War, does not appear on the files of this Department," doubtless because all the records were burned in the vandal conflagration of our Capitol, ordered by Admiral Cockburn of the British Navy, in 1814.

G. W. C.

WAYMOUTH'S VOYAGE, 1605.—It is a noticeable fact that of four copies of this very rare tract known to exist, three are in America, of which two in New York. The fourth is in the Grenville Collection, British Museum. It was "written by James Rosier, a gentleman employed in the voyage." Where is there any information about this writer? PLUS.

—  
LAFAYETTE'S DECORATIONS.—On the left breast of the Stevens portrait of General Lafayette, in the New York Historical Society, there is painted a badge with three orders suspended. I. That of the Cincinnati which needs no description; II. That of St. Michel. This order was instituted the 1st August, 1469, by Louis XI.; in 1665 was restricted by Louis XIV. to 100: six from the magistracy, six from the clergy, eighty-eight from the army. To be admitted, the conditions were, to be of the Catholic religion, two degrees of nobility, and have held some important command or office for ten years. The King could, however, confer it on whom he pleased for eminent services rendered to himself or the State. The jewel consisted in a cross of gold of eight points, enamelled white, four fleur de lis in field, and charged with a medal, representing St. Michael tramping on a dragon. The ribband, black; motto, "Immensi tremor oceani." The order was suppressed in 1790, revived in 1816, and generally given to distinguished men; not conferred since 1830. III. A lozenge shaped gold medal, with a relief not distinguishable, on a ribband of green. Dr. Cloquet, in his "Recollections of the Private Life of Lafayette," makes no mention of this

order among the souvenirs at Lagrange. Can any one give information as to this decoration?

HISTORICAL.

THE JERSEY BLUES.—Mante's History of the late War in America, page 29, describing the campaign of 1755, has the following: "It was resolved that Gen. Shirley should conduct the operations against Niagara, with his own regiment, Sir William Pepperel's, *the Jersey Blues*, commanded by Col. Schuyler, and a detachment of the royal artillery." And again, on page 30: "In the beginning of July, *the Jersey Blues* began their march."

Is this the earliest mention of the Jersey Blues? Did the name originate with Schuyler's regiment?

PETERSFIELD.

MELLEN FAMILY.—Can any of your readers furnish information in regard to, I. Lieut. Colonel Mellon of Colonel Weston's regiment, who was at the defense of Fort Schuyler in August, 1777. II. Thomas Mellon, a soldier of the war of 1812. His musket, captured from a Highlander at the battle of New Orleans, was on exhibition at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, as late as 1862; it has since disappeared. III. The place of interment of the poet Grenville Mellen, who died in New York City, September 5, 1841. He was the oldest son of Chief Justice Mellen of Maine. The records of Trinity, St. Paul's, St. John's, St. Mark's, and the Marble Cemetery have been examined without success. III. What branch of the family did the two soldiers mentioned above belong to?

G. M.

PORTRAIT OF FRANKLIN.—A letter from France mentions: "That the very capital Print of Dr. Franklin which was painted by order of his most Christian Majesty, is now placed in the Picture-Gallery, at Fontainebleau; and that at the bottom is the following short, but expressive inscription—*Homo*."—*Massachusetts Spy*, May 4, 1781.

Can any of your travelled friends inform us whether this portrait still hangs at Fontainebleau?

ARTIST.

## REPLIES

LAW OF PRIMOGENITURE IN MASSACHUSETTS.—(II. 128.) The law giving a *double* portion of the intestate estate to the eldest son was abolished by the Act of June 8, 1789.

A. H. H.

ANOTHER INTERESTING RELIC.—(I. 197.) A complimentary address to John Dickinson, by the Society of Fort St. David, was presented at Philadelphia, May 10, 1768, in a box made of "Heart of Oak." The following description of it from a newspaper of the day may interest your readers.

"The box was finely decorated, and the inscription neatly done in letters of gold. On the top was represented the cap of liberty on a spear, resting on a cypher of the letters I. D. Underneath a cypher in a semi-circular label, *Pro Patria*. Around the whole the following words: The Gift of the Governor and Society of Fort St. David's to the Author of the Farmer's Letters, in grateful testimony of the very eminent services thereby rendered to this Country, 1768.

On the inside of the top : The Liberties of the British Colonies in America asserted with Attic Eloquence and Roman Spirit, by John Dickinson, Esq., Barrister at Law."

On the inside of the bottom, "*Ita cuique eveniat Vt de Republica meriut.*" On the outside of the bottom, a sketch of Fort St. David's. MARKET ST.

BONSALL'S BASIN.—(I. 129.) John Bonsall, a lumber dealer in New York City, occupied the wharf between Dey's Dock and Cortlandt Street Dock. This wharf was on the line of the present Washington street. His place of business was known for some time after the Revolution as "Bonsall's Wharf," and the Slip between the two docks as "Bonsall's Basin." PETERSFIELD.

COLONEL JOHN LASHER.—(I. 129.) Colonel Lasher has a grandson, Mr. N. Lynde Griswold, now living at 58 East 10th street, who can give H. P. J. all information; also many great-grand-children, the children of his grand-daughter, Mrs. P. Lorillard. Being one of them I have his miniature, and other relics.

C. L. KERNOCHAN.

"STEPHEN HOPKINS OF THE MAYFLOWER."—(I. 54.) Savage gives a list of descendants. A. H. H.

THE CHRISTENING OF AMERICA.—(I. 193.) In the last number of the Magazine was a curious article on this subject, which makes it appear that the name "*Francia Antarctica*" was applied to South America before the name "*Terra*

*Sancta Crucis.*" The reverse is the truth; the latter appears on the map of Ruysch, 1508. The French generally called America "*Nova Francia*," and the map of Jerome da Verrazano calls it "*Nova Gallia.*" GOMEZ.

ORGAN BUILDING IN AMERICA.—(I. 53 133.) The following extract from the narrative of Father Sepp, missionary to Paraguay, South America, may help to settle the question as to the first organ built in America.

H. A. RATTERMAN, *Cincinnati, O.*

"Obedience to God commands P. Antonio Sepp to quit the nation of the three holy kings and to build an organ in European fashion."

Three full years I had exerted myself in working in the vineyard of the Three Holy Kings, in clearing the ground, planting and engrafting among my Christianized Indians. From many other far distant vineyards, apostolic vine-growers also sent me twigs and stocks to mix and mingle among my older and first-bearing vines. That is: In the above mentioned settlement I had established a music class, and had trained in it for 3 years my own Indians and those from other cantons. Missionaries employed in distant settlements sent me their pupils to be trained in vocal and instrumental music. To some I taught organ playing, to others 'pinching' of the harp mounted with double strings; others learned to play the tiorba, guitar and violin; others the clarinet and the reed-pipe. But this was not all; in several settlements the Indians were apprenticed by me to construct musical

instruments themselves, and some have indeed become masters of the craft and know perfectly well how to put up a clavicordium, finish a harp, or bore out the body of a flute or reed-pipe. A few days ago I ordered a large gimlet for this purpose at the locksmith's shop.

But we were still deficient of the main instrument of all music; that is of a good organ. A Spanish ship had in 1700 landed in Buenos Ayres a Dutch-made organ worth 1000 rixdollars in Holland, and costing as much as 5000 rixdollars at the landing place; but this organ remained in the Collegium in Buenos Ayres and we derived no profit from it for our cantons. This benefit been denied to us, the venerable Father Provincial Laurus Nuñez ordered me to build a similar organ in European style. At our village of the Holy Three Kings we were altogether deficient of all the materials needed for the purpose, but since Rev. Father Francis de Azebedo at the *Itapua* nation was well provided with lead, tin and wire, which are the most indispensable requisites for this kind of work, I repaired there at once and set myself up as an organ builder, more through blind obedience to Religion than from any inward vocation to this manufacturing art. This organ had to be larger than that at the hall of the large Congregation at Ingolstadt (Bavaria). Azebedo furnished me with a quantity of tin plates, bought of Spaniards settled here, from which to cast my organ pipes, but their font did not suffice for the construction of the largest pipes belonging to the *sub-bass* register. But hard necessity rendered me inventive. From the excellent ce-

dar-wood which grows in profusion around this place, I ordered thin plates or veneers to be sawed, glued them together with thin parchment, gave them the requisite length, width and thickness applied keys to them, and lo! the cedar-wood, silent for so long a period, commenced to roar, grumble and cry, so that the Fathers and the Indians in admiration ejaculated: *Victor! Victor! Father Antoniss!* (which is the Spanish term for *Vivat! Vivat!*) They were astonished at the contest inaugurated between the clear-voiced tin-pipes and the low-tuned, grumbling cedar-pipes, a thing never heard of before in Paraguaría.

They were, moreover, astounded at the fact that the clumsy human foot could become an instrument in playing the organ, and was thus associated to the pliable and ingeniously working fingers of the hand by Mother Nature, as their companion and helpmate; neither could they conceive how the pipes could be made to resound by the motion of the feet. But when I exhibited to them the secretly concealed tiny iron wires, which communicated with the wind-chamber, they exulted in praise over the ingenuity of the contrivance, which had heretofore been totally unknown in these countries. Not less puzzled were they when they saw that the pulling out of the register knobs changed the tune altogether. The organ was pitched to the height of the cornet-tune. Thus I built at the expense of our own settlement an European organ, which will for many a day praise the Three Holy Kings in whose Church it has been placed.

### MARCH PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Regular Monthly Meeting was held in the Hall of the Society, Tuesday evening, March 6th, 1877, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D. in the Chair.

The usual reports were submitted; that of the Librarian contained an announcement of the presentation by Messrs E. Ellery and Edward H. Anderson, sons of the late Dr. Henry J. Anderson, of three hundred and ninety two objects of interest to the Museum. These articles were collected by Dr. Anderson in his tour through the East in the years 1847 and 1848, and are chiefly Egyptian. The Society has been previously indebted to Dr. Anderson for the magnificent wooden sarcophagus and the mummy, now so prominent in the museum, and for thirty-nine smaller articles of rare antiquity. In all, the Anderson collection comprises four hundred and thirty-four specimens, a foundation for a museum in itself. With this generous donation added to the Abbott collection, which includes eleven hundred and twenty-seven articles, the Society now possesses fifteen hundred and fifty-one objects in the department of Egyptian antiquities alone. The American collection of antiquities has never yet been thoroughly displayed, the available space in the Library Room and galleries being insufficient for the purpose.

The Art Gallery of the Society is well known to its members if not to the general public. It now contains six hundred and ninety objects, which form the largest permanent collection ever exhib-

ited on this continent. Europeans who occasionally visit the building are amazed at the extent and value of this collection, and Americans returning from tours in England and the continent are surprised to find how well it compares with any but the Royal or National Galleries abroad. A few weeks since Signor Castillani, whose gathered treasures are now attracting attention in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, lingered long and lovingly over the exhibition in the Historical Society building, commending picture after picture, and stating that some of them are of the finest specimens of their several artists that he had ever met with. The need of a more northerly, central and accessible location is felt more and more each day.

Professor Roswell D. Hitchcock read a memorial notice of the late Professor Henry B. Smith, of the Union Theological Seminary of New York, a member of the Society, prepared at the request of the Executive Committee, for inscription on the minutes. This memoir, reciting the services of this eminent professor and divine in theologic history, we print in full.

According to the practice of the Society, the President of the United States was elected an honorary member.

The paper of the evening was a learned and elaborate sketch entitled "Cardinal Ximenes and America," by the Reverend Father P. F. Dealy, S. J. It treated of the origin, rise, and wonderful power of this remarkable man, in his trifold capacity of monk, prelate, and regent.

At its close the thanks of the Society were voted to the orator.

## MEMORIAL NOTICE

OF PROFESSOR HENRY B. SMITH, D. D.

*Read by Professor Roswell D. Hitchcock, D. D.,**before the N. Y. Hist. Soc., March 6, 1877.*

Fourteen years ago we mourned the loss and embalmed the memory of Edward Robinson: *clarum et venerabile nomen*. To-day we mourn another kindred loss, and embalm a kindred memory.

This bereavement is premature. There should have been at least ten years more of sober, steady, solid work. But the blade was too keen for its scabbard. It seems an enormous waste. Only we do not know what calls there may be for service where blades are never sheathed: and so we stand dumb once more before this tremendous mystery of death, equalled only by this other tremendous mystery of life.

Henry Boynton Smith was born in Portland, Maine, Nov., 21, 1815, not quite sixty-two years ago. He began life auspiciously in a happy home, in that beautiful eastern metropolis, noted for its intelligence and refinement; the birthplace of the poet Longfellow, the residence for many years of Payson, Cummings, Daveis, Preble, Greenleaf, Fessenden, Shepley, and others like them, accomplished divines, scholars, advocates, jurists and statesmen. His pastor was Dr. Ichabod Nichols, a courtly, cultured, gracious Christian gentleman. He could not have been born into a better atmosphere. He was a bright boy, of sunny, cheerful temper, and winsome ways; of ready wit, eager and quick to learn.

He graduated at Bowdoin College in 1834, in the same class with Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, of Constantinople, also a Portland boy and his life-long friend. Of the same College generation were Dr. Daniel R. Goodwin, of Philadelphia, two years before him; President William H. Allen of Girard College, and Professor Samuel Harris of New Haven, one year before him; Dr. George L. Prentiss, afterwards his colleague here, one year after him; and Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, and Dr. Benjamin F. Barker of this city, three years after him. So I think it always is in history, as in the firmament above us, the stars are clustered in constellations. What students do for one another is sometimes quite equal to what is done for them by their teachers. The President of the College in young Smith's time was Dr. William Allen, one of whose daughters he afterwards married.

His more pronounced religious life began in College; this determined his choice of a profession. He studied theology at Bangor and Andover, was tutor for a year at Bowdoin, and then spent nearly two years in Germany, chiefly at the Universities of Halle and Berlin, where he came in close contact with such men as Tholuck and Neander. Philosophy and history were already his favorite studies.

He came back to the United States with the stamp of superior scholarship indelibly set upon him. For one year, from 1840 to 1841, he had charge of the senior class at Bowdoin, while the new President, Dr. Leonard Woods, was absent in Europe. In 1842 he was settled over a Congregational Church in the little village of West Amesbury, Massachusetts. Even by that plain people he was equally beloved and admired. But he had suffered from epilepsy; his constitution was delicate, and his impulses and aptitudes decidedly scholastic. From 1845 to 1847 he gave instruction in Hebrew at Andover, without giving up his pastorate; and then, having resigned the pastorate, took the Chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Amherst College, succeeding Professor Nathan W. Fiske, who had recently died, where he now lies buried, in Jerusalem.

His career at Amherst answered, and more than answered, the early promise. Men, now distinguished in the higher walks of scholarship and thought, still feel the magnetism of his touch, and are still in motion towards the goal he set for them. Those were, perhaps, his most brilliant days. Afterwards he was deeper, broader, stronger; but never more athletic and inspiring. I well remember his appearance at Andover in the autumn of 1849, when he gave his capital address on *The Relations of Faith and Philosophy*. His fine face was radiant; his slight frame surcharged and dilated with thought and feeling; and his clean-cut, ringing English was like the voice of a trumpet, saying "Come up hither."

The year following brought him to New York, known personally to only two or three of them that voted for him. I will not say he had outgrown New England. In any other section of the country it would have been all the same. The time had come for a field, and a reputation, as broad as the continent. Here in the most cosmopolitan of our American cities, real metropolis, not of commerce only, but of politics, of science, of letters, and of art, he found a congenial and responsive home. He passed over also from the Congregational to the Presbyterian fold. He did this easily, not because he cared little for either of them, but because he loved them both, as, indeed, in the largeness of his charity, he loved all who loved the Lord.

The Union Theological Seminary, already strong in the world-wide reputation of its chief Professor, Dr. Edward Robinson, dates a new epoch in its history from the advent of Dr. Henry B. Smith. From 1850 to 1854 he occupied the Chair of Church History, making history a science, teaching history as it was then taught nowhere else among us. At the end of these four years he was carried by acclamation into the Chair of Systematic Theology. But here, too the historic spirit and method dominated. The Person of Christ, instead of absolute Divine determination, was the centre of his system. How

he handled this system only his pupils fully know. For subtlety of analysis, for sharpness of definition, for comprehensiveness and breadth of treatment, for vital push of intense personal conviction, he has had but few equals. To say he knew how to teach, would not adequately describe him. Teaching with him was not so much an art as an instinct. Reason, says Tertullian, is a kind of internal conversation. Professor Smith always made the impression of having first persuaded himself of whatever he had occasion to teach others. In no bad sense of the word would I call him sceptical; but evidently some of his most sacred beliefs were trophies, and not traditions. Having conquered for himself, he could lead others to victory.

As a preacher, it was not the fashion to praise him much. His voice was not strong enough for large popular assemblies. But his matter was always rich, his style felicitous, and his whole manner inimitably his own. Cultivated and thoughtful people always heard him gladly.

His learning was encyclopaedic. His studies led him out over vast territories. What he knew, he knew exactly, thoroughly, positively. And what he had once learned he appeared never to have forgotten. This was greatly to his advantage in all emergencies. As Moderator of the General Assembly in 1863, the opulence, variety, and aptness of his addresses were a surprise even to some who thought they had known him well.

The re-union, in 1871, of the long divided Presbyterian Church is, in great part, one of the monuments of his genius. He made such statements of doctrine, statements so precise, so luminous, so fair, that good men saw where they stood together, and where, without reproach or controversy, they might stand apart. The opening sermon preached by him before the General Assembly at Dayton, Ohio, in 1864, on *Christian Union and Ecclesiastical Reunion*, made it almost certain that the days of separation were numbered.

Of other monuments it is hardly time as yet to speak. In 1859 he founded *The American Theological Review*, which, after one or two changes, was united with *The Princeton Repertory* in 1872. Besides many valuable articles contributed by him, the department of "Theological and Literary Intelligence" was peculiarly his own. He published a great deal first and last; but I am sure he spent altogether too much of his time and strength in editing, though with many and great improvements, the works of others. His *Gieseler* and *Hagenbach* have done admirable service, but the world would have been the gainer had he put forth, in the same direction, independent works of his own.

His tabular *Church History*, published in 1859, is a condensed embodiment of what he accom-

plished in that department. Under the head of "General Characteristics," he gives, with great felicity, the gist of the whole matter. But he himself was looking forward to the publication of his theological lectures as the *opus magnum* of his life. While in full working power, he was in no haste to bring the great and growing mass of his material into its final shape; and when at last he resigned his Chair, his strength was no longer equal to the task. His notes, it may be, are sufficiently full and finished to be edited without injustice to his reputation. We shall know bye and bye, when the cloud has lifted a little from his home. Much use might, no doubt, be made of the note-books of his pupils.

But if this should fail, all is not lost. Hundreds of Christian scholars, in all quarters of the globe, are reproducing the lessons of his class-room. Through each one of these, other hundreds are reached, and will yet be reached, till his influence shall have exceeded all measurable bounds. Who will venture to say that the Anselms and Abelards of the Middle Age have done more by their writings than they did, and are doing still, by their contact with living men? Who knows how much of what we call human learning is floating down on the tide of oral tradition?

Dr. Smith was for a long time an invalid. Frail at the strongest, he broke down entirely in the winter of 1868, and was never quite himself again. A year and a half he spent abroad, in Germany, in Italy, in Greece, visiting also Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Constantinople. Resuming work in the Seminary in the autumn of 1870, again he faltered, and again he rallied, till in 1874, in great bitterness of disappointment, he finally resigned his Chair. He was, however, at the same time made Professor Emeritus, and appointed Lecturer in Apologetics. Twice he undertook his work in this new department, but each time broke down under it. But still he hoped, and still there remained so much of vitality, that, in the autumn of 1876, he was chosen Lecturer on the Ely Foundation, and expected to be ready for the service at the time appointed. Towards the end of December he took a severe cold, from which he never recovered. Others may have been apprehensive in regard to the result, but he himself apparently was not expecting to die so soon. Once he spoke of having ceased to cumber himself with the things of this world, but that was all. He died on Wednesday morning, February the seventh, 1877.

What now shall be his epitaph? I will not write: Here lies a man who was without self-consciousness, and without ambition. Such epitaph would not be true, and would not be creditable, if true. Let this be written: Here lies an intrepid Christian scholar, who accepted life as a battle, and went into it afraid of none but God, afraid of nothing but sin.



(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**A HISTORY OF NEW SWEDEN, OR THE SETTLEMENTS ON THE RIVER DELAWARE**, by ISRAEL ACRELIUS, Provost of the Swedish Churches in America. Translated from the Swedish, with an Introduction and Notes, by WILLIAM M. REYNOLDS, D. D. 8vo, pp. 458. Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1876.

This volume, the eleventh of the series, is a translation of the "Description of the Former and Present Condition of the Swedish Churches in what was called New Sweden, afterwards New Netherland, but at the present time Pennsylvania, together with the adjacent places on the River de la Ware, West Jersey, and New Castle County, in North America," published at Stockholm in 1759. The translation of this simple narrative of the early beginnings of the Scandinavian emigration to America, which has of late years increased in such vast proportion, is the realization of a long expressed desire of American historical students. This first Swedish colony in the Western World was the conception of Gustavus Adolphus in 1624, when, as the introduction to the work before us informs us, this far-seeing, sagacious monarch sought to found in the New World a free State, where the liberty of conscience, then imperilled in the Old, should be forever secure; new wars, however, diverted the great soldier from his purpose, and it was not till after his death that his prime minister, wise councillor and friend, Axel Oxenstiern, carried his plans to execution.

The right of settlement on the Delaware was a subject of dispute between the Swedes and the Netherlands, who had already visited the country, while the English also put in a formidable claim of priority of discovery. On the decline of Swedish power, the Swedish settlement fell under the sway of Holland, but the interest of the Swedish people in their far distant colony outlived the severance of political bonds, and close relations were maintained for a long period. It is of the history of these relations that the narrative of the pastor mainly treats, although there are numerous interesting descriptions of the early habits of the colony, and of the first establishment of iron furnaces and steel works on this continent. The list of books in the Swedish language, sent out at the king's expense for the use of the mission, is of bibliographic value. It is needless to say that the volume is edited with conscientious care.

**AMERIKAS FORENEDE STATERS HISTORIE**, Tre delarne, 12mo. Chicago, 1874-

1876. (History of the United States of America. In three parts, 12mo. Chicago. Office of the "Scandinavian Periodical," 1874 1876. With a map of the United States.)

This historical handbook is written by a Norwegian in the Danish language, in a succinct and very readable style, and is divided into three parts, each of which treats of one of the great historical periods through which our country has passed. The first volume embodies the time of the colonization of the country and the revolutionary war, together with statistical remarks on the several States of the Union down to the present time. The second volume describes the events that occurred from 1783 to the commencement of the civil war, and carefully records all the constitutional changes of the Union as well as of the States, the struggles of the political parties and the gradual increase of foreign immigration. Only the third volume bears the name of its author, David Monrad Schøyen, on the title page. This part treats only of the civil war, and is perhaps the most fascinating of all the three for the general reader, and as Mr. Schøyen does not side with one or the other party there is truth and impartiality throughout his book. On the whole, this History, of about 200 pages each volume, is a fair attempt to popularize our history in the minds of a northern people which annually sends to our shores over 2,000 of the most industrious and thrifty laborers, mainly employed in mining and farming. For them this handbook is a welcome gift to instruct themselves after working hours in the wondrous developments of our broad land, and to acquaint them with the peculiarities of the Anglo-American mind.

**THE HISTORY OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION DURING THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**, by GEORGE WASHINGTON WARREN. With illustrations. 8vo, pp. 42. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1877.

After the noble oration of Daniel Webster in 1825, when Lafayette was one of the audience, and again in 1843, there would not seem to be much left to be said about the battle of Bunker Hill, or the glorious dead who lie beneath the granite obelisk which recalls the famous seventeenth of June, 1775. The purpose of the present elegant volume is to preserve every thing of minor interest connected with the event itself, and its various commemorations, including the famous centennial celebration, which opened the new century with an exuberance of national

pride and patriotic sentiment, which was of happiest augury to the peace and harmony of the Republic. Many of the illustrations are original; some of them admirable.

**THE FLEETS OF THE WORLD—THE GALLEY PERIOD.** By FOXHALL A. PARKER, Commodore, U. S. Navy. 8vo, pp. 235. D. VAN NOSTRAND. New York, 1876.

This volume, dedicated by the gallant Commodore to his brother seamen of every clime, is the result of an effort to bring together in a connected form the annals of the naval combats of the world, grouped in a manner to convey a clear idea of the progress of naval architecture and marine warfare. This the initial volume takes up the galley period, from the primitive junk of the Chinese to the heavy oared ships of the Spanish Armada, which, tossed by storms and harried by the English lighter fleet, came to grief on the Channel coast in 1558. In this rapid sketch the classical student will find a seaman's review of the great sea fight off Salamis, when the Grecian Triremes utterly destroyed the vast fleet of Xerxes, and saved Greece from the Persian invasion; and here also the story of the not less famous engagement of Actium, when Octavius wrested from Antony the dominion of a world. In these interesting pages we learn what manner of crafts were those, with dragon prows, with which the Norse Vikings carried terror up every stream in Western Europe, and perhaps first explored our own hemisphere.

We heartily commend this volume to youthful readers. Books conveying picturesque views of continuous interest are invaluable to the student, impressing the memory through the imagination. The style of the Commodore is graceful, his technical judgment seems to us just, and the general handling of the subject attractive.

**BI-CENTENARY OF THE BURNING OF PROVIDENCE IN 1676.** Defense of the Rhode Island System of the treatment of the Indians, and of Civil and Religious Liberty. An Address delivered before the Rhode Island Historical Society, April 10, 1876, by ZACHARIAH ALLEE, LL. D. 8vo, pp. 34. Providence, 1876.

This is a very pretty fight as it stands, in which we feel no disposition to take a hand. The learned author draws a strong contrast between the different systems of polity of the Massachusetts colony and the little Rhode Island settlement. The one he styles an attempt by the hard Puritans of Plymouth Rock "to establish a Jewish caste and system of combined ecclesiastical and civil laws for the government of mankind in the New World;" the other as "the Mission of Roger Williams to carry out practi-

cally the Christian's doctrine of peace and good will to men, not only to the Indians, but to all his fellow men on earth."

The comparison is just; but in justice to the Jews, it should be remembered that the severity of their law was absolutely necessary to their self preservation, surrounded as they were by hostile nations. Only by sternest law, and most vigorous application, have such small races as the Hebrew or Spartan been able to preserve their autonomy. The Puritans had no such excuse. The pages of the early history of New England are stained in blood. The treacherous capture of Miantinomo, his trial and conviction by the Convocation of Ministers at Boston, and his death by what Dr. Allen calls their "clerical decree," are related and condemned.

**THE PROGRESS OF PROVIDENCE. A CENTENNIAL ADDRESS TO THE CITIZENS OF PROVIDENCE, R. I.,** by Hon. SAMUEL GREENE ARNOLD. With a Poem, by GEORGE WILLIAM PETTES. Delivered July 4, 1876. (City document No. 33.) 8vo, pp. 55.

This is a rapid summary of the history of the Rhode Island capital, from the time when, in June, 1636, Roger Williams and his five companions crossed the Seekonk to Slate Rock, and sailing up the Moshassuck, gave the name of Providence to a sheltering cove, near which he landed. The centennial student will note with satisfaction the glorious part played by the Rhode Island Colony in the struggle for liberty. The people of Providence were first among those who displayed a spirit of resistance; and of all the Governors only one, Samuel Ward of Rhode Island, utterly refused to take the oath to sustain the Stamp Act. To the honor of Providence, be it forever remembered, that while she remembered her own rights, she did not forget those of others, and that as early as 1774 her people voted in town meeting that the General Assembly be petitioned to declare that "all negroes born in the Colony shall be free after a certain age, and to prohibit any further importation of slaves."

We cannot assent, however, to the claim of the distinguished historian, that to "Providence is due the honor of priority in recommending a Continental Congress (May 17, 1774). Four years before (June 2, 1770), the New York Committee of Correspondence, dissatisfied with the unequal observance of the non-importation agreements, addressed circular letters to the cities of all the neighboring colonies, inviting them to send deputies to Norwalk, Connecticut, on the 18th of same month; "the deputies to be empowered by their different constituents to communicate without reserve their respective sentiments, and to adopt one general system for the benefit of the whole."

This was the germ of the American Union. Mr. Pettes must excuse our silence. We are not judges of poetry.

**VALEDICTORY ADDRESS OF HON. CLARK JILLSON, MAYOR OF WORCESTER,** delivered before the City Council December 29, 1876. 8vo., pp. 19. CHARLES HAMILTON, Worcester, 1876.

This account of the progress of Worcester is a satisfactory testimonial to the intelligence and activity of its people. The honorable gentleman, the author, is more widely known as the first President of the Sons of Vermont, in which capacity he delivered an address to that Society in 1874.

**CELEBRATION BY THE INHABITANTS OF WORCESTER, MASS., OF THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,** July 4, 1876, to which are added historical and chronological notes. 8vo., pp. 146. Printed by the order of the City Council. Worcester, 1876.

The centennial contribution of Worcester to our national history. No man could have been more appropriately invited to deliver the oration on this interesting occasion than the gentleman to whom we owe the scholarly and elegant address which is the interesting feature of this volume. The name of Thomas is indissolubly connected with Worcester, and Judge Benj. F. Thomas is a worthy descendant of that venerable author, printer, publisher and antiquarian, Isaiah Thomas, whose name is a household word with historians and bibliophiles. Besides passages of brilliant and lofty thought, the student of our institutions will find philosophic opinions on the origin, nature and future of our government, the natural result of mature wisdom and judicial study, which give to this oration a merit and value beyond that which we are accustomed to hear on such occasions.

The New York reader will find with pleasure the opinion of Judge Thomas that it is to her Legislature and probably to her great statesman, Hamilton, that the country was indebted for the "first suggestion of a national government with sovereign powers," and the success of the experiment of 1789 after the failure of the Confederation.

**HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF GALVESTON. SERIES, No. 1. REMINISCENCES OF THE TEXAS REPUBLIC.** Annual Address delivered before the Historical Society of Galveston, December 15, 1875, by ASHBEL SMITH, with a

preliminary notice of the Historical Society of Galveston. 8vo., pp. 82. Published by the Society, Galveston, Texas, 1876.

The generation now passing from the stage remember well the day when the annexation of Texas was the one all important question. Indeed the act itself was the beginning of a policy of continental expansion which, appalling as it appeared to those who then believed that our State system would not endure such a strain, is now the accepted irrevocable policy of the people of the United States, and the government, of the weakness of which there were many complaints, has proved, as was quaintly remarked by a rival and friend of Mr. Ashbel Smith (the late Andrew J. Hamilton), "strong enough for common uses."

As Mr. Smith was immediately connected, directly or indirectly, with the annexation, his statements will be read with interest, and even those who care nothing for the merits of the old controversy will find in the perusal of this inaugural pamphlet of a society (to which we wish all success,) instruction and profit.

**AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE VERMONT ASSOCIATION OF CHICAGO,** January 17, 1877, by JOHN MATTOCKS. 8vo., pp. 23. BEACH, BARNARD & Co., Chicago, 1877.

The Vermonters carry their spirit with them; the spirit born in the pure ether of the blue hills. The present is quite a dashing sketch of the struggles between New York and New Hampshire for jurisdiction over the New Hampshire grants, as the territory of Vermont was called until it assumed its present name in 1778. In 1781 the hardy Green Mountain boys, who seem to have cared nothing for man nor devil, for New Hampshire men or New Yorkers, their British neighbors or the Continental Congress, enlarged her boundaries by a bold extension of her territorial line. New York and New Hampshire resisted the encroachment, and in the words of Mr. Mattocks, "Vermont prepared for war." Then was the occasion for the song—

"Ho all to the borders! Vermonters come down  
With your breeches of deer skin, and jackets of brown,  
With your red woolen caps and your moccasins come  
To the gathering measures of trumpet and drum.

On our South come the Dutchmen, enveloped in grease,  
And arming for battle while canting of peace;  
On our east crafty Meshech has gathered his band  
To hang up our leaders and eat out our land.

We cannot follow the rest of this independent production.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, HELD AT WORCESTER, OCTOBER 21, 1876. 8vo, pp. 75. CHARLES HAMILTON. Worcester, 1876.

This pamphlet, No. 67 of the series, includes the reports of the Council, Librarian and Treasurer of this well endowed Society. Our worthy friends have no thought of hiding their light under a bushel, as may be seen by the remarks of one of their number on the present attitude of the Verrazzano controversy. "The time," it was said, "seems not yet to have arrived when this Society should attempt a judicial decision upon the claims made in behalf of John Verrazzano to the distinction of being the discoverer of a large portion of the North American coast in the year 1524, nor have the arguments on the one side and the other yet been fully submitted." *Pendente lite*, the Antiquarian Society modestly reserves its opinion, but the hope was expressed that "Mr. Deane (Charles) will close the whole case by a judicial decision, which, like all his final decisions of historical questions, shall be subject neither to error nor appeal." This brings vividly to memory the account, of meteoric coruscation about the head of this distinguished gentleman, in the report of 1869. When the day of judgment in the Verrazzano case shall be set by the Society, may we be there to hear and see. There are some other questions we should like to have finally settled by this court of last resort.

We cannot pass unnoticed the approbation given to the famous clause in the Body of Liberties, which is termed the Magna Charta of New England. It reads: "There shall never be any bond slavery, villinage or captivity amongst us, unless it be *lawful captives* taken in just wars, and such *strangers* as willingly sell themselves or are *sold to us*." A narrow code of personal freedom. Those who would understand the real spirit which governed New England with regard to the Indians and blacks, must consult the exhaustive volume of Dr. George H. Moore, in whose pages we find satisfactory evidence that our Puritan friends were no better than their neighbors.

NEW HAMPSHIRE AT THE CENTENNIAL. THE ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR CHENEY; THE ORATION OF PROFESSOR E. D. SANBORN, of Dartmouth College; and an account of the other exercises on New Hampshire Day at Philadelphia, October 12, 1876. Compiled by J. BAILEY MOORE. 8vo, pp. 54. JOHN B. CLARKE. Manchester, 1876.

The first of the accounts of the proceedings of

the State representations at Philadelphia which we have seen. There cannot be too many of them.

BULLETIN OF THE PILGRIM RECORD SOCIETY IN THE INTEREST OF A METHOD IN GENEALOGICAL STUDIES, AND FOR THE PUBLICATION OF FAMILY PEDIGREES AND HISTORIES. Centennial issue. Vol. I, Nos. 7-8. 8vo, pp. 14. DAVID P. HOLTON, M. D., Editor and Publisher, 19 Great Jones street, New York, 1877.

The purpose of this enthusiastic genealogist seems to be to gather together material for a Register of the descendants of each and every Pilgrim Father to the present time.

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY PAPERS, Vol. III, No. 2, February, 1877. Rev. J. WILLIAM JONES, D. D., Editor. Richmond, Va.

This issue contains quite a number of valuable articles, among which we notice General R. H. Anderson's Report of the Battle of Gettysburg, and a number of letters on the treatment and exchange of prisoners. The Confederate Roster is also continued, and will prove a valuable reference table for the personnel of the Confederacy.

THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, Auburn, N. Y. A discourse delivered on successive Sabbaths, July 2d and 9th, 1876, in accordance with the recommendation of the General Assembly in the observance of the nation's centennial, by CHARLES HAWLEY, D. D., Pastor. 8vo, pp. 75. Auburn, 1876.

A modest and faithful record of this organization, including notices of its eminent pastors, among whom Theodore Spencer and Dr. Lansing bore names of note in the annals of the State.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF MIDDLETOWN, R. I., FROM ITS ORGANIZATION IN 1743 TO THE CENTENNIAL, 1876, by Hon. SAMUEL GREENE ARNOLD. 8vo, pp. 48, and Appendix, pp. xiv. JOHN P. SANBORN & Co. New York, 1876.

Still another of the Centennial sketches. The reader need hardly expect to find much of independent interest in this history of this little town, which is essentially that of its more important and dominant neighbor, New York, nor need he look to find many new facts. The style and manner of arrangement are of course excellent.

## HISTORY OF THE RISE AND FALL

OF THE SLAVE POWER IN AMERICA, by HENRY WILSON. Vol. III. 8vo., pp. 774. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co. Boston. 1877.

This, the closing volume of Mr. Wilson's history, the preparation of which was interrupted by his death, has been carried to completion by the Rev. Samuel Hunt, who has been the associate of this distinguished author from the inception of the work.

It opens with the insurrectionary movements in the Southern States on the election of Lincoln as President of the United States on the 6th November, 1860, and closes with the final struggle between the opposing forces in the last great acts of the irrepressible conflict; the adoption on the 30th of March, 1870, of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which guaranteed every citizen against any abridgement of his electoral rights on account of race or color or previous condition of servitude, and the passage on the 22d of May, 1874, of the Civil Rights bill, providing that there should be no discrimination in civil rights on account of the conditions already named.

These two grand acts of legislation have placed the black *before the law* in a position of entire equality, civil and political, with the white race. Whether practical equality has been secured is quite another question. No philanthropist or friend of the black race but would have preferred a settlement of the terrible question of slavery by other than a military proclamation as a war necessity. Sagacious statesmanship would have devised a more gradual change of the relation of master and slave; the application of the most liberal laws in States where they were less liberal, the arrest of the separation of families, and perhaps a form of serfdom as an intermediate step to the final perfect freedom. No one can doubt but that the interest of the black would have been better served in some such gradual plan. The moderate men of both sections hoped for such action, but they formed a small and narrow belt between the vast numbers, who on the one side believed that slavery was an unmitigated good, on the other an unmitigated evil; a blessing or a curse. The war made that acceptable which was surely undesirable, and today few can be found who do not heartily accept the entire emancipation of the slave. But this acceptance by no means involves an acquiescence in the granting of equal political rights. It can not be doubted that every body politic has a right to decide for itself what shall be the rule of its increase, and may properly discriminate by legislation against those whom it does not desire to receive into its membership. But this right was again set aside in the necessity of giving protection to those who, though by general law free from the authority of their masters, were yet under a

moral and social domination. The choice was to be made between the protection of the national arm through military occupation, or the self protection which it was supposed the ballot would confer. We can not follow the author through the history of this momentous contest. There is no thought of compromise with the moral question in the tone of this sturdy and consistent abolitionist. The struggle is not at an end, and the end is not near. Volumes will yet recite its incidents. Words are not things. We predict, however, that the solution will be peaceful, and that it will be in accord with the interest of both races, and that it will be found in the labor of the South. *Labor omnia vincit* is most true of this question, though in a sense which the strict Latinist may not accept. When the freedom of the West India islands opens to the colored race a field of labor, the most profitable upon earth, in the magnificent and exuberant richness of its soil, our Southern friends will find it hard to check the emigration which, stimulated by American and European enterprise and capital, and protected by the power of United States citizenship, will surely at once begin.

## SEEKING THE GOLDEN FLEECE; A

RECORD OF PIONEER LIFE IN CALIFORNIA; to which is annexed footprints of early navigators other than Spanish in California, with an account of the voyage of the schooner Dolphin, by J. D. B. STILLMAN (with plates). 8vo., pp. 352. A. ROMAN & Co., San Francisco. 11 Howard street, New York, 1877.

This pleasing and charmingly printed volume, dedicated to the Argonauts of California who sought a golden fleece amid vicissitudes and trials to which the mythical Greeks were strangers, will give satisfaction to many a disappointed as well as to many a fortunate digger in the Pactolian sands. Well do we remember the exciting days in 1848, when the Tarolinta and the Cristobal Colon, deep freighted and carrying as passengers the flower of our youth, tempted the terrors of the Cape Horn passage. Many a gay frequenter of metropolitan ball rooms turned his broad shoulders and well trained limbs to sterner duties, and carried trunks or drove carts through the streets of San Francisco for bread *without butter*. The inconveniences of the passage are vividly recited in a journal written on board the ship Pacific at sea. The captains were not popular in those days. Passengers were exorbitant in their expectations, and their claims were often met with the indifference of those who never expected or wished to see them again. We predict for this sketchy volume a lively demand from the "Pioneers," to whom Dr. Stillman is well known. The illustrations though unimportant are neatly executed.

## OBITUARY

## FRANCISCO VICENTE AGUILERA

This eminent patriot was born in the city of Bayamo, in the Eastern Department of the Island of Cuba, the 23d June, 1821.

His parents were Senor Don Antonio Maria Aguilera, Colonel of the disciplined militia of Cuba and Bayamo, and Senora Doña Juana Famyayo, both belonging to wealthy and distinguished families.

He received his primary and secondary training in the city of Santiago de Cuba, made part of his studies of philosophy and jurisprudence in the Seminary College of San Basilio el Magno in that city, and completed his education at the Colleges of Carraguao and of San Carlos in Havana, in which latter university he obtained the degree of Bachelor of Laws in the year 1842.

He made a voyage to the United States, and attracted by its institutions, concluded to abandon his career as a lawyer in Havana and to return hither to make a more complete study of them, and later to visit some of the countries of Europe. But the whole plan fell to the ground upon the death of his elder brother, who, after the decease of his father, which happened about the year 1834-5, had managed the extensive estates belonging to their mother and themselves. Aguilera found that to take his place he must relinquish his studies, and abandon his profession and his subsequent plans. Thenceforward he devoted himself to the care of his aged mother and the administration of the property which, from its magnitude, required all his time and attention. On the death of his brother he also assumed the charge of perpetual Regidor of the Council of Bayamo, which he later abandoned in favor of the Treasury.

In the year 1848 he married in Santiago de Cuba the Señorita Donna Ana Kindelan, one of the most beautiful heiresses of the city, and belonging to a noble and respected family. Her ancestor, Señor Don Sebastian Kindelan, had been Governor of Florida and Captain-General of the Island of Cuba. Of this marriage were born sons, of whom several died on the battlefield, struggling for the independence of their native land.

By popular vote, Aguilera was chosen Chief Alcalde of the city of Bayamo, in which position he showed noble sentiments of heart, and a generous and conciliatory spirit. After repeated entreaties by his friends, he accepted the post tendered him by the Governor of Commander of the Militia of Bayamo, displayed in the exercise of his functions his administrative qualities, introduced a discipline greatly wanting in that body, and lifted it from the degradation into which it had fallen: he imbued it with those ideas of decorum and self-respect, which should be the attribute of every soldier to whom it is given to

defend the interests of his country. This object accomplished, he resigned his charge a few months later.

Although Aguilera enjoyed a large fortune, greatly increased by the death of his mother in 1862, and although occupying a position which commanded the respect of all the authorities of the Eastern Department, he could not witness with indifference the oppression and tyranny to which his countrymen were subjected. The Cuban revolution was fomenting in his brain.

The apparent moderation with which the Captains General Don Francisco Serrano and Don Domingo Dulce treated the Cubans during their respective terms of office, the toleration of the meetings of their *juntas* to discuss these questions, and the appointment by the Spanish Government of an investigating committee, as a preliminary to the liberal concessions demanded, leading them to expect such concessions, they withheld all expression of their sentiments. But when upon the return to the island of the persons elected to take part in this *junta*, the nomination of General Don Francisco Lersundi (a man opposed to every liberal idea) as Captain-General of the Island, the establishment by him of Military Commissions to inquire into civil complaints, and the enormous direct tax of ten per cent. laid upon property, professions, industry, and commerce, made it clear that the liberties of Cuba could not be reached by any other than an armed revolution, Aguilera at once looked about him to see in what way to reach this end.

The 2d of August, 1867, he met with two friends to discuss the subject, and a scheme of revolution was formed; he set to work with great earnestness, but while occupying himself with gathering money resources for the purchase of material of war, the conspiracy was discovered, and before the chiefs even were notified, the revolution broke out with a limited quantity of arms and ammunition. This took place the 10th October, 1868.

Aguilera was that day in the district of Cabaniguan, all the lands of which were his own exclusive property; here he had several breeding and cattle farms: the purpose of his visit being to assemble all his hands and the natives of the country to take part in the struggle at its opening. There he learned by a special messenger that the revolution had been declared the 10th October, and that the day had been anticipated to avoid the calamity of the arrest of the principal leaders, which had been ordered by the government officials of Bayamo and Manzanillo.

He at once set out with three hundred picked men, all well mounted, armed with cutlasses, some with fire arms, all of which had been manufactured at the cost of Aguilera. On the 20th of October he entered Bayamo, the capital of the new Republic.

While these events were transpiring, Aguilera had already informed his favorite slave, Francisco, in whom he placed entire confidence, that he and his companions were now wholly free, but that he would not announce it to them until he could go in person to his estates. As soon as he could find leisure from his pressing duties he went to his several estates, and assembling his slaves upon each, he gave them their freedom papers, and added these words: "The revolution which we have commenced is not only to free ourselves from the yoke of Spain, but one of its principal objects is to perform an act of justice and reparation by proclaiming the absolute emancipation of the black; know therefore that you are wholly free, and may dispose of your persons as you may choose." Six hundred slaves were from this moment free.

The greater number of them, after expressing their delight at this act of generosity on the part of their master and of all the Cubans, told Aguilera that they wished to follow him and share his fortunes, and they obeyed his orders up to the time that he ceased to be General of the Army of the East.

At the outbreak of the revolution the memorable Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, who in October had unfurled the banner of freedom and proclaimed the independence of the Island from Spain, was chosen its head. Aguilera was chosen second in command, and on his arrival at Bayamo entered upon his duties.

The 25th October the Chief of the Provisional Cuban Government was informed that Colonel Campillo had left Manzanilla with a column of seven hundred men and was marching upon Bayamo; General Aguilera received orders to stop his advance, and with eighty men, of which only forty-five were provided with fire arms, he posted himself close to the bridge which spans the river Babatuaba, and not only prevented its passage by Campillo's column of over seven hundred men, but he forced them to retrace their steps to their quarters at Manzanillo, which they did not again leave till a long time after.

On the establishment of the Republican Government on the 10th April, 1869, Cespedes was nominated President and Aguilera Secretary of War. A month and a half later he was elected Vice President, with orders to cross over to the State of the East, in the capacity of General-in-Chief, to organize the forces of that State. His courage, energy, temperance and self-abnegation, acquired for him the respect and admiration of the army.

Never in the most difficult situations through which the revolution passed, even at the period when the Cuban army was without arms, ammunition and even provisions, did Aguilera despair, although he had to confront an army of over one hundred thousand men, well disciplined, armed and supplied. He always said to his soldiers:

"Be of good cheer, countrymen, liberty is only purchased at the cost of blood and sacrifice; let us persevere in the sacred work we have undertaken, and never doubt one moment; our cause, which is that of justice, must inevitably triumph." And the distinguished general was not mistaken. Five years have passed, and the Cuban revolution seems about to draw to its close with the complete triumph of the Cuban arms.

In June, 1871, he was commissioned by the Government to visit the city of New York, accompanied by the Secretary of Foreign Relations, Señor Ramon Cespedes, upon an important mission. On his assumption of the foreign agency of the Republic, Señor Aldama, who had occupied this important position, resigned his charge. Aguilera did all in his power to fulfill his mission, and he won the approval and consideration of his countrymen residing here. His mission terminated, he made the most strenuous efforts to return to Cuba and to his post, but the natural hazard of war prevented.

In his last attempt he contracted a mortal disease, from which, during four months, he suffered acute pain, and of which he died at half-past ten o'clock the 2d of February last. His mortal remains lay in state for twenty-four hours in the Governor's Room in the City Hall of New York, a distinguished honor, which shows the appreciation in which the character of this illustrious Cuban was held by the city authorities.

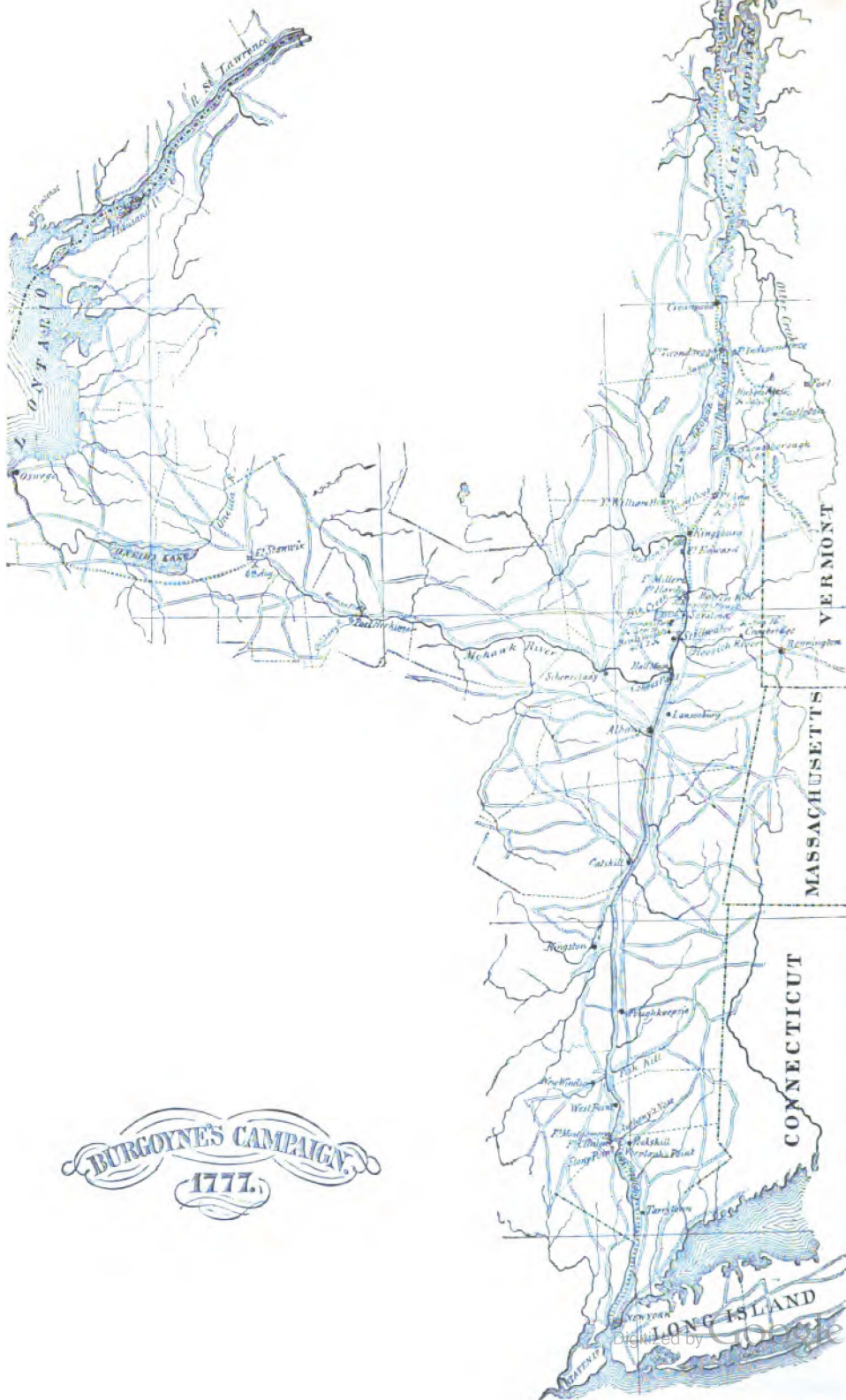
The 26th of the same month of February, at ten o'clock in the morning, followed by more than three thousand persons, his body was carried to the "Marble Cemetery," there to remain until Cuba, free from her tyrants, shall transfer them to the City of Bayamo, where they may rest in the tomb of his ancestors.

In reviewing the life of this philanthropist and patriot, not the least sad reflection is that it was not permitted him to see the result of his sacrifice and labor in the freedom and regeneration of his native land. After a struggle marked by untold atrocity on the part of the mother country, in which the best blood of Spain has been recklessly and unprofitably wasted, the day of Cuban triumph seems to be near at hand. With the Antilles free and the slave trade wholly broken up, a field will be found for black labor which may present a solution to the most difficult question of the day.

The black population of Cuba has been essentially maintained by direct importation; the policy of the slave trader being to import males only, there has been no natural increase. The void which will occur when peace is established and the slave trade becomes piracy, must be filled. The island, which in 1869 contained 1,400,000 souls, nearly equally divided between free and slave, is capable of maintaining an enormous population.







BURGOYNE'S CAMPAIGN  
1777.

LONG ISLAND  
Original by Google

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## THE BATTLE OF SARATOGA

BURGOYNE AND THE NORTHERN CAMPAIGN, 1777

THE Campaign of Burgoyne, with its attendant circumstances, has had so much light thrown upon it by skillful writers that its review at the present time may seem unnecessary—even presumptuous. Yet, as artists of greater or less capacity are encouraged to repeat a theme, made familiar by the works of great masters, so, perhaps, may be justified this attempt to portray again the great historical drama that opened so exultingly in June, 1777, near the banks of the St. Lawrence river, and terminated amid so many tragic elements in October of the same year, on the banks of the Hudson.

Few important events have occurred in the history of the world, which, in unity of purpose and culminating interest, are more intensely dramatic; and few have occupied so vast a theatre. For its northern boundary we must enter Canada at the Three Rivers, where the British and German winter encampment was deserted; on the west we find the famous carrying place of the Indians between the head waters of the Oswego and the Mohawk, where stood Fort Stanwix, an important point in the action; on the east were the Hampshire Grants, just moulding themselves into an organized government, where the British met their first repulse; and toward the south, in the Jerseys, those momentous manœuvres took place that formed a huge side-play to the stirring events further northward; the main armies there were but holding each other in check, while the over-confident English forces from Canada poured through that unhinged gateway of the north, Ticonderoga, and swept on southward to meet their final fate in the picturesque region of Old Saratoga.

We, of the present time, can easily picture to ourselves the magnificent stage on which these events took place; we, who so often traverse this region by land and water; passing through the lovely valley of the

Mohawk from Albany to Lake Ontario ; thence skirting the great northern wilderness, as we sweep around it by water into the borders of Canada, and from there returning through the great river-like Lake Champlain to Whitehall, the old Skenesborough. Again we pass over fair hills, and by the historic Wood Creek to Fort Edward, and thence by romantic carriage rides, or on the lazy canal, to the mouths of the Mohawk, and to Albany again. Here, resting on the tranquil waters of the great Hudson, our sumptuous boat is soon borne onward past the Highlands, where Putnam stood guard at Peekskill ; and lower down, where we look for the sites of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, and the fire-ravaged town of Kingston. We are stirred by memories of the anxieties, the hopes, the fluctuations of despair and joy that swayed our countrymen of that time ; and we are not unmindful of the agony of longing with which the ambitious Burgoyne listened for one sound of victory, or of hearty cooperation from this region, while he clung to his last foothold before the victorious army of the Patriots. Landing at New York, our imagination still filled with these visions of the past, we naturally turn to the western shores of the bay ; there the names that float so vaguely in our minds—Morristown, Middlebrook, Quibbletown, and Brunswick—seem suddenly vivified, and resolve themselves into a hieroglyphic that reads : "Remember Washington !" It was his grasp of large events, his steadfastness of purpose, and his firm directing rein, that brought into harmony and effect the conflicting and seemingly inefficient forces that made the closing scene of this spectacle a triumph that astonished the world.

The importance of this triumph upon the fortunes of the American struggle for Independence is undisputed. The Battle of Saratoga is declared upon high authority to be one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world. The reactionary feeling it called forth in the Colonies, after the disasters and anxieties of the campaign of the previous year in Canada, strengthened public sentiment in favor of the patriotic cause, and filled the depleted ranks of the army. It led directly to the indispensable assistance received from France, and thus to the later recognition of other foreign Governments. As in the last French and English war, the campaign of 1759, which embraced the rocky heights of Quebec, the great water line of New York, and the western posts on the great lakes, was the decisive campaign ; so by this one of 1777, similar in construction, it was proposed by the English King and his American Minister, Lord Germaine, to divide and crush the Colonies, and terminate the war.

General Burgoyne, who had witnessed the battle of Bunker Hill, and had watched with critical judgment the cautious movements of Sir Guy Carleton during the year 1776, had in the latter part of that year returned to England and held long consultations with the King and Germaine. Burgoyne brought his military knowledge and experience, and his brilliant intellectual powers into play in depicting to them the wisdom and efficiency of Amherst's campaign of 1759. May he not also have held in his fervid imagination some picture of himself in the near future receiving such honors as had been awarded to Amherst? We know the result of those consultations; how a definite and explicit plan was formed in England by which every particular in regard to the movement of troops in Canada was specified, even to the number that should garrison each successive post; how Sir Guy Carleton was ignored, and ordered to hand over the army of invasion to General Burgoyne; and how, upon leaving the Canadian boundaries, that army was to be wholly independent of Carleton. Orders were also forwarded to Sir William Howe, at New York, to cooperate with this enterprise by proceeding up the Hudson river to join Burgoyne at Albany. These orders do not appear to have been so peremptory as those which were to control the northern division of the army; at least Lord Howe interpreted them very freely. He not only sailed south, toward Philadelphia, with the main army, while Burgoyne was pushing toward him from the north, but he left Sir Henry Clinton at New York with purely discretionary powers in regard to such cooperation.

It was also arranged by Lord Germaine that an expedition should be sent to Fort Stanwix by way of Lake Ontario, which should make its way thence through the Mohawk valley to Albany; and St. Leger was designated as the proper person for its command. The New England Colonies were also to be threatened with invasion; upon this order General Burgoyne based very strongly his defense, before the Parliamentary Committee, of his disastrous movement upon Bennington.

It is thus seen that the culmination of this great scheme was directed against the very heart—the vital existence of the great province of New York, even then the most important, the most vigorous of those thirteen young giants who stood so sullenly, defiantly, and yet reluctantly at bay to receive the blow that would decide whether they should submit to the unreasonable demands of a tyrannical parent, or remain free for the development of a full manhood.

When Burgoyne arrived at Quebec, in May, he found Carleton ready to aid him with alacrity, and in a very short time the troops that had

been in winter quarters and the newly arrived reinforcements—the Canadian Provincials and the Indian allies—were in readiness for a forward movement. Burgoyne ordered the sick and the baggage to be left at Three Rivers, and the whole army to concentrate at St. Johns. This was accomplished by the 12th of June, and here, on that day, around a sumptuous dinner, sat Sir Guy Carleton, Generals Burgoyne, Riedesel, Phillips, Frazer and other officers of rank. While still at the table a message was brought informing General Riedesel of the long anticipated arrival of his wife, the Baroness, at Quebec, and announcing to General Carleton the approach of reinforcements for the army in Canada. Hearty congratulations were exchanged, the wine flowed freely, and amid great hilarity and exultation General Carleton took leave of the army of invasion. A brilliant scene was presented by this trained and disciplined army of two nations, equipped with all that power, wealth and genius could devise and procure, and accompanied by artillery unparalleled at that time for efficiency and splendor. As the guns roared out their farewell salute, and the different corps moved back and forth in their preparations to embark, the earth shook as though she would hasten their departure; and as they floated towards the great Lake its waters quivered under the light of a hazy mystery that seemed to entice them on to unimagined glories. What wonder if the poet-soul of Burgoyne reveled in enchanting fancies that clothed the end in brightness. We have been accustomed to think of him in disgrace, as he yielded his sword to his victorious enemy—or to dwell on his pompous proclamations, his grandiose follies. Another view may be taken of this hero of misfortunes. He made undoubted and serious sacrifices in an attempt to control and humanize his savage allies; his high sense of honor cannot be questioned; his calmness and discretion under unjust public opprobrium and censure are worthy of admiration and imitation. The brilliancy of his hope, the persistency of his efforts to accomplish the desired end, his unflinching assumption of entire responsibility, and the quiet dignity with which final disaster was faced and borne, render him one of the most picturesque and pathetic objects that fill for a moment the kaleidoscope of our revolutionary epoch.

We have a graphic description of Burgoyne's army on Lake Champlain, given by Anburey, a young officer who accompanied the expedition, in one of his delightful letters to a friend. "Let me just relate," writes he, "in what manner the army passed up the lake, which was by brigades, generally advancing from seventeen to twenty miles a day, and regulated in such a manner that the second Brigade should take the

place of the first, and so on successively, for each Brigade to fill the ground the other quitted; the time of departure was always day-break."

In another letter he writes: "I cannot forbear portraying to your imagination one of the most pleasing spectacles I ever beheld. When we were in the widest part of the lake, whose beauty and extent I have already described, it was remarkably fine and clear, not a breeze was stirring, when the whole army appeared at one view in such perfect regularity as to form the most complete and splendid regatta you can possibly conceive. In the front the Indians went with their birch-bark canoes, containing twenty or thirty each; then the advanced corps in regular line with the gun-boats, then followed the Royal George and Inflexible, towing large booms—which are to be thrown across two points of land—with the two brigs and sloops following; after them Generals Burgoyne, Phillips and Riedesel in their pinnaces; next to them the second Battalion, followed by the German Battalion; and the rear was brought up with the sutlers and followers of the army. Upon the appearance of so formidable a fleet you may imagine they were not a little dismayed at Ticonderoga, for they were apprised of our advance, as we every day could see their watch-boats."

While the main army from Canada was thus advancing towards Crown Point and Ticonderoga, St. Leger, with nearly a thousand men, regulars and Canadians, and Sir John Johnson with the Royal Greens, whose homes all lay in the beautiful valley they now wished to ravish and conquer, moved up the St. Lawrence and through Lakes Ontario and Oneida into Wood Creek, by which to approach Fort Stanwix or Schuyler. This fort was garrisoned by seven hundred and fifty Continental troops, and was under the command of the brave Colonel Gansevoort.

Early in the year 1777 General Philip Schuyler, commanding the northern division of the Continental Army, had been actively engaged in preparations for the summer campaign in his Department. At that time he had informed General Washington that it would be necessary for him to have ten thousand additional troops to garrison Fort Ticonderoga and its adjacent defences, and two thousand for important points on the Mohawk. He was making arrangements, under the direction and with the assistance of Washington, to collect and provide for as large a portion of this force as possible, when, early in April, it became necessary for him to go to Philadelphia. This was in consequence of the intrigues of his enemies, who had determined that he should relinquish the

command of the Northern Department. Congress had just before this sent General Gates to resume the command at Ticonderoga, and while General Schuyler was absent the control of the Department devolved upon Gates.

General Schuyler, as second officer in rank in the Continental Army, commanded the defences of Philadelphia while in that city, and was energetically engaged in that capacity; he was also a delegate to Congress from New York. About the last of May resolutions were passed in Congress affording him an entire vindication from all charges brought against him, and he was given "absolute command over every part of the Northern Department."

On the 3d of June he arrived in Albany and resumed his command. During his absence little had been done to carry forward his plans of defence, or to increase the little army that garrisoned the widely separated posts of the command. The Mohawk valley, always an object of especial care and solicitude to Schuyler, had been wholly neglected.

Upon his arrival in Albany he immediately wrote to General Herkimer to hold the militia of Tryon county in readiness to repel any attack from the west; and he renewed his efforts to quiet and conciliate the Indians of the Six Nations, with whom he had great influence.

He was soon informed of the movements of Burgoyne. His first impression was that Burgoyne would only make a feint upon Ticonderoga, while his main army would march from St. Johns toward the Connecticut river, and make an attempt upon the New England States, who might receive a simultaneous attack on the sea coast from Lord Howe. He gave no time to idle surmises, however, but hurried to Ticonderoga to inspect its defenses. The additional works, projected at Mount Independence, opposite Ticonderoga, were incomplete for want of troops and artificers. Schuyler, therefore, went to Lake George, whence he forwarded workmen and provisions to Fort Independence, and then returned to Albany, to hurry forward reinforcements that were hourly expected from Peekskill.

Hearing at this time of Burgoyne's certain and speedy approach toward Ticonderoga, he wrote most urgently to the Governor of Connecticut, the President of the Council of Massachusetts, and the various Committees of Safety, and to Washington, informing them of the impending danger, and asking for assistance. He also used every exertion possible to collect the militia of New York, with which he might advance at once to aid St. Clair, whom he had placed in command of

Fort Ticonderoga. General Gates had refused to remain in the Department after Schuyler's return, and had obtained a leave to return to Philadelphia.

Schuyler's appeal for reinforcements met with a languid response. Washington alone seemed to understand the urgency of his need, and he could do little to augment Schuyler's insignificant army. He, however, appealed also to the New England States, urging upon them the danger to their own boundaries if Burgoyne should gain any foothold in the Northern Department. He also ordered Putnam at Peekskill to reinforce Schuyler with four Massachusetts regiments.

At this time the main army under Washington consisted of but seven thousand five hundred men, many of them militia, whose terms of service would soon expire. With this small force, Washington, from the heights at Middlebrook, watched and baffled the movements of Lord Howe, whose army, assembled at Brunswick, "had not its equal in the world."

Howe's main object was to entice Washington into a general engagement, in which the British would have greatly the advantage. Such a victory would not only insure possession of Philadelphia, the principal aim of Howe's campaign, but would enable him to cooperate with Burgoyne, which he was willing to do, if such a movement could be made conformable to his own plans.

Washington was greatly perplexed, and in much anxiety, from his inability to solve the designs of Howe. Yet, with undisturbed self-possession, he continued to hold the shifting army of the enemy in check. It had advanced and retreated; advanced again, and had endeavored to outflank him; but finally, by his untiring vigilance, his inflexible adherence to his original purpose of maintaining his strong position on the heights, and by the harassments to which he subjected the ease-loving Lord Howe, he compelled that commander on the 30th of June to evacuate the Jerseys with his whole army.

Washington had written to Schuyler: "If I can keep General Howe below the Highlands, I think their schemes will be entirely baffled." Even when Howe was known to have sailed southward, Washington surmised that it might be a feint to draw him toward Philadelphia, when Howe would return and ascend the Hudson.

It is evident that the situation of the Northern Department constantly occupied the attention of the Commander-in-Chief. When he was assured that Howe was in the capes of the Delaware, and there was no further doubt that Philadelphia was the point of attack, although



himself in great need of troops and efficient officers, he parted with Morgan's Corps of five hundred picked men, and sent Arnold, of whose abilities as a General he entertained a high opinion, to assist the Army of the North. He also directed General Lincoln, then in New England, to repair to Schuyler's command, and advised that he should attempt a flank movement upon Burgoyne toward the east. He also addressed circulars to the Brigadier-Generals of Militia in Western Massachusetts and Connecticut, urging them to march with a large part of their command to Saratoga, or other rendezvous designated by General Schuyler. To the latter he wrote, warning him against collecting large quantities of ammunition and other stores in forts and lines of defense. "I begin to consider lines," he writes, "a kind of trap, unless they are in passes which cannot be avoided by the enemy."

We will see how the imperfect lines of defense at Ticonderoga came near being "a trap," in which St. Clair and his little army of three thousand men would have been captured but for the prompt and well-considered plan of retreat adopted by St. Clair. If this retreat was in some particulars disastrous, this misfortune should not reflect upon the commander, but on the subordinates, who, through negligence and officiousness, marred his plan, and upon the ill fortune that sometimes attends the best laid schemes.

The importance attached to the occupation of Ticonderoga appears to have been traditionary, and without sufficient foundation. Being considered of such importance, there seems to have been strange neglect and want of foresight in the various officers who succeeded each other in its command. The scattering and imperfect defenses were extended over more than two miles. Sugar Hill, "the key of the position," was not occupied. There had been repeated discussions among the officers as to the feasibility of fortifying this commanding point. Colonel Trumbull, and Generals Wayne and Arnold had climbed the hill, which was difficult of ascent, to satisfy themselves that a battery could be placed upon it. Major Stevens, the energetic officer who commanded the artillery at Ticonderoga, and later all the artillery in the northern department, had proved by a practical experiment with one of his guns that it should be occupied.

Washington, upon a report of the defenses in the Northern Department, had condemned Fort Independence, on the opposite shore of the Lake, as entirely useless for the purpose of checking an enemy's progress toward the south, as it did not command the road to Lake George. Yet Wayne, Gates, Schuyler, and St. Clair were equally agreed in con-

sidering it necessary to hold Ticonderoga and strengthen Mount Independence, and were equally negligent in leaving Sugar Hill exposed to the adversary. The scantiness of the garrison, the contentions among its commanders, and the final unexpected rapidity of Burgoyne's advance, may partly explain the apparent want of sound military judgment that caused this fortress to fall like ripe fruit into the hands of the invader.

An old entrenchment on the road to Lake George was also neglected by the Americans; and when Burgoyne made his appearance before Ticonderoga on the 4th of July, this position was immediately seized upon by General Frazer, and named Mount Hope, as significant of future success.

Burgoyne had lingered a few days at Crown Point, and there on the 30th of June he issued the famous order, containing these words: "*This army must not retreat.*" On the following morning he moved forward in battle array. The German battalions formed the left wing, and advanced on the east side of the lake until they camped in front of Mount Independence. General Frazer led the right wing on the west side, and the floating batteries moved in unison between. On the 4th of July, when Frazer had occupied Mount Hope, General Phillips took possession of the mills at the outlet of Lake George, and on the same day sent Lieutenant Twiss to reconnoitre Sugar Hill. Satisfied from his report that a battery could be placed upon it, he only waited for darkness to carry out his design. The guns were then hoisted from tree to tree with heavy ropes, and, writes Anburey, "General Phillips urged the work forward with the same vehemence with which he drove his artillery at the battle of Minden, when he is said to have broken fifteen canes over the horses."

On the morning of July 5th St. Clair awoke to see, in the early dawn, the red-coats busy on the summit of Sugar Hill, planting a battery seven hundred feet above him, from which point they could observe every movement within the fort. He recognized the danger, and immediately called a council of officers. They unanimously agreed that the evacuation of Forts Ticonderoga and Independence was imperative, or a surrender would soon be inevitable.

St. Clair, quietly and expeditiously, made arrangements to begin the retreat on the same night. The troops were permitted to believe that a sortie was intended, and firing was continued through the day to deceive the enemy. Above the floating bridge that connected the forts a boom had been placed to obstruct the navigation of the lake. It was sup

posed that this would delay the British gunboats, so that the American batteaux might reach Skenesborough in safety. As soon as darkness rendered it discreet, the wounded and women, together with the stores and ammunition, were embarked on two hundred of these batteaux. They were escorted by five armed galleys and six hundred men, under the command of Colonel Long. It was a bright moonlight night, but they got under way in safety; as they proceeded leisurely up the lake, they indulged in much merriment and exultation over their quiet and expeditious escape.

St. Clair, with the main body of the troops, also passed safely and undiscovered over the floating bridge, where they were joined by the garrison from Mount Independence. All were under full retreat, when, most unfortunately, the house that had been occupied as head-quarters by General de Fertnois, who commanded Independence, was fired, and the brilliant flames lighted up the entire columns of the retreating forces. The British sentinels immediately gave the alarm. By day-break the British flag floated over both forts, and in a few hours General Frazer was in close pursuit of the Americans.

On the morning of the 7th Frazer's Indian scouts came upon the rear guard of St. Clair's army, under Colonels Warner and Francis, at Hubbardton. General Frazer made an impetuous attack, which Warner resisted with great spirit. He was nobly seconded by Colonel Francis, who three times charged the enemy at the head of his regiment. On one of these occasions his men came into action singing the hymns familiar to them in their village churches. This induced the British to believe that reinforcements had arrived; they were yielding ground when General Riedesel, who had been awaiting the arrival of his grenadiers for two hours with great impatience, now brought them forward with colors flying, while they sung the resonant battle hymns of the Germans. Under the first onslaught with their bayonets, Colonel Francis fell, fatally wounded, and the exhausted Americans were compelled to leave the field. They had crippled the enemy sufficiently to check further pursuit, and had caused them heavy losses of men and officers. Among the wounded was Major Ackland, whose painful walk afterwards down the steep, wooded hill, upon which the battle was fought, is touchingly related by the officer who assisted him. It was in consequence of this wound that Lady Ackland shortly afterward joined him at Skenesborough.

While the contest was in progress at Hubbardton, St. Clair ordered Colonel Hale with his regiment to reinforce Warner and Francis. Hale

disobeyed orders, and with his men was soon afterwards captured by the enemy. St. Clair, hearing now that Burgoyne had possession of Skenesborough, pushed into the woods eastward, and made a circuitous route to Fort Edward, where he arrived on the 12th.

The batteaux of the American flotilla from Ticonderoga, had just touched at Skenesborough, when heavy firing was heard in their rear. The British had speedily disposed of the obstructing boom and followed the flotilla up the lake. The Americans, confused and panic-stricken, abandoned all the stores they had brought with so much care, and fled towards Fort Anne. Before leaving they set fire to the houses, mills and other buildings at Skenesborough; the flames spread into the pine forests, on the surrounding hills, which, as the British approached, presented a scene of unsurpassed grandeur and desolation.

The retreating force separated, one party making its way through Wood Creek, and the remainder, under Colonel Long, pushing through the woods to Fort Anne, where he determined to make a stand. When the British approached he returned to meet them, and posted his regiment on a narrow pathway near Wood Creek. As the British advanced he opened fire upon them, and shifting his troops from side to side of the creek, so harassed and confused them that they were forced to take refuge on a hill to the right. Here they were closely besieged for two hours. Several of their officers were wounded and carried into a log house whose walls were frequently penetrated by the American rifle balls; while lying there these officers commented with surprise upon the daring and endurance of the rebels, whose courageous spirit they here encountered for the first time. When Colonel Long's little band was upon the very verge of victory, there suddenly sounded through the forest, on every side, the terrible war-whoop of the savages as they advanced by hundreds to reinforce the British. The Americans hurriedly secured their prisoners, and taking their wounded, left the hill and continued their retreat to Fort Edward.

During the first days of July, General Schuyler had waited in Albany, with great impatience, the arrival of reinforcements from the Highlands. On the 7th they had not arrived, and leaving orders for them to follow, he started north with the small force he had collected, about fifteen hundred men. At Stillwater he was met with the astounding intelligence that St. Clair had abandoned Forts Ticonderoga and Independence without striking a blow in their defense, and hurrying on to Fort Edward he met Long, who could give him no account of St. Clair and his army. Fears were entertained that he had been overtaken and compelled

to surrender. After a mysterious disappearance of seven days, St. Clair joined Schuyler at Fort Edward, his men haggard and worn with their exhausting march, but safe and resolute for further service.

These misfortunes in the beginning of the campaign involved a heavy loss of artillery, small arms, and stores of all kinds; the consternation of the people who fled before Burgoyne seemed still more disastrous, and Schuyler's fortitude and composure were most severely tried. He was sustained and encouraged by constant despatches from Washington, who writes at one time, "We should never despair. If new difficulties arise we must only put forth new exertions," and again he expresses an earnest sympathy for Schuyler amid these thickening difficulties, and manifests his unwavering confidence in his ability to overcome them. With unflagging energy Schuyler exerted himself to delay the enemy while endeavoring to collect a sufficient force to meet him with some reasonable prospect of success.

Burgoyne now had his headquarters at the house of a noted loyalist, Colonel Skene; the victories he anticipated appeared to fall into his hands as the natural result of his well laid schemes. The frightened patriots trembled at his approach, and Colonel Skene assured him that hundreds of loyalists were waiting for an opportunity to join his advancing army. Skene was an old resident, a large land owner, and was supposed to exert an extended influence; much weight was therefore attached to his opinion.

Burgoyne was greatly elated, and on the tenth of July ordered a Thanksgiving service to be read "at the head of the line, and at the head of the Advanced Corps, and at sun-set on the same day, a *feu de joye* to be fired with cannon and small arms at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Skenesborough and Castleton."

He had now reached the close of the "first period of this campaign," as he divided it in his "State of the Expedition," written after his return to England. These three divisions we may appropriately consider, from an artistic point of view, as the three acts in this great drama. The second one extended from this time to Burgoyne's passage across the Hudson river, near the Batten Kill, on the thirteenth of September.

General Schuyler remained at Fort Edward until he had effectually obstructed the pathway from Skenesborough, where Burgoyne now lingered. Huge stones were rolled into Wood Creek, and trees felled across it; bridges were destroyed, and the forests leveled across the roads. The surrounding country was stripped of forage and the cattle driven off, so that the enemy would be compelled to rely upon his base of operations for

provisions ; this proved a serious obstacle to Burgoyne's advance. Having accomplished these purposes, Schuyler fell back to Fort Miller, on the east side of the river, and again paused to destroy the road over which he had just passed. He then retreated to Stillwater, and reinforcements coming in but slowly, he finally encamped his little army near the mouths of the Mohawk, but maintained his headquarters at Stillwater.

At Skenesborough Burgoyne first faced the difficulties of his position. His force was reduced in order to garrison the forts already taken, Carleton having refused to send troops for that purpose. In preparing to march through an unfamiliar wilderness, he found that the necessity of carrying provisions and dragging artillery, while engaged in cutting a passage and constructing roads, would seriously retard his progress. He was not discouraged, but pushed on vigorously. The troops suffered greatly during their severe labors from the excessive heat and innumerable insects. It was, therefore, with a feeling of intense relief that they arrived at Fort Edward on the thirteenth of July. Both officers and men were inspired with enthusiasm upon thus obtaining their first sight of the Hudson River, so long the object of their desires and hopes.

Burgoyne remained here, and at Duer's House, not far distant, until September 10th, his difficulties and perplexities constantly increasing. His requisition for horses and wagons, upon which his army was so dependent, had been imperfectly filled. It seemed impossible to accumulate sufficient provisions for a long and rapid march. Instead of the friendly and helpful inhabitants who he imagined would flock to his quarters, there was absolute coldness on the part of the inhabitants, or the desolation of deserted homes. His Indian allies were insubordinate and troublesome, and soon the murder of Jane McCrea by a party of these savages aroused and intensified the hostile feeling of the Colonists. His own humane and honorable sentiments were shocked and disgusted by this incident. It was impossible for him to dispense with the services of these wild creatures, from whom so much was expected by the Home Government. He satisfied himself by imposing stringent orders upon their movements. This created a general discontent, and they soon began to desert him by hundreds. In the midst of these anxieties he received intelligence of the arrival of St. Leger before Fort Stanwix.

According to his original plan, he must now move immediately down the river to cooperate with St. Leger, or at least make a diversion in his favor. An expedition was therefore proposed that, it was thought, would answer many important purposes. Burgoyne was informed by

Colonel Skene that at Bennington the Americans had collected many horses, and large stores of every kind for the use of the northern army. Skene also reiterated his assurances concerning the loyalists, who would, by such a movement, secure the opportunity for which they waited to join the British army. So confident were the officers of the truth of these statements of Skene, that when the Americans of Stark's command came creeping around the flanks of the British at Bennington for their first attack, they were allowed to advance under the impression that they were loyalists, who thus sought access to the British camp. This expedition was also intended to mislead Schuyler into the belief that New England was the object of Burgoyne's efforts.

Colonel Baum was sent with a body of German grenadiers, English marksmen, Canadians and Indians, to make an attack upon Bennington, and secure the much needed horses and provisions. He set out on the 13th of August, and so eager was General Burgoyne in regard to the success of this enterprise that he rode after Baum to impress his orders upon him verbally.

The people of Bennington were apprised of Baum's approach. It happened, fortunately, that General Stark had refused to leave his neighborhood and join General Schuyler at Stillwater, having recently received a slight from Congress, which seems indeed to have had a disposition to ignore or wound the most active officers of the Continental Army. Stark immediately called out the militia, and rallied his brigade; he also dispatched a message to General Lincoln, at Manchester, to forward reinforcements. On the morning of the 14th he marched out of Bennington. When about six miles on the road, he encountered the British, and a sharp skirmish took place, in which several of the enemy were killed and wounded. Baum now posted himself on a hill, and began to entrench his camp, while he sent a messenger to Burgoyne for reinforcements. A heavy rain prevented an engagement on the fifteenth, but there was constant skirmishing. The New Englanders, now thoroughly aroused to the danger of invasion, flocked hurriedly and in large numbers to the American camp.

On the morning of the 16th a bright sun dispersed all threatening clouds, and Stark, although without artillery or bayonets, prepared to attack Baum in his entrenchments. He sent a detachment to the rear of the enemy's left, and another to the rear of his right. Simultaneously with the attack from these divisions, Stark, at the head of his column, exclaimed: "There are the red-coats; before night they must be ours, or Molly Stark's a widow," and rushed upon the entrenchments

with impetuous fury. The Germans defended their works steadily and bravely, but the Canadians and Indians were soon driven in upon them; and the Americans, pressing up to the very mouth of the cannon, continued the contest with a frenzied determination. They captured the guns, and forced the Provincials and Indians to retreat precipitously. The Germans had now exhausted their ammunition; they resorted to their bayonets and broad-swords, and attempted a retreat through the woods. The Americans pursued hotly; many of the enemy were killed and wounded, among the former Colonel Baum. All who survived were taken prisoners.

At this critical moment Colonel Breyman came upon the ground with his Germans, and renewed the attack upon Stark's exhausted forces. Colonel Warren now arrived from Bennington with his regiment, fresh and vigorous. It was late in the afternoon when this second action began; it was continued until dark, the enemy retreating slowly, and making a stand from place to place. Stark followed up his victory as long as there was a ray of light to expose the enemy. "Another hour of daylight, and he would have captured the whole body." Breyman continued his retreat under cover of the night, leaving his baggage and artillery in the hands of the Americans.

This victory, so complete and inspiring to the Americans, was equally disastrous and disheartening to the British. Like the glorious sunshine of that summer day, it ripened the growing fruit of patriotism in the hearts of the colonists; and like the dreary night that followed it, shadowed the despondency of the English, and made darker the forebodings that began to cluster around the anxious heart of Burgoyne. Its practical results were an acquisition of one thousand stand of arms, and many field-pieces. Nearly six hundred privates and thirty-two officers were made prisoners of war.

In the meantime, on the 3d of August, St. Leger had appeared before Fort Stanwix and demanded its surrender. Colonel Gansevoort paying no attention to this summons, St. Leger began to fortify his camp, and bring forward his artillery through Wood Creek, preparatory to a regular siege. He also sent detachments in various directions to cut off the garrison from the surrounding country.

General Herkimer, acting under Schuyler's orders, was advancing to the relief of Colonel Gansevoort; he sent messengers to apprise that commander of his approach, and directed that signal guns should be fired upon the arrival of the men in the fort; a sortie was to be made at the same time, and under this diversion he would hasten forward. The mes-



sengers were delayed many hours on the road, and the officers under Herkimer became impatient for an advance. Herkimer urged the necessity of waiting for the preconcerted signal, but in vain; the officers continued their unreasonable appeals, and finally taunting him with cowardise or disloyalty, impelled him to a movement that his judgment did not approve.

Brant, who led the Indians under St. Leger, was informed by his sister of Herkimer's approach. An ambuscade was planned. While Herkimer's van-guard was crossing a ravine on a narrow causway, near Oriskany, the concealed Indians suddenly assailed them on either side, and a desperate contest ensued. It lasted several hours, the Americans defending themselves with resolute bravery, and the Indians killing the wounded and prisoners like veritable demons of the forest. Herkimer was seriously wounded, but had himself propped against a tree and continued to give his orders and urge on his troops. British regulars were brought on the field, who repeatedly charged with the bayonet, but were steadily repulsed.

A heavy rain checked the contest, but it was soon renewed more desperately than ever, and became one of the most terrific hand to hand fights of the war. Johnson's Royal Greens found opportunity to gratify many long-cherished animosities, as their opponents were their old neighbors of the Valley, and the Indians were excited to unusual ferocity. These last were finally driven back, and fled, and their supporters hearing firing in their rear returned to their camp.

While this contest was in progress, the messengers had reached Gansevoort, who ordered a sortie upon the enemy's camp. This was successful, and the whole camp equipage and stores of the Loyalists were secured and brought into the fort.

Congress had just adopted the Stars and Stripes as the National ensign.

One of the officers at Fort Stanwix now made an American flag of a white shirt and some bits of red cloth; the blue field was made of an overcoat belonging to Captain Swartout of Dutchess County. This uncouth emblem was the first American flag that waved over a British standard; the colors just captured at the British camp being placed in this ignoble position.

St. Leger now caused exaggerated accounts of the American losses at Oriskany to be sent into the fort, and again demanded a surrender. Gansevoort again treated the summons with contempt, when St. Leger pressed the seige and advanced his lines.

On the tenth two officers were dispatched by Gansevoort to make their way through the lines, and obtain assistance from Schuyler. At great risk, and after enduring many hardships, they reached Stillwater. Schuyler wished to respond immediately to this demand, but many of his officers objected; they urged the imprudence of lessening the force with which Burgoyne's army must be met. Schuyler felt justly indignant with this selfish disregard of the critical situation of the heroic Gansevoort. He assumed the entire responsibility of forwarding a detachment, and Arnold volunteered his services for its command. He was soon in the valley of the Mohawk with eight hundred men; his progress was not rapid enough to satisfy his impatient spirit, which reached forward in eager devices to foil the enemy, and encourage the besieged. He dispatched messengers to Gansevoort, assuring him of relief, and with great adroitness caused rumors of the advance of a large force to be circulated in St. Leger's camp. These rumors were repeated and exaggerated, until the Indian allies became alarmed and ungovernable. They seized upon the blankets and other effects of the British officers, and commenced a hasty retreat. St. Leger, believing the Americans were close upon him, left his camp, and followed his retreating allies, abandoning his guns and baggage to the exultant patriots, who were now relieved of all apprehension. Arnold was forty miles from Stanwix at this time, and upon hearing of the ignominious flight of the British, retraced his steps to join the army under Schuyler.

This army was rapidly increasing; the long expected regiments from the Highlands had arrived; the New York Militia had rallied nobly; and the New Englanders, excited by the victory at Bennington, were on their way to the camp with their jubilant brigades; Arnold, with an augmented division, was approaching. The country was buoyant with hope, an exaggerated reaction after the depression of the early summer. Schuyler was at last in a position to begin offensive operations; he might now see the development of his well laid schemes; he would soon be able to point exultantly to the result of his toil, his patience, to the unappreciated difficulties now conquered. Such we may imagine General Schuyler's thoughts, as he sprang on his horse one bright morning in August, at the door of his stately mansion in Albany, when about to meet his officers for a consultation in regard to an advance movement of his army. As his charger moved restlessly under the rein, an officer approached with an official document. Schuyler, ever on the alert, checked his horse to examine the dispatch. It contained the resolutions of Congress that deprived him of his command. This, in the face of the enemy, and at the turning point of his fortunes!

A momentary movement of the lip, and a lifting of the eyebrows—then a deepening of the firm lines about the mouth, were the only signs of suppressed emotion. With a graceful bow to the waiting officer, the deeply injured Commander rode quietly on to his head-quarters. When surrounded by his officers he explained the dispatch, and simply said: "Until the country is in safety, I shall stifle my resentment." He kept his word, and with unremitting energy continued to perform the arduous duties of his command, until his successor arrived. In a few days this successor, General Gates, appeared at head-quarters, where he was received and entertained by General Schuyler with unexampled magnanimity and dignity.

Kosciusko, the Polish engineer, was sent by General Gates to reconnoitre and select a position for the proposed advance camp of the Americans. He decided that Bemis Heights, four miles above Stillwater, was the most favorable point. The army was soon afterward encamped at that place, and a line of entrenchments constructed for its defense.

The defeat of Baum, and the failure of St. Leger, by successive strokes, had paralyzed the right and the left arms of Burgoyne's force, and he now struggled forward with the maimed body of his army, amid ever thickening danger. Yet undismayed, he assiduously endeavored to carry out his original design, and obey the orders of Germaine and the King. Having collected provisions for a thirty days' march, he dispatched a messenger to New York with entreaties for a movement to be made from that direction. He then left Duer's House, and moved his army steadily forward to the Batten Kill, where he encamped on the night of the twelfth of September. Finding that his officers were reluctant to cross the river, he assumed the entire responsibility himself, and on the 13th and 14th passed the whole army over the Hudson on a bridge of boats, enforcing his order, "This army must not retreat." They continued their march down the river, and encamped on the north side of Fish Creek. Here, in sight of Old Saratoga, which lay on the south side of the stream, closed the "second period of the campaign," and with dramatic propriety the curtain falls upon another act, which in its progress has already indicated the direction of coming events.

Here also, on the night of the 14th of September, Burgoyne's encampment rested on the very spot where, a few weeks later, his surrender took place. This place was several miles above the battle-field of Bemis Heights. From a hill on the east side of the Hudson, Colonel Colburn, of the Continental Army, reconnoitred this camp. Perched in

the forks of a tall tree, he counted through his field-glass eight hundred tents; watched the army prepare for and start on its forward march, and then hastened to Stillwater to make his report to Gates.

Burgoyne's orders at this time prove the intensity of his anxiety, his constant anticipation of an attack, and his determination to press on at all hazards. On the fourteenth of September, they read, "During the next marches of the army, the corps are to move in such a state as to be fit for *instant action*. It is a *standing order* for the rest of the campaign, that all pickets and guards are under arms an hour before daylight, and remain so until it is completely light."

On the fifteenth he says, "The army are to march in three columns, after having passed Schuyler's house—The provisions to be floated down under the care of Captain Brown—The hospitals to move as quick as carts can be provided for them—The bridge to be broke up and floated down immediately after the army is marched." And later in the day, at Dovogat, "The whole line to lie accoutred to-night."

Here, at Dovogat, he remained two days, while his working parties repaired bridges and otherwise cleared the way for his artillery and baggage. Quietness and gloom hung about the heavy columns of his army. No drums were beat, or trumpets sounded; mysteriously, laboriously and persistently this strictly disciplined army was held to its course by the dogged determination and the impulsive will of its commander. Orders were rigid and imperious. "The first soldier caught beyond the advance sentries of the army will be instantly hung. The baggage will remain loaded, as the army will march as soon as the bridges are repaired," and at Sword's house on the seventeenth, his orders read, "The whole army to lie accoutred, and be under arms before daybreak, and continue so until it clears up."

The position chosen for the American camp, where Gates had determined to await an attack, was on a spur of hills that approached the river bank. At their base, on the river, stood Bemis' house, used by Gates as head-quarters for a few days; he afterwards moved on the hill. Earthworks were thrown across the narrow meadow between the hill and the river; they covered the old road, and the bridge of boats communicating with the east side of the Hudson. The heights were to the north and west. Breastworks were projected toward the north, in a semi-circle, for three-quarters of a mile. Redoubts were established at intervals. A barn built of heavy logs, belonging to the Neilson farm, which lay within the works, was converted into a rude but strong fortification. A thickly wooded ravine formed a natural defense along the

front of the camp, and Mill Creek swept through a deeper ravine, a little to the north. Gates occupied, with the right wing, the river hills and the defile between these and the river; Morgan, of Arnold's division, the left wing, camped on the heights nearly a mile back from the river, and Learned occupied the elevated plain as centre.

Arnold, with fifteen hundred men, was now constantly skirmishing with the enemy, and doubtless gave occasion for many of the sharp, concise orders issued by Burgoyne, who was constantly harassed, and often compelled to use a whole regiment to protect a small working party. On the seventeenth he was at Sword's house, where he encamped, and prepared for battle.

At eleven o'clock on the morning of the nineteenth of September, General Burgoyne advanced towards the American camp with his army in three columns. The left commanded by Riedesel, and composed of the German regiments, with Phillips and his artillery, moved on the river road.

Frazer, with his own and Breyman's corps, made a detour far to the west, and Burgoyne, with the English regiments, took the centre and marched toward the heights on the right.

The main object of Burgoyne was a union of his own and Frazer's divisions in the rear of the left wing of the American camp. The Canadians and Indians were to engage the attention of the Americans in front, while Frazer would get in the rear of the American left by his circuitous route through the woods; at a preconcerted signal, Burgoyne would make a simultaneous attack in the front; Riedesel and Phillips would occupy Gates on the American right; thus it was hoped they would cut off and destroy the American left wing, and at the same time gain an advanced position.

Gates was told of the near approach of the enemy, but gave no orders to meet or prepare for them. Finally yielding to the urgent importunities of Arnold and others, he consented to allow the hovering Indians to be driven back. But for this permission, which led to the repulse of the British, Burgoyne's plan might have been successful.

The American regiments behind their works were restless and eager for the contest, and no sooner were they permitted to move than they assailed the enemy with resistless impetuosity. Morgan led the way with his riflemen, who drove the advancing forces with such rapidity, that, for a moment, their commander lost sight of them. His shrill whistle soon recalled them to calmer work. Now following Arnold with Learned's brigade, they attempted to cut off the detachment of Frazer

from the main army; Frazer at the same time was endeavoring to reach the American rear. Both striving for the same object, and their movements screened by the heavy forest, they met unexpectedly near Mill Creek, a few yards west of Freeman's cottage. A furious contest followed. Arnold led with his usual spirit, while Morgan seemed endowed with the strength and ubiquity of a forest demi-god; with his active, intelligent corps, he struck blow after blow, his men scattering like leaves of the autumn before a gust of the British bayonets, only to close again and follow up their advantage. Assailing Breyman's guns, they captured a cannon, and were carrying it from the field when Morgan's horse was shot under him; heavy reinforcements came to relieve Frazer; Gates still withheld assistance, and they were scattered once more. Arnold and Morgan now made a rapid counter march against Frazer's left, and in this movement encountered the whole English line under Burgoyne.

They were now reinforced with four regiments, and made so vigorous and resolute an attack that they were on the point of severing the wings of the British army, when Phillips came forward with his artillery, and the Americans were forced back within their lines. It was now three o'clock, and a lull occurred in the contest. The two armies lay each upon a hillside, that sloped toward a ravine, which separated them. With the reinforcements conceded to Arnold, his force did not exceed three thousand men; yet, with this number, for four hours, he sustained an unequal conflict with the choicest English regiments, inspired by every sentiment that ambition or desperation could suggest, and commanded by many of the most accomplished and brave officers of the English Army.

Steadily the Patriots received charge after charge of the dreaded English bayonets; then, emboldened by their own endurance, they pushed upon the enemy in a fierce attack, to be driven again toward their own lines. While victory seemed thus to sway back and forth over the little stream, which hid its crystal waters under the crimson flood that now crept over it, and while the Americans held the ascendancy, Riedesel came over the field at double-quick with his heavy Germans, and pressed the exhausted Americans back once more. It was now dark; they gathered up their wounded and prisoners, and retired to their camp.

The American loss in killed and wounded was about three hundred, and the British nearly double that number. The latter held the field, and claimed a victory; it was worse than barren to them. Foiled in their main object, they were now burdened with many wounded; they

had tested the strength of the Americans, and were convinced that their own advantages of discipline and bayonets were perfectly counterpoised by the enthusiasm and courage of the Patriots. The British, who bivouaced on the field, were harassed until midnight by large skirmishing parties of the Americans, and were under arms in expectation of an attack in force.

Arnold urged the importance of this attack with such vehemence that Gates took serious offense, although he failed to tell Arnold that he was short of ammunition—the reason afterwards given for his refusal to follow up the advantage of the previous day. In his report of the battle to Congress, he refrained from mentioning Arnold's name. This led to a further quarrel, and Arnold was deprived of his command. Gates continued to strengthen the defenses of his camp, while his army daily increased in numbers.

Burgoyne encamped his whole army on the ground he had gained on the nineteenth, and protected it with strong entrenchments. Four redoubts were constructed on the river hills, at the place now called Wilbur's Basin. This was the northern extremity of a narrow alluvial flat that extended to Bemis House, two miles below; it widened in the centre, and narrowed again at this point, where the hills lay very near the river. On its banks were the hospitals; they and the batteaux were covered by a battery and earthworks; similar defenses were extended toward the west for nearly a mile to Frazer's camp, which was posted on the heights near Freeman's farm. North of that again a strong semi-circular redoubt was occupied by Breyman's artillery; this protected the right flank of the entire camp; the north branch of Mill Creek formed a ravine along the left front of the camp, which thus, as in other particulars, resembled the entrenched camp of the Americans.

Strongly and skillfully posted, the two armies lay face to face from the twentieth of September until the seventh of October.

"The hum of either army stilly sounds,  
That the fixed sentinels almost perceive  
The secret whispers of each other's watch.  
Fire answers fire; and through their paly flames  
Each battle sees the other's umbered face.  
Steed threatens steed, in high and boastful neighs  
Piercing the night's dull ear; and from the tents,  
Rise dreadful note of preparation."

Our army was exultant, hopeful; scarcely to be checked in its restless desire to drive the invader from the fruitful fields and deserted homes he desecrated and destroyed. Rushing out from their entrench-

ments under every plausible excuse to skirmish with the outposts of the enemy, or capture his pickets, the eager militia could with difficulty be restrained by the cautious Gates from bringing on the general engagement that he seemed quite willing to avoid.

The other camp seemed oppressed by the overhanging cloud of its impending fate. The British officers, perpetually on the alert, were unable to secure a single night of undisturbed repose; the men bore with quiet but sullen fortitude the privations and hardships of short rations, hurried snatches of sleep under full accoutrements, and constant calls to arms. More and more vivid to all grew the vision of that impassable wall of difficulties that enclosed them on all sides, leaving but one narrow pathway to the north; and even that was being closed by an active detachment of Americans from Lincoln's command. They had surprised the British garrisons at Lake George and Ticonderoga, and had regained all the outer defences of the latter place; had captured gunboats and batteaux, and taken three hundred prisoners.

News of this calamity soon reached Burgoyne, yet he had some compensation in a gleam of hope that reached him from the South at the same time. A letter from Sir Henry Clinton was received, informing him that on the twentieth he would attack the forts below the Highlands, and attempt a further ascent of the river. Two officers in disguise were immediately dispatched in return to inform Clinton of the critical position of Burgoyne's army, and urge him to hasten to its assistance. Clinton was also assured that Burgoyne would endeavor to hold his present position until the twelfth of October.

Lincoln, who, with a large body of militia, now joined the army at Bemis Heights, was placed in command of the right wing. Gates took command of the left, of which Arnold had been dispossessed. The latter had remained in camp, waiting patiently for a collision between the hostile armies.

As Burgoyne's situation became day by day more critical, and he received no news from Clinton, on the fourth of October he called Generals Riedesel, Phillips and Frazer together in council. Riedesel was strongly in favor of a retreat to Fort Edward, and Frazer conceded the wisdom of such a movement; Phillips declined to express an opinion, and Burgoyne finally declared that on the seventh he would make a reconnoissance, and if he then found the enemy too strong to be attacked, he would immediately retreat to Fort Edward, and await the cooperation of the army below.

On the sixth he had five days' rations distributed, and arranged for a reconnoissance in force on the following day. As he could not leave



his camp unprotected, he only took fifteen hundred men. They were selected from the corps of Riedesel, Frazer and Phillips. Led by these officers in person, and Burgoyne as Commander-in-Chief, they marched out of camp at eleven o'clock on the morning of the seventh, and entered a field within three-quarters of a mile of the American left. Here, in double ranks, they formed in line of battle.

On the left Williams' artillery and Ackland's grenadiers were posted, on a gentle hill in the edge of a wood that fronted on Mill Creek. Balcarras' light infantry and other English regiments formed the right: the Hessians held the centre. Frazer, with five hundred picked men, was posted to the right and front of Balcarras, where a hill skirted the meadow; he was ready to fall upon the rear of the American left at the first attack in front.

Foragers were at work in a wheat field, while the English officers reconnoitred the American left with their glasses from the top of a cabin near the field. An aid-de-camp conveyed this information to Gates, who said: "Order out Morgan to begin the game."

Morgan had already discovered Frazer's position, had divined his design, and formed his own plan. Ordering an attack to be made on Balcarras in front, he made a circuit in the woods to fall upon Frazer from the heights above. It was also arranged that General Poor should assail the grenadiers on the British left simultaneously with Morgan's attack. Learned was to check the Germans in the centre.

As the great Hudson, when suddenly loosened from his winter chains of ice, rushes with resistless force over all obstructions, so from their restraining earthworks the impetuous Americans poured furiously upon their adversaries in the front, while Morgan, like a mountain torrent, swept down the height upon Frazer's heroic band. So terrible was the onslaught that in less than twenty minutes the British were thrown into confusion. Frazer, in his brilliant uniform, on a splendid war horse, rode from side to side of the right wing, encouraging and rallying the bewildered troops, and protecting every point with his flexible five hundred.

Burgoyne, seeing the right wing in danger of being surrounded, now ordered Frazer to form a second line to cover a retreat. In attempting this manœuvre Frazer fell mortally wounded, and was carried from the field.

The division under Poor, with the same impulsive vigor, dashed up the hill upon the artillery and grenadiers of the British left, and drove them from their guns. Ackland brought them back, and recaptured the

guns, which again fell into the hands of the Americans, who rapidly turned them upon the enemy, and drove them flying from the field. Ackland was wounded in both legs. He was a large, heavy man, but an officer took him on his back, and ran some distance with him. The pursuit was close, and the officer, fearing he would be captured, dropped his friend, and hurried on. Ackland now called out to the flying men that he would give fifty guineas to any man who would carry him into camp. A tall grenadier took him on his shoulders, but had not proceeded many steps when he and his helpless burden were taken prisoners.

The Hessians still held their ground in the centre. At this moment Arnold, maddened by his injuries, and excited into frenzy by the clash and roar of the battle, dashed like a meteor on the field, followed in the distance by Armstrong, Gates' aid-de-camp, carrying orders to compel his return. Stop the bison on his native plain? the swallow on its flight? More easy this than Armstrong's task. The genius of war thrilled Arnold's soul, as epic metres stir the poet, as rugged landscapes, shadowed under sunset lights, influence the artist's brain. Genius ever lives and conquers! It may be desecrated and destroyed, as Arnold buried his in ignominy; but while it lives and inspires its own peculiar work, it rules and is supreme. Men bow before it, or lie crushed beneath its power. Thus, when Arnold waved his sword, and shouted his brief commands, the genius within him rung through the tones of his voice, glanced from the quivering flash of his sabre, and the regiments followed where he led—one strong will, one palpitating force.

With two brigades he rushed upon the Hessian centre, who stood the shock bravely for a time, but as he dashed upon them again and again with a fury they had never witnessed, they turned and fled in dismay.

Burgoyne now took command in person, and the conflict became general along the whole line. Arnold and Morgan, uniting to break a strong point in the British ranks, would again separate to dash from one place to another, where orders or encouragement were necessary. Burgoyne succeeded Frazer as the conspicuous figure on the opposing side, and was seen in the thickest of the *mêlée*, under the heaviest fire. Several shots tore his clothing, and his aids implored him not to expose himself, but resolute and daring, he endeavored skillfully, but vainly, to rally his army, and hold his ground. He could more easily have checked a hurricane on the great prairies; his whole force was driven before the storm, and swept into their entrenched camp. Here they made a deter-

mined stand. Arnold now took Patterson's brigade, and assailed Frazer's camp, where Balcarras and his light infantry had taken refuge. Charging with renewed vigor again and again up the embankment, he led the way over a strong abattis; driven back from this, he attacked the entrenchments connecting this redoubt with Breyman's flank defence. Here he succeeded, and leaving the Massachusetts regiments to follow up the advantage at that point, he encountered a part of Learned's brigade, and dashed upon the strong works of the Hessian camp. Here, too, he drove everything before him. Capturing the cannon, the artillerymen fled in consternation, and Breyman was killed on the spot. Arnold's horse was shot under him; it fell on him, and his leg was severely wounded. He was carried from the field.

The whole British camp now lay exposed to the pursuing Americans. Night and silence fell upon the scene. The groans of the wounded, the muffled words of command given for the burial of the dead, and the dirge-like wailing of the autumn wind in the tall pines, were the only sounds that followed the roar of artillery and the shouts of the victors.

"A thousand glorious actions, that might claim  
Triumphant laurels, and immortal fame,  
Confused in clouds of glorious actions lie,  
And troops of heroes undistinguished die."

Ah, yes! the field of Saratoga is rich with the blood of heroes. What are the few names we have recorded compared with the unnumbered hosts who lie under the placid hills of the Hudson—or who performed upon this field unnoticed deeds of valor, and passed through life unregarded and unnamed.

While the battle raged on the heights, confusion and sorrow reigned in and around the British camp near the river. The Baroness Riedesel, who, with her little children, had joined her husband at Fort Edward, and remained with the army, was living at Taylor's house, above Wilbur's Basin. She had breakfasted with her husband at his camp on the heights, and having returned home, was awaiting his arrival with General Frazer and other officers, who were to dine with her. These pleasant anticipations were supplanted by grief and terror, when, at about two o'clock, General Frazer was brought in on a litter, desperately wounded. The table, which had been spread for dinner, was hastily put aside, and a bed prepared for him. He asked the physicians to inform him truly of his condition, and when told he could live but a few hours, he exclaimed: "O, fatal ambition! Poor General Burgoyne! My poor wife!" These brief words express forcibly the desires, the thoughts, and the affections of this brave man.

The Baroness, with her children and servants, and the wives of Major Harnage and Lieutenant Reynell, clustered despairingly together in one corner of the room where the dying General lay. The whole house was now filled with the wounded, and Madame Riedesel soon recovering her composure, was actively engaged in relieving their sufferings and comforting her afflicted companions. Information had been brought that Major Harnage was wounded, and that Lieutenant Reynell had been killed. Lady Ackland occupied a tent near by, and was soon informed that her husband was mortally wounded and a prisoner. Frequently during the succeeding night the Baroness left her sleeping children, and went to the tent of her friend, to tell her of more encouraging rumors; and she finally advised her to obtain permission to join her husband in the American camp.

At daybreak Madame Riedesel was informed that General Frazer was in his death agony; she wrapped her children in the bedclothes, and carried them in the hall, until the last sad scene should close. Then, returning to the room, she and her companions were all day long in the presence of the sheeted dead.

After midnight General Lincoln from the American camp marched on the battle field with a large body of fresh troops, to replace the exhausted victors of the previous day. Burgoyne, aware of his danger if attacked in his exposed position, now moved his whole army hurriedly, but in good order, to the river bank. Here, in gloomy desperation, they were crowded together under the redoubts, on the morning of the eighth.

The whole of this day was spent in heavy skirmishing between the hostile armies, and General Lincoln, who had not been on the field during the seventh, was now slightly wounded. At six o'clock in the evening, General Burgoyne, with Generals Riedesel and Phillips and Mr. Brudenell, the chaplain, accompanied the remains of General Frazer to a large redoubt on one of the river hills, where they buried him, according to his dying request. The ladies at Taylor's house witnessed the funeral, and saw the cannon balls thrown by the Americans tear up the earth around the grave, while the funeral service was being read. In a few moments the balls ceased their flight, and the cannon only bellowed forth the melancholy roar of the minute guns. Gates had been informed of the sad office in progress; a graceful token of a soldier's sympathy.

Soon after this sad scene, Lady Ackland, with the Chaplain, her maid and her husband's valet were placed in a small boat and rowed down the river to the American camp, where she was soon united with her husband, whose wounds, though serious, were not fatal.

Burgoyne now gave orders for a full retreat of his army, to begin at nine o'clock that same night, the wounded and all heavy baggage to be left behind. General Riedesel was ordered to lead the van-guard, and push on until he crossed the Hudson at the Saratoga ford, and there take a position behind the hills at the Batten kill. A drenching rain poured upon the weary, plodding army the whole night. At Dovogat a halt was made. Burgoyne wavered and countermanded his orders. His last chance of retreat escaped him.

"In helpless indecisions lie,  
The rocks on which we strike and die."

The imperious commander, who had led the forward march with unflinching resolution, pushing to his end without fear or hesitation, when foiled and sent back, for a moment shuddered, and refused to accept his fate. He still held his panic-stricken army under his will, and he determined once more to wait for the coming of the army from below; it might yet bring him relief. Starting from Dovogat at daybreak, the British moved again, but only to encamp during the day on the heights north of the Fish kill. The handsome residence of General Schuyler was burned on the way. During this time Colonel Fellows, with the American artillery, had planted his guns on the hills on the east side of the Hudson, opposite the British camp. General Stark had also taken possession of Fort Edward above. On the tenth General Gates, having waited for fine weather, followed Burgoyne to Saratoga and encamped on the south side of the Fish kill. His delay greatly endangered the detachment of Colonel Fellows, who could easily have been surrounded and captured; in fact, some of Burgoyne's officers were anxious to make the attempt, but failed to obtain permission. On the morning of the eleventh, while the autumn mist hung heavily over Fish kill and the adjacent grounds, Gates, believing that Burgoyne had continued his retreat, ordered his whole army to advance and cross the stream in pursuit. Without a reconnoissance or van-guard, the army was set in motion. The vigilant Burgoyne, having now staked his chances on delay, was waiting eagerly for any mistake on the part of his adversary. Aware of the proximity of Gates, and of his intention, he drew up his army, under cover of the dense fog in battle array, on the north side of the stream, to receive him. The American regiments under Nixon passed over and were instantly attacked; a severe contest followed, and Nixon soon discovered the British in force; using his own judgment, and disobeying orders, he retreated, and checked the further progress of the army until communication could be had with Gates.

Morgan had crossed the creek towards Saratoga Lake and, screened by the woods, posted his riflemen on the heights in the rear and flank of the British camp. This was strongly intrenched on the hill near the river, but was now entirely surrounded by the Patriots, and all communication destroyed either with the north or south; and it was soon found by the British that their camp was exposed in every part to the fire of cannon or riflemen; no approach to the river was permitted, and there was much suffering for want of water. The sick, wounded and women were huddled together in a house where cannon balls tore through the walls, and rolled across the floor, often wounding the helpless men who lay within. Madame Riedesel, with her children, and the other ladies took refuge in a cellar, where hours of horror were endured with uncomplaining misery.

Sir Henry Clinton, having obtained reinforcements from England, at last came storming up the Hudson as though he would annihilate all obstacles between himself and Burgoyne. He obtained possession of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, although they were most courageously defended by Gov. George Clinton and his brother James, who very skillfully saved their garrisons. The British easily destroyed the obstructing boom across the river, and Putnam, deceived and alarmed by their manœuvres, left the enemy to sail unmolested to Albany. Satisfied with the destruction of the American vessels, and having burned Kingston, the seat of the Government, and ravaged the stately manor houses of Livingston and other aristocratic republicans, the Englishman returned to New York, and left Burgoyne unassisted in his perilous position.

He had now only five days rations for his army, and not a spot where he could hold a council of officers in safety. On the 13th he called them together to consider their desperate condition, and there "General Burgoyne solemnly declared, that no one but himself should answer for the situation in which the army found itself." Three questions were then submitted for their consideration. "1st. Whether military history furnished any example of an army having capitulated under similar circumstances. 2d. Whether the capitulation of an army placed in such a situation would be disgraceful. 3d. Whether the army was actually in such a situation as to be obliged to capitulate." These were answered in the affirmative, and there was an unanimous declaration in favor of capitulation. The terms of surrender were then discussed. A messenger was sent to Gen. Gates, who agreed to an immediate armistice. A meeting of officers to represent the commanders of the respective armies, was arranged to take place on the spot where Gen. Schuyler's house had stood.

There seemed a poetic justice in this, considering the magnanimous spirit of Schuyler, the relentless destruction of Burgoyne, and the humiliation of the destroyer on the site of the ruin he had wrought.

The terms proposed by Burgoyne required that his army, upon its surrender, should be marched to Boston, and from there be shipped to England. Gates refused this proposition, and demanded an unconditional surrender as prisoners of war. Burgoyne rejected these terms indignantly.

The armistice ceased. Burgoyne prepared for the worst.

Gates now heard of Sir Henry Clinton at the Highlands. His fears were aroused; he despatched a message to Burgoyne, in which he agreed to almost every article of the first proposition. Burgoyne gave his assent to these terms. Some further negotiations were in progress in regard to points of minor importance. News of Sir Henry Clinton's expedition now reached Burgoyne. Again delusive hopes awoke in his heart. He hurriedly called his officers together to consider whether they could honorably withdraw from the agreement to surrender. It was decided that honor held them fast, although the papers were not signed. On the 17th of October the capitulation, or convention, as Burgoyne stipulated it should be called, received the signatures of the two commanders, Gates and Burgoyne.

The British army were now marched out of their camps, under their own officers, to a plain near old Fort Hardy, where the Fish kill empties into the Hudson. Here, in the presence of only one American, an aide-de-camp of Gates, they laid down their arms. Generals Burgoyne, Riedesel and Phillips now passed over the Fish kill to the head-quarters of Gates, who rode out to meet them, accompanied by his aids. When they met, Burgoyne said, "The fortunes of war, General, have made me your prisoner," to which Gates replied, "I shall ever be ready to bear testimony that it has not been through any fault of your excellency."

The American army were drawn up in ranks on either side of the road. The whole army of British prisoners, preceded by a guard bearing the stars and stripes, and a band playing Yankee Doodle, were marched between the files of their victors.

Gates and Burgoyne stood contemplating the scene. In the presence of both armies, General Burgoyne stepped out, and drawing his sword from its scabbard, presented it to General Gates; he received it, and silently returned it to the vanquished General.

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

## PHILIP LIVINGSTON

NEW YORK DELEGATE IN THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774-1777

It is commendable that each generation in our Republic should be solicitous for preserving a recollection of the achievements of a renowned ancestry. The authors of our independence will ever deserve the highest rank in the veneration of posterity. Philip Livingston was descended from an illustrious family in the State of New York. His great-grandfather, John Livingston, was a celebrated divine in the Church of Scotland, who emigrated to Rotterdam, where he died in 1672. His grandfather, Robert, about 1680 came to America, and obtained a grant for the manor of Livingston. His father, Philip, was heir to this manor, as the eldest son, and Philip, the subject of this sketch, himself the fourth son, was born at Albany, New York, on the 15th day of January, 1716. Institutions of learning were then few, and those could be easily counted in the entire Colony who had enjoyed the advantages of a collegiate education. By virtue of his exalted family station, Philip was sent to Yale College, Connecticut, where he graduated in 1737. He turned his attention to commercial pursuits as a young man, and a career of extraordinary prosperity attested the wisdom of his choice of occupation.

His first appearance in public life was in 1754, when he was elected Alderman in the City of New York, which place then contained a population of only ten thousand, and for nine years he was annually elected to this post by the free suffrages of his fellow-citizens. He was elected from New York City to the new House of Assembly for the Colony, which convened on January 31st, 1759, at the City of New York, and consisted of twenty-seven members. At this time Great Britain was at war with France, and Philip Livingston, in his legislative capacity, with patriotic loyalty, rendered illustrious service to the mother country in the raising and the equipment of the quota of New York for the subjugation of Canada. Before the death of King George II., a new General Assembly of the Colony was chosen, which convened on the 10th of March, 1761, in the city of New York, to which Philip Livingston was again returned as a member. At a meeting thereof on the 11th of September, 1764, Mr. Livingston, in his legislative capacity, reported an answer to the Lieutenant-Governor, Cadwallader Colden,



which, in the following passage, may be said to have politically fired the first gun of the American Revolution: "We hope," said Livingston, "your Honor will join with us in an endeavor to secure that great badge of English liberty, of being taxed only with our own consent, to which we conceive all his majesties subjects, at home and abroad, equally entitled to." He was elected Speaker of the new General Assembly that met on the 27th of October, 1768, and herein, the whig party being in the ascendant, opposition was soon manifested by speeches and resolutions against the assumptions of Great Britain, which was the germ of that great Revolution which was soon to follow. This Assembly was in consequence thereof dissolved by the Royal Governor, Sir Henry Moore, on the 2d of January, 1769. To the new General Assembly, which convened April 4th, 1769, Philip Livingston was returned again, this time not from New York, but from the Manor of Livingston. On account of his opposition to the usurpations of the English Parliament, which opposition now became frank and outspoken, he was marked for ministerial vengeance, and was expelled from his seat in the Assembly on the frivolous ground that he was a non-resident of the Manor of Livingston; and thus terminated forever his legislative career in the General Assembly of his Province while under the British Crown.

Mr. Livingston was chosen as a member from New York to the first Congress, that met at Philadelphia on the 5th September, 1774; was again returned by a Convention held in New York City on the 22d of April, 1775. In this Congress, at Philadelphia, on the 4th day of July, 1776, Philip Livingston, on behalf of the Province of New York, together with his colleagues, William Floyd, Francis Lewis, and Lewis Morris, declared his adhesion, and together with the other delegates at a later period affixed his signature to the Declaration of Independence; and for the success of the political principles he then and there endorsed, pledged his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor. On the 13th day of May, 1777, he was re-elected to the Continental Congress. But his engagement in this national body did not release him from legislative employment at home. On the 20th of April, 1777, the Constitution of the State of New York was adopted, and Mr. Livingston was chosen a State Senator by its authority, and as such attended the first meeting of the first Legislature of the State of New York. On the 2d of October, 1777, with four others, viz: James Duane, Francis Lewis, William Duer, and Gouverneur Morris, he was elected by the State Legislature to Congress, they being the first delegates chosen under the State Constitution just adopted.

This veteran in the cause of the people died on the 12th day of June, 1778, at York, Pennsylvania, where Congress was then assembled, the British being in possession of Philadelphia. He died at his post of duty and of danger with his harness on. He devoted the last hours of an illustrious life to the service of his country, then literally passing through the "valley of the shadow of death."

Congress promptly adopted the usual resolutions of respect to the memory of the deceased. The political character of Mr. Livingston was fitly supplemented by traits of marked benevolence. As early as 1754 he was prominent in an effort to establish a public library, which was finally incorporated in 1772. He was one of the first governors of a hospital in New York City, chartered in 1771, also among the founders of the Chamber of Commerce in 1770, and was a leading spirit in the birth of King's, now called Columbia College. In many, if not all, of these enterprises he was associated with, and aided by, his brother, William Livingston, afterwards Governor of the State of New Jersey; by his cousin, Robert R. Livingston, the celebrated jurist, and the son of Robert, the uncle of Philip; and by another cousin, Dr. John H. Livingston, one of the most eminent clergymen of his day, and the son of Gilbert, also an uncle of Philip. These men were all giants in their day, and gave to the name of Livingston a celebrity that it has retained through a century. Colonel Dierck Ten Broeck was the father of Christina, who became the wife of Philip Livingston, and who survived him, after having shared with him the honors and trials of nearly half a century. Philip Livingston was not a brilliant man, but as a guide and counselor he was a safe man. He was not a great orator, but still he moved men by a power greater than eloquence—a conviction in the sincerity of his motives. He was born for a generation that needed him, particularly for that unswerving and unpurchasable fidelity which illustrated his life more than did any aggressive force of character or any bold execution of his or of the plans of others. He was a faithful and firm patriot, a cool and sagacious representative, a generous and unselfish citizen, an avowed and tried christian, and an honored and an honest man. The labors of himself and of his associates in the cause of independence demand and receive our grateful homage. For the grand results of their lives, see the progress—for their epitaphs, read the annals of the Republic. The nation stands to-day, at once their monument and their eulogy.

ETHAN ALLEN.

NOTE.—A sketch prepared for the Congress of Authors, which met at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Saturday, July 2, 1876.

NARRATIVE OF  
THE PRINCE DE BROGLIE

TRANSLATED FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MS

BY E. W. BALCH

Part III

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I left therefore with the purpose of travelling, as comfortably as possible, the hundred and twenty miles which separated me from the army. My route was through a glorious country and over an excellent road. I was alone with two valets, so that nothing forbade me from indulging in my own reflections. I considered with pleasure this new-born people and their country. From time to time I passed points from which the view was imposing. I traversed immense forests whose numerous products attested the fertility of the soil. At every two or three leagues I met with villages, well-built, where no trace of poverty was visible. The inhabitants well clad, tall, strong, already proud of the liberty which they had regained, completely decided me in favor of a country which seemed to nourish them so thoroughly, and the sight of a great number of very pretty female faces in no ways spoiled the picture. Such were the pleasant thoughts and agreeable sights which filled up all my journey.

I stopped to dine and to spend the night, and everywhere I was received with genuine hospitality. I liked to converse with the masters of the household. They were too polite to notice the imperfect manner in which I spoke their language. We dined together without ceremony, and whenever the hostess

was pretty I kissed her, without waiting for the husband to formally request me to do so. These little caresses, and the careful courtesy, which I always used in speaking of political affairs and public papers with my hosts, generally obtained for me the best chamber in the house, and also, what is very rare here, I was given for my bed fresh sheets which had been used by no other gentleman, and I exhibited so much aversion for sleeping in company, that I obtained the further privilege of not being awakened during the night by some unknown arrival.

All these little performances, of which in France we make no account, are great favors in America, where neatness is not as yet as well established as freedom.

From this short account of the manner in which my days were spent, I hope that even those folks who take a personal interest in me, need give themselves no anxiety about my lot during the four days which I took to reach the Hudson. I went through Bristol, Trenton, Princeton, Somerset, Morristown, Brompton and some other cities, for every hamlet is called "city" in America.

I passed the Hudson River at King's Ferry with a pretty high wind, and although the bark which had been given me for my horses and myself was considered very staunch, yet as it shipped an immense quantity of water I was delighted to quit it. This majestic and superb river is about six hundred feet (French) broad in this place. Its bed is hemmed in by high mountains, which by the variety of their forms offer views wild but imposing. Ships of seventy-four guns ascend the river to Stony

Point, near to King's Ferry, where there are bars which permit vessels of only sixty-four guns to pass. Vessels of this last draft can, with the aid of good pilots, go up the Hudson to within ten miles of Albany to a place called Red Hook, where there is a bar which stops even frigates. Only sloops can pass this bar and go about twenty miles further up. The source of the Hudson is somewhere to the west of Lake George, and it empties into the sea at New York.

On landing, I found the American army camped in a place called Verplancks' Point. It consisted of about six thousand men, who for the first time since the beginning of the war were decently uniformed, well-armed, properly equipped, and camped in tents of a regular model. I passed through all the camp with pleasure, astonishment and admiration. All the soldiers seemed to me well looking, robust and well-chosen. The sentinels were well equipped, very attentive, sufficiently well disciplined in the use of their arms, and so strong was the contrast with the incorrect notions I had formed concerning these troops, that I was obliged frequently to say to myself, that I beheld in this army the same which formerly had no other uniform than a cap, on which was written Liberty.

I noticed on a little hill which looked over the camp an assemblage of tents, which I recognized easily as the quarters of General Washington. Despite the natural impatience which I had to see this famous man, yet as I knew no one who could present me to him, I contented myself with approaching as near

as possible to his establishment, for the purpose of beholding him in case he came forth. I continued my route to present myself at the camp of the French army distant about fourteen miles, that is about five French leagues. I arrived at Crampond about four o'clock in the afternoon and I found the Generals [French] at table.

On the morrow I was received in the brilliant post of "Second-Colonel," and as there was nothing to do, I soon found myself as well informed and as well up in my work as any of the warriors of Yorktown.

I begged General de Rochambeau, who received me with great kindness, to have the goodness to present me to General Washington. He promised to do so, and the second day after my arrival, he took me to dine with that distinguished gentleman. I handed him a letter from my Father, and was received with a gracious "shake-hands," accompanied by many polite and flattering things kindly spoken.

I give his portrait, which I have drawn from what I saw myself, and what I heard from others concerning him.

The General is now about forty-nine years of age. He is tall, nobly built and very well proportioned. His face is much more agreeable than represented in his portrait. He must have been much handsomer three years ago, and although the gentlemen who have remained with him during all that time say that he seems to have grown much older, it is not to be denied that the General is still as fresh and active as a young man.

His physiognomy is mild and open. His accost is cold although polite. His

pensive eyes seem more attentive than sparkling; but their expression is benevolent, noble and self-possessed. In his private conduct, he preserves that polite and attentive good breeding which satisfies everybody, and that dignified reserve which offends no one. He is a foe to ostentation and to vain-glory. His temper is always even. He has never testified the least humor. Modest even to humility, he does not seem to estimate himself at his true worth. He receives with perfect grace all the homages which are paid him, but he evades them rather than seeks them. His company is agreeable and winning. Always serious, never abstracted, always simple, always easy and affable without being familiar, the respect which he inspires is never oppressive. He speaks but little in general, and that in a subdued tone, but he is so attentive to what is said to him, that being satisfied he understands you perfectly, one is disposed to dispense with any answer. This behaviour has been very useful to him on numerous occasions. Nobody has greater necessity than he to act with circumspection, and to carefully weigh his words.

To an unalterable tranquility of soul he joins a most exact judgment, and the utmost with which he has been reproached is a little tardiness in his determination and even in the execution of his decisions, when once he has made them.

His courage is calm yet brilliant, but to appreciate in a satisfactory manner the real extent of his talents and his ability as a great and warlike captain, I think one should have seen him at the

head of a greater army, with greater means than he has had, and opposed to an enemy less his superior.

At least one cannot fail to give him the title of an excellent patriot, of a wise and virtuous man, and one is in fact tempted to ascribe to him all good qualities, even those that circumstances have not yet permitted him to develop.

Mr. Washington's first military services were against the French in the War for Canada. He had no opportunity for distinguishing himself, and after the defeat of Braddock, the war having crossed the river St. Lawrence, and the Virginia militia of which he was Colonel having been sent home, he was not kept in active service; whereupon he retired to his plantation where he lived like a philosopher.

His estate was quite distant from the seat of the English government, the real hot-bed of the insurrection; and his wise character withheld him still further from mixing in its movements, so that he had but little share in the first troubles.

On the breaking out of hostilities with the mother-country, every body wished a chief who joined a profound sagacity to the advantage of having had military experience. All eyes turned toward Washington, and he was unanimously called to the command of the army. The course of events justified the choice. Never was there a man better fitted to command the Americans, and his conduct throughout developed the greatest foresight, steadiness and wisdom.

Mr. Washington received no pay as General; refused it as not needing it. The expenses of his table only are paid by the State. Every day he has about

thirty persons to dinner. He gives good military fare, and is very civil towards all the officers admitted to his table. It is ordinarily the moment of the day when he is the most cheerful.

At desert he eats an enormous quantity of nuts, and when the conversation is entertaining he keeps eating through a couple of hours, from time to time giving sundry healths, according to the English and American custom. It is what they call "toasting." They always begin by drinking to the United States of America; after that to the King of France, then to the Queen of France, then to the success of the allied armies, after which, what they call a sentiment is sometimes given; for example, to our success over our enemies and with the beauties—to our triumphs in war and in love.

I toasted very often with the General, and amongst others on one occasion I proposed to drink to the Marquis de Lafayette, whom he regards as his own child. He accepted with a benevolent smile, and had the politeness to respond by proposing the health of my father and my wife.

General Washington appeared to me to maintain a perfect demeanor towards the officers of his army. He treats them with great politeness, but they are far from attempting any familiarity with him. All of them, on the contrary, exhibit towards their General an air of respect, of confidence and of admiration.

General Gates, famous for the capture of Burgoyne and for his reverses at Camden, commanded this year one of the wings of the American army. I saw him at the house of General Washing-

ton, with whom he had had a misunderstanding. I was present at their first interview after the disagreement. To narrate the details of this variance would be too long for insertion here.

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DIARY OF  
MAJOR ERKURIES BEATTY  
PAYMASTER IN THE WESTERN ARMY  
MAY 15, 1786, TO JUNE 5, 1787

Part III

*September 1*—Rode down this small branch of Licking to its mouth 8 or 9 miles and crossed the South Branch of Licking River. Breakfasted at one McClellans at about 11 o'clock, 15 miles from Grants. Arrived at Main Licking which is about 15 miles further, crossed it and stopped at Col Lyons who lives here and boils salt at the Big blue lick which is close by the river side in a great bend of the river—the south branch of this river has very little water in it but this is a very pretty stream—forded it—there are only four or five cabins here which people occupy to boil salt—at present there are about 100 kettles boiling but the spring is large enough to afford water to boil 1000 kettles or more I suppose. The water issuing from the spring is very blue; that and the boiling of the kettles has a very particular effluvia arising from it which smells like the salt marshes on the sea shore, but stronger—they have their kettles fixed in kind of furnaces in a place underneath to keep fire in, and 8 kettles in each furnace, two and two—Col Lyon says it will take about four men to supply 100 kettles with wa-

ter and fire and about as many more to keep them in wood if it is pretty convenient, himself boils 32 kettles and makes from 3 to 3½ bushels of salt in the 24 hours; they boil night and day except Sunday and he sells this salt from 3 to 4 dollars a bushel—upon a Calculation it takes about 120 Gallons of this water to make one Gallon of Salt—his kettles hold 10 or 12 Gallons of water each. The Salt when made is very white and fine and better they say to preserve meat than the imported, owing to the quality of Nitre in it.

*September 2*—Staid to eat Breakfast with Col Lyons, who is a gentleman from the lower parts of Virginia and treated us with a great deal of Politeness and attention—told us many extraordinary stories of the numbers of Buffaloes that formerly resorted to this Salt Spring. That one man enumerated 500 head in one view at the Spring, and suppose he did not reckon one fourth he saw adjacent to it— Shewed us large roads cut Several feet in the earth and as large as common highways made by Buffaloes coming to the Springs—and what few trees there are on the hills close by the Spring ready to fall down by the Buffaloes taking shelter under them from the sun and treading the earth from their roots. These reports he has from people who have been here before him, and dont doubt it has been a great resort for these animals on account of the Salt Water, and a number of them has been killed here as appears by the number of their skulls now strewed about the place. Here a very severe Battle was fought in the year 1779 or 1780 between a few of the Militia of Kentucke and a superior num-

ber of Indians in which the Militia was defeated and lost near one hundred men killed— Col Lyons bid us beware of Indians between this and Limestone as there was a boy and two negroes taken off by them the night before last from a Station within a few miles of the road we are to go and about ten miles from Limestone—but the people all thro Kentucke telling us our danger all along the road makes this kindly caution very familiar to us— Crossed the North Fork of Licking about 15 miles from the Blue Licks—little or no water in it—4 miles further we came to a quite nice village called Washington within five miles of Limestone— These people first began to build this place entirely in the Woods last Christmas and now I suppose there is 40 houses in it, chiefly indifferent Log ones and rather scattered, have sunk some wells here with success— Dined and arrived at Limestone at 5 o'clock where we found our Boat in waiting, having got here this morning—from Lexington to the Blue Licks is reckoned 40 miles, and to Limestone 23 further— making in the whole from Louisville to Limestone, the road we came, about 183 miles, pretty good waggon road all the way; there is a nearer road to Louisville by 30 miles to turn off to the right of Lexington and go by Leestown, but more dangerous and not so good a road.

What is called *Kentucke*, and what a number of settlers is now endeavouring to obtain a separation from the parent state Virginia and be Independent, I understand is to be bounded by Big Sandy river and the Cumberland Mountains on the East, by the South boundary line of Virginia on the South and by the Ohio

river on the North and West. In the latter end of the year 1779 this whole extent of country only contained 170 souls and now they say there are 30,000 in it; however from the best calculation I can make and the accounts I get from different people in the country I cant think there exceeds 25,000 souls of every description, a great many of them negroes and transient trading persons, so I suppose there is not more than 5,000 fighting men that can be depended on. It at present is divided into seven counties viz *Jefferson, Nelson, Mercer, Madison, Lincoln, Fayette* and *Bourbon*. The people in General are better than ever I knew to settle in a new country. There are some from every state in the Union particularly from North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania; Virginia gave great encouragement for the settling this country—every man who raised corn here in the year 1780 held by right 400 acres and *la préemption* for 1000 more, but what are now called Capital Land holders in this country own from 100 to 120 thousand acres. The people in general are very indolent in respect to cultivating their land, perhaps it is owing to their holding too great a quantity or the disturbance occasioned by the frequent incursions the Savages make in their country. What they chiefly raise is Indian Corn which they make their bread of—some Wheat, Rye, Oats &c. Tobacco they raise a good deal and would raise a great deal more if there was any consumption for it, also Hemp flax &c. They seem generally to have a most excellent breed of Horses, which they take great pains in Raising; all kinds of stock is easily raised and comes to

great perfection. They raise great abundance of Hogs, as you will see 100 or 150 in a drove running apparently wild in the woods. The town of Louisville is rather unhealthy particularly in August and September when a kind of fever and ague rages and makes the countenances of all the people appear yellow and wan, which I imagine generally arises from the badness of the water they drink. The Land on Bear Grass and as far as Sullivan's old station is very fine, chiefly bottom and timbered with very large Beach, some Oak and Elm; from this station the land is very Ridgy and a thin gravelly soil to Bardstown, all cut to pieces with water courses without any water in them except standing pools, which I saw the people drinking after it was perfectly green—dont wonder they are all sick; even Salt River which we crossed had scarcely any running water in it—but the least showers of rain cause a torrent in all these courses—some good bottoms but small on Salt river. The Land middling good just about Bardstown, and until you get near Danville is much the same as before you get to Bardstown; most miserable watered—about Danville it is very good and some well improved farms near it. The waters of Kentucke which you now come on is much more steady than the other streams and the land better. Some cane grows on the land near Danville and on. You would imagine the country in general very low till you come to Dick's river and the Kentucke which has amazing stupendous banks and very rapid; from Kentucke river to Lexington the land is very fine indeed; well watered, timbered and a great deal of cane,



people looks and is a great deal more healthy in and near Lexington. The land continues very fine till you get on the waters of Licking river; some pretty good I understand on the south Fork and a good many settlers on it but there is not scarcely an acre fit for cultivation at the Blue Licks, and Col Lyons tells me the Land generally on Licking river is very indifferent all the way to its mouth and no settlers on it. On the North Fork of Licking, where we passed, is some fine Cane Land and so on to Limestone; some good stations and well improved farms round Limestone 8 or 10 miles. Stations is the manner in which the country was first settled; that is a number of families collected in one place, built their huts adjoining each other and stockaded them in for their common defence and improved only all together 3 or 400 acres of Land just enough for their bare subsistence. It is only since the conclusion of the war they have scattered themselves in the country. A stranger must not judge of the number of the Inhabitants from those he sees settled on the road side; for the road is carried thro the most high and hilly part of the country which is not so fit for cultivation as the more interior part. A great inconvenience the settlers at present undergo is the want of mills to grind their grain, owing in some parts of the settlements to want of water and in general the country being too young; however in Villages they have generally Horse mills which grind for the community. In private families they have hand mills with which they grind their corn &c as they want it. At Lexington we had the account confirmed of the Indians carrying

off the Boy and two negroes, by the Boy's father who has just returned from making every search after the savages; he is a Mr Clarke who appears amazingly distressed for the loss of his favorite child and offers one hundred pounds to any person who will restore him, which from his responsibility and respectability, he is very able to pay.

*September 3*—After detaching the Corporal and one man we had extra in our boat to return with our horses to Louisville, we set off ourselves in our Boat at 12 o'clock and lay all night near the third Island 20 miles above Limestone.

*September 4*—Rowed on to the mouth of Sciota opposite which we lay all night on the Bar that puts off from S E shore.

*September 5*—Went about 30 miles today and anchored out.

*September 6*—Arrived at Guyandot this evening and lay all night off its mouth in rapid water—obliged to make fast to a sawyer.

*September 7*—Pushed hard this day for Great Kenhawa, in the afternoon found our provisions almost exhausted and put every man on board to allowance— In the evening the men begged to go on and arrived at Great Kenhawa about 10 o'clock.

*September 8*—Left Kenhawa 10 o'clock and lay all night about 6 miles below the little falls.

*September 9*—Passed the little falls which is now very perceivable as the water is very low—only one small pitch, and on the whole they are very trifling. Lay all night about 6 miles below Devil hole Creek.

*September 10*—Got to Flynn's station a little before 12 o'clock and Breakfasted

—lay all night at the lower end of the large Island just below little Kenhawa.

*September 11*—Arrived at Muskingham between one and two o'clock where we found every person happy to see us—and I never had a more agreeable tour than this I experienced in company with Maj North—found that Col Harmar has detached Capt Hearts Company to join Maj Hamtramck with the Surveyors and that they have been a good deal surprised here by an Indian coming in and saying that the Indians were all collected in the Shawness towns and intended a descent on this place—The Colonel to prevent a surprise has ordered the two companies to parade every morning at reveille beating and remain one hour under arms in occupying the fort—Mrs Harmar and Dav McDowell and his Lady have arrived in my absence, also one six pounder, one 5½ inch Howitz and a little wrought-iron three pounder, have got some of the Bastions with platforms to mount them in.

*September 17*—Left Muskingham with Maj North about 2 o'clk and went to the head of the first Island about 5 miles and lay all night.

*September 18*—Lay this night on the 1st Island in the long reach, our men being from Captain Strong's Company did not row well.

*September 19*—Got this day a little ways above Fish Creek and lay all night.

*September 20*—Stopped a little while at Grave Creek—went to see the Big grave found all the houses evacuated, apparently in great disorder, leaving their furniture &c all distributed about, which made us apprehensive they were drove off by the Indians; went 6 miles above

here, lay all night at a house which had very lately been left—staid ourselves and kept sentries all night.

*September 21*—Halted at Wheelin where we found the people from below all assembled being much surprised by some Indians appearing among them a few days ago at their settlements—building a Fort here to defend themselves. Many rumours of a great number of Indians speedily expected to attack them—Lay about 10 miles above Wheelin all night.

*September 22*—Stopped at a small Block house to-day on the Indian shore which Maj Hamtramck had built for the security of his provisions while he was out protecting the Continental Surveyors. Saw here Capt Mills the Commissary and Mr. Hoops a Surveyor, who told us that they expected the troops and all the Surveyors in, on account of an alarm they had received from the Indian towns. Arrived to-night within about three miles of Yellow Creek.

*September 23*—Lay to-night about 7 miles below McIntosh.

*September 24*—Breakfasted at McIntosh where we found the chief of Capt Fergusons Comp'y (a few being at Fort Pitt) and himself. Maj Hamtramck's command, consisting of his own company, Capt Hearts, Capt Mercers, and Capt McCurdys—Mrs McCurdy is here and in a very bad state of health; left here and went about half way to Fort Pitt.

*September 25*—Sett out early in the morning, arrived at Fort Pitt at 2 o'clock, where Capt Ashton commanded with a few men of Capt Fergusons Comp'ny; a very tedious passage, the men not being accustomed to the business fatigued them

very much—Stayed here some days to recruit my horse which I found in very bad order at Wheelin, on my way up I had him sent across to Fort Pitt with my boy—Pittsburgh is a very dissipated place as usual, chiefly owing I believe to the number of strangers continually passing and repassing, yet the lower class of people in this place scarcely does any thing else but drink whisky. No dependence to be put on any tradesmen, altho very indifferent in their professions.

*September 30*—Agreeable to my orders from Col Harmar, to set out for New York as soon as possible on public business, left Pittsburgh this day in company with Maj North and got to Harmars town at night—to Bridges the next night—to Andersons next night—stayed some time in Bedford and went to Juniata next night, breakfasted at McDonalds foot of Sideling hill next morning where Maj North and I parted, myself regretting much the want of his company, as he and I had traveled some time and a great ways together, and I never in my life experienced a more agreeable traveling companion; from the great fund of humor, good sense, pertinent remarks, and volubility of words, he made himself agreeable to all around him, and passed away the tedious days in coming up the river all the way from the falls of Ohio in perfect pleasantry. I being obliged here to go thro the Big Cover he could not accompany me but appointed a day to go into New York together; soon after I left Major North, a young country fellow but meanly dressed overtook me, accompanied by a very handsome young girl dressed very genteel, I did not at all understand this phenom-

ena, to see so well dressed a girl in this country among the mountains, riding a good horse, saddle, &c, and gallanted by such a dirty looking fellow; it looked strange, but he soon unveiled his story by telling me he lived in a cabin I had seen on the road side two or three miles back, and this was his sister who had come on a visit to him from the upper parts of Conococheague where she lived with a relation, and as he had not time to accompany her all the way home begged if I was going that road to wait upon her; I with pleasure agreed to his request and we all rode on together to Dickeys tavern 10 miles from McDonalds, when he returned, leaving his sister entirely in my charge. Eat my breakfast here and politely asked her to breakfast with me, but she said she had eaten with her brother at his house. Set off together, found her very sociable, which induced me to ask her name which her brother had forgot to inform me off; that led me to inquire where she came from &c all of which she answered very candidly and good natured, said her name was Bella Barclay, that she was only about two years from Ireland and lived with her uncle in Conococheague I endeavored then to sport with her good nature and ignorance, as I conceived, but soon found that she did not deserve the character I had formed of her, but seemed very well informed of her country she had solately left, had received a tolerable education which her own genius had much improved by reading a great many Authors; I was foiled in every attack upon her and that with a great deal of humor and good nature—then I wished for my old companion Maj North who would have en-

joyed her company with tenfold the satisfaction that I could, and have been much more pleasing to me— In either religion, Philosophy, or History —she got the better of me. The day being warm I found myself a good deal fatigued in walking over the lone mountains altho much improved by the Inhabitants on the N W Side, and we stopped at the Thorns tavern which is just at the foot of the mountain. After getting over it, where I endeavoured to treat her very genteel with plenty of good Toddy and Grog—but her prudence would not suffer her to drink more than was of service to her, and not any to me, altho she was exceeding warm; rode a few miles further with her into Conococheague often supporting a curious conversation till she was obliged to part from me by going off the main road to her uncles. She seemed much to regret the loss of my company as well as I did of hers. My curiosity was led to ask her a great many impertinent questions, during our being together, which she answered with very good nature and freedom—and never once did she seem any way concerned who I was, where I was going &c— Stopped at Mr McDowell's expecting to see Ens McDowell but as he was not at home only staid to dine and rode to Chambersburgh— Rained exceeding hard last night and still continued; set off early to cross a branch of Conococheague before it rose—got over it with difficulty. Breakfasted at Sheppersburgh and dined waiting for the rain to stop, which seemed to abate; about two o'clock, set out but soon rained as hard as ever; got to Alexanders tavern exceeding wet again — staid here all

night—Rode to Carlisle this morning to breakfast; staid here all day; in the afternoon Maj North came up who had been detained one day in the Horp Valley by the high waters. I being obliged to go thro Yorktown Maj North set out for Harrisburgh, to go by the way of Reading to New York, without calling at Philadelphia. Stayed all night at Yorktown, set off early the next morning and arrived in Lancaster at 2 o'clock where I found Major North at dinner, having altered his mind. My business detained me here all day—Maj North set off immediately after dinner. Next morning I set out in company with Gen Hand and lodged all night at the Sign of the Ship and the next evening

*October 11*—Arrived at Philadelphia. Much detained in this journey by the excessive rains, which raised all the rivers surprisingly, carrying away bridges, mills, and every thing before it; had to swim my horse over a number of streams. Even the stone bridge over Codenes in the middle of Yorktown was swept away, along with many houses. Stayed in Philadelphia only two or three days: spent two days with my brother at Princeton and got to New York.

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#### SPANISH NAVAL EXPEDITION TO NEW ORLEANS, 1769

FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT BY  
SENOR DON JOSÉ ANTONIO DE  
ARMONA MURGA

*In the possession of Don Hilario Cisneros*

This year, on the day of St. John at five o'clock in the evening, appeared at Havana the Mariscal de Campo, Conde de

O'Reilly, in a frigate commanded by Don Juan Tomaséo, which had been fitted out with the greatest dispatch at Cadiz and sent to sea. As her arrival was wholly unexpected it created universal surprise, and all the more because of some orders which the Count sent in from sea as soon as he came in sight of the Castle Morro.

He dispatched a gig on shore with his first adjutant, Don Miguel Knavesbrough, with orders to the General in command of the post to call upon sundry persons and inform them in his behalf that he expected to meet them that night at the house of the General, when he would communicate certain intelligence; he also advised Bucareli of his immediate visit and directed him to invite to a *junta* at his house that very night, the General of Marine, Don Juan Antonio de la Colina and the Intendente Conde de Macuriges, and informed him that at the *junta* he would show the orders which he brought from the King, to accomplish which arrangements must be discussed and settled without a moment of delay. The Adjutant came also to my house and gave me a verbal message, informing me that he had also to place in my hands a secret despatch from the Marquis de Grimaldi, Minister of State.

O'Reilly had always been very popular in the Island. This news once spread, the whole population came down to the shore to witness his landing in such numbers that it was difficult to open a way for him to reach the house of the Governor. The *junta* met, and later the order, of which I have spoken was given to me; and we agreed together that I

should go some morning early to his house to take his views.

The real object of his coming was disclosed in an order, of which copies were distributed, commanding him to stop at Havana, and afterwards at the Kingdom of New Spain, to inspect the troops of each, on whom and their perfect condition the King relied for the security and defence of his dominions in any event.

The aim of the expedition was New Orleans; his orders were to punish four or six Frenchmen who had been the leaders of the insurrection of that Colony, which a few years previous had been ceded by the King of France to the Crown of Spain; to establish and secure peace there. It was of importance that this should not transpire, that the principal criminals might be surprised and seized by a coup-de-main.

The Governor in Chief of the Colony, the Chief of the Squadron, Don Antonio Ulloa, had fled from there to Havana, with his wife, his children, and as many as twenty persons of his family, all of whom I received in my house at the time, as it was in my power to give them a frank and friendly reception. A few days later he embarked for Spain, visited the Court to report what had occurred, and in consequence the sudden military operation was undertaken and very properly entrusted to O'Reilly, because of his reputation and well known zeal.

The *junta*, in order to avoid inquiry, which always arises where many different orders are given to different officers, consented that the Conde de O'Reilly should have power to take such action in the Port and Bay as he saw fit; to select

the number of transports necessary ; to pick out the troops and detachments which should supply them ; artillery, powder, balls, provisions and necessary stores; and in order that he should meet with no delay, *appointed* a private conference with the Governor to smooth over any difficulty which might arise.

The General commanding was delighted with this arrangement, because he disliked to give half way orders. The commandant of the Marine took upon himself to select, equip and arm a frigate of his squadron, to take the head of the maritime expedition, with the assurance that (working night and day,) it would be ready the 15th of July, and that it should be of a draught to enter the Balize at the mouth of the Mississippi river, where the water is shallow, and the bottom extremely dangerous because of the fallen timber and whole trees which the river brings down in its rapid currents.

Bucareli, in his private conference, said to the Count that he was his friend, and that he could not refrain from informing him at least that he had received orders from the King to hold such troops, artillery and stores as he should deem necessary for the defence of his Post in the Island. That, on the assurance of this, he had pledged himself to the King to defend the Island; that the orders presented and read to the *junta* were not sufficient for him, and that in the present situation he could not hold himself responsible to his Majesty for his own defence, with the amount of information in his possession, and that if he brought no more direct orders, the expedition could not be made, at least in so far as affected his command as Governor.

O'Reilly was prepared for this. He presented another secret order addressed to the Governor by the Baylio, Don Julian de Arriaga, informing him that the King expected him to give all requisite assistance to carry out his mission, which would be but of short duration; and that he looked to him beyond all others to supply the aid the Count should require to achieve his purpose.

This done, the next day the Count began of himself to issue such orders as he deemed necessary; he gave notice that at the latest he must sail with *every thing ready*, in a month from his arrival; that is, on the 24th of July, early in the morning, at which time he should head his ship for sea.

The Marquis of Grimaldi instructed me, in the order which O'Reilly delivered to me, to give to this General every aid possible from the mail vessels, their crews and supplies, and the money of the treasury. Its date was of the 10th April. But that very night I received another *secret order* in the handwriting of that Minister himself, bearing date the 20th of the same month. In this he apprised me of the secret of the expedition to New Orleans, and informed me that he gave me the only information he could about it; that it must be understood that the King particularly desired that no interruption should occur in the monthly maritime mails in all directions, and that in the assistance rendered, there should be no diminutions of the regular money remittances for his treasury at Coruña and the requirements of the Ministry.

It is necessary to state here that from this port of Coruña the mail vessel for May sailed to Havana, by which I re-

ceived this last order; it crossed O'Reilly in the waters of Porto Rico, who fearing that the mail ship might arrive before him, as a faster sailer, and thinking that some word or notice of his expedition might go by it, ordered the captain to sail at his stern, and go ahead on no account whatever. The captain, Don Antonio de Villa, refused to comply, and the Count repeated it to him; but he would not obey except under force. Two shotted guns were fired, when he yielded instantly and shortened sail.

Thus he entered Havana after the frigate. The captain delivered his papers, and I, following the instructions received in the new order, governed myself by it in the conference with O'Reilly, taking prudential measures beforehand.

The 25th of June O'Reilly despatched his adjutants to the Bay to embargo the greater part of the vessels there at anchor, large and small, whether loaded, discharged or half discharged.

The *active* General was about in all directions, was everywhere to be seen, talked with everybody, and always with an inconceivable vivacity, with a demoniac fire rarely met with. Every night there was a meeting of his adjutants at the house of the Governor, and there, in public, written reports were made (each separately), of all that each had done during the day; others gave him information by word of mouth, and to each he gave verbal orders as to what he should do the following day; each was approved or condemned in such things as he found them wanting in sufficient activity, and they went out each night with censure or approbation.

This sort of thing went on for eight whole days and nights, until the begin-

ning of July; and in the entire eight days nothing had been done; the Bay and its shipping had been thrown into a turmoil absolutely incredible, and everything was at a stand still.

The Governor held his court every night before the Count began to hold his. He gave the *health* and retired to another room with two or three friends, so as not to interfere with him in any way. But from that room he could see all that went on in the other; he saw the disgust with which the temper and impatience of O'Reilly were received, and he often saw that he was not at the end of his troubles. Bucareli let him run through his whole ecliptic with the satellites he had chosen, and those who had connived with them. He wished no discussions, quarrels, nor hard words, but he only wished that O'Reilly *himself* might be convinced *by himself*.

Sleeplessness and activity are excellent things in a commander when the relative abilities, the order of command, and the capacity of the persons commanded are in accord with that sleeplessness and activity. In truth it must be said that the extremely active and extremely useless labor of the aforesaid eight days was impeded by the number of persons therein engaged.

There were ships laden with sugars and other products ready to sail for Spain, which were *embargoed* and ordered to unload. Their captains complained aloud, claiming damages. There were ships unloading merchandise according to their Spanish manifests under the rights of *free commerce*, which were again *embargoed* and compelled to unload at once.

The captains and ship-masters represented that their vessels needed ballast, to pay for which they had not a rial from their cargoes, adding that they had discharged the greater part of their crews as they were a heavy charge, and not needed for two or three months, until their return. Many vessels, even those which were without galleys, cables, rigging and other things *were also embargoed*. The owners represented this to the adjutants, and the adjutants informed their General, but urged or threatened by their chief, they in turn urged and threatened the owners, and the owners took to flight to escape the adjutants; about eighteen or twenty good vessels were requisite, yet more than forty useless craft were *embargoed*, none of them good and all by right free from any embargo; he ordered their owners to begin at once to fit them for sea; he threatened them with imprisonment, and in each ship posted an adjutant to hasten and superintendent the labor of each day, and arranged for a division for night labor.

Then happened in this extremity precisely what might have been expected. Many of the captains and nearly all the owners abandoned their vessels, took the right of asylum or concealed themselves. It was requisite that their keels should draw no more water than would be found on the Balize or in the river Mississipi, in order to enter; and yet, without making this practical examination, the useful and the useless were alike embargoed. Proper representations were made, but they were not, on this account, either exempted or any notice taken of the representations.

Such was the condition of affairs in the first days of July. Bucareli, not to dis-

turb his friend, had made no observation to him whatever; but matters had reached such a pass that he felt it his duty to have an explanation with him, and he did so with military frankness.

"Friend, with all that has been done up to this hour, I yet see no light. At the rate at which this is going on you can not get away from this place, as is necessary, the 24th of this month, nor do I believe that you will be ready by the 8th of August. If you choose, I will come here every morning between four and five o'clock, and I will also visit the General of Marine, who is a good friend; we will cross the bay; we will take along with us the Captain of the Port, with a list of all the vessels in it, their crews and actual condition; with the Harbor master and such other intelligent persons as we require, we will go over the whole bay and examine the ships, and they will inform us of the good and bad points of each, and action can be taken upon this information."

So it was done the following day, and such judicious, methodical diligence resulted from it, that the loaded ship, the useless from its poor condition, the unserviceable, because of its draught of water being too great for the Balize, were all excluded and notice given to their captains by the Clerk of the Governor that from that moment they were at liberty; that the other vessels, having been thoroughly examined and measured in hull and hold by the Harbor master, such of them as were suitable selected, and the repairs necessary to be made upon them being agreed upon, their captains were notified to present themselves that same night at eleven o'clock at the



house of the Governor; at the hour fixed, there arrived at a *junta* the General of the Commission, the General of Marine, the two Commissaries of the army and navy, Don Nicholas Jose Rapun and Don Bartholome de Montes (both men from head to foot). The Governor and Captain General of the Island presided in person over this *junta*, entered into agreement, with all the parties interested, with regard to the freighting of each vessel, according to its tonnage and the time it would take, the advances of money which the outfit required, its collection the very same day, and also charged the two Government Commissaries to aid and facilitate in every possible way; each within the limits of his own department. From this moment the sky was clear; those who had fled returned from their hiding places, sailors came forward ready and eager, all encouraged by the concessions made. All moved forward evenly from that day, without any obstruction whatever.

When towards the middle of July the Governor saw the condition of forwardness of affairs, he said to the General of the Commission: "As far as I am concerned, all will be ready by the 20th or 21st of this month, and the expedition can sail if you on your side make no hindrance; and so I shall advise the Court, since I have nothing more to do, having done all that was asked of me. It was expected to set forth at the end of a month from your arrival, and now it is ready before the month is out." The General of Marine was also ready on his side, as he had promised.

I had already held my conference with the General of the Commission. In it I

gave him an approximation of what the mail Service could give him in aid of his enterprise; it was three vessels well fitted and manned, whose Captains understood how to enter and leave the waters of the Balize; forty thousand hard dollars, one hundred barrels with a thousand arrobas of flour, cables and rigging; assuring him that in eight days all would be ready if he would himself take the least pains and his adjutants less; and that the captains and pilots of the three mail vessels would take his orders either in writing or by word of mouth as he should prefer. He was very much pleased, and he replied to me with frankness: "*The money I do not need, but everything else.*" The ocean mail vessels I shall send here with despatches for the Court; and for everything else that may arise we shall have a friendly understanding, and henceforth I shall advise you of the progress of affairs and will avail of your kindness for whatever may present for the service of the King." We parted in friendship, and mutually pleased. From the moment when the Governor paid him the delicate compliment of the 15th, O'Reilly hastened, after his fashion, the embarkation of the troops; he arranged his plans for the entry and landing, taking with him on shore some of the fugitives to lay hold on the guilty parties. The expedition sailed the 21st July; it was composed of twenty-one transports with a frigate, twenty-five hundred men and a corresponding force of artillery. All passed according to his wish. He seized the criminals and brought them to trial; they paid the forfeit of their lives. He left the Governor with a suitable garrison. He returned to Havana, embarked immediately for Ca-

diz and flew to the Court. His services were greatly praised. An article appeared in the Gazette, with a just panegyric upon the *very active* and successful General, taking no notice (as is usual) of the two Generals of Havana and the other persons who had served the King under his own eyes, and in a manner which could not have escaped his memory.\*

The Governor of Havana read this article (in person) in public without saying more than that *it was well contrived*. Since then I have seen a most honorable order of the King, sent by the Baylio Arriaga, full of praise of the two Generals of sea and land, and the other persons of the ministry and of the country for the fervent zeal with which they hastened to carry out the wishes of the King. Narratives of the nature of the preceding rarely find their way into notices of the Gazette, which are usually contrived to benefit the interested parties.

NOTE.\*—In the summer of 1780 this active and fiery Count erred in his political calculations, as he had blundered in his military plans, and ruined himself.

### NORUMBEGA

#### A CHAPTER FROM CHAMPLAIN'S VOYAGES

*Translated from the text of 1632 for the Magazine of American History*

The aforesaid river of Sainte-Croix running along the coast about twenty-five leagues we passed a great number of islands, banks, reefs, and rocks which push out as far as four leagues into the sea in many places, to which I gave the name of "les îles rangées," the coast range of islands, the most of which are

covered with fir and pine and other poor trees. Among these islands are many large and fine ports, but by no means pleasant; and I passed near to an island which was from four to five leagues in length. From this island northward to the main land the distance is not over a hundred paces. It is quite high and irregular in places, which appear like seven or eight mountains close to each other in a row. The summits of the greater part of these are bare of trees, as they are nothing more than rocks. The woods are only firs, pines, and birch trees. I called it the island of Monts-deserts. It lies in  $44\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of latitude.

The savages here having entered into alliance with us guided us to their river Pemetegoit, as they call it, where they told us that their Captain, named Bessabez, was chief. I believe that this river is the one which many Navigators and Historians call Norumbegue, and that most of them have described it as grand and spacious, with a quantity of islands, and its mouth at a latitude of  $43\frac{3}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  degrees according to some, and of 44 degrees, more or less, according to others. I have never read or heard say what its declination is. It is also related that there is a large town there, thickly populated with adroit and skillful savages, who manufacture cotton thread. I am satisfied that the greater part of those who mention it have never seen it, and only repeated what they have heard from those who knew no more of it than themselves. I really believe that there are few who have seen its mouth; because of the fact that there are a number of islands, and that they say it

is at 44 degrees of latitude at its mouth; but that any one of them ever entered it there is no probability, for they would have described it in quite another manner. In order to relieve many persons of this doubt, I will, therefore, truly report what I have examined and seen of it from the beginning to as far as I went.

In the first place, at its mouth there are several islands some ten or twelve leagues distant from the main land, at a height of 44 degrees of latitude and 18 minutes declination by the compass.

The Island of Monts-deserts forms one of the points of its mouth in an easterly direction; the other of which is a low land, called by the Savages Bedabedec, which is to the west of this, they being distant from each other nine or ten leagues; and at sea, nearly half-way between them, there is another quite high and remarkable island, which for this reason I have called l'Isle haute. All around there is an infinite number of them of various length and width, but the greatest of them is Monts-deserts. There is excellent fishing of fish of many kinds and plenty of game. Two or three leagues distant from the point of Bedabedec, skirting the great main land to the north, which projects into this river, there are very high lands, which are visible in fine weather from them for a distance of twelve or fifteen leagues. Approaching the south of l'Isle haute, and skirting it for a quarter of a league, where there are several reefs out of water, and heading to the westward until all the mountains to the northward of this island open into view, one may be certain, upon sighting the eight or nine

openings of the islands of Monts-deserts and Bedabedec, of crossing the river of Norumbegue; to enter it one must head to the north, which is in the direction of the highest mountains of the said Bedabedec, and no further islands will be seen ahead, and an entrance may be safely made, there being plenty of water, although breakers, islands and rocks will appear on the east and the west. They must be avoided by the use of the lead to insure greater safety;—and I believe, as far as I am able to judge, that this river can not be entered at any other place, unless by small craft or sloops: for (as I have said above) the number of islands, rocks, bays, banks and breakers in all directions is strange to see.

Now to return to the progress of our route; upon entering the river there are many islands which are quite pleasant, and of meadow land. I went as far as a place to which the Savages guided me, which is not more than a half of a quarter of a league wide; and some two hundred paces from the land to the westward there is a rock on the water's surface which is dangerous. Thence to l'Isle haute there are fifteen leagues; and above this narrow place (where we found the width to be the least) after going some seven or eight leagues, we came to small stream, near which we were compelled to drop anchor, the more because before us we saw a quantity of rocks which the low tide left bare; and even had we desired to push on further, it would have been impossible to make a half league because of a rapid which is there, the declivity of which is some seven to eight feet, which I saw by going

thither in a canoe with the Savages who were with us, and found that there was only water enough for a canoe: but the rapids, which are about one hundred paces wide, being passed, the river is fine and pleasant as far as the place where we dropped anchor. I landed to see the country, and hunting found it extremely pleasant and agreeable so far as I went, and it seemed to me that the oaks had been purposely planted. I saw few pine trees, but some fir on one side of the river; on the other the trees were all oaks and a small underbrush, which extended far into the country: and I will say that from the mouth to where I was, which is a distance of about twenty-five leagues, I saw no town, nor village, nor evidence of there having been any, but only one or two huts of the Savages, in which there was no person, these huts being constructed after the same fashion as those of the Souriquois and covered with the bark of trees; and as far as I was able to judge, there are but few Savages in this river, which is also called Pemetegoit. Nor yet do they come to the islands except for some months of the summer during the fishing and hunting season, when they find abundance of game. These people have no fixed abode as far as I could discover or learn from them; for they winter sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, wherever they find the hunt of large game to be best, living thereupon when driven to it by necessity, without laying up any store for the days of famine, which are sometimes very severe.

Now as a matter of certainty this is the river Norumbegue: for from this as high as 41 degrees, as far as I coast-

ed, there is no other in the latitudes I have named except that of Quinibeque, which is nearly at the same height, but not of great size. Moreover, there can be no other which run so far into the country, the more because the great river Saint Laurent skirts the coast of Acadie and Norumbegue, where the distance from one to the other is not more than from forty-five to sixty leagues at the most in a straight line.

Here I shall leave this account to return to the Savages who conducted me to the rapids of the river Norumbegue, who went to inform Bessabez, their chief, and other Savages, who went up another little river to inform theirs also, who was called Cabahis, of our arrival.

The sixteenth of the month there came to us about thirty Savages, upon the assurances given them by those who had served as our guides. There came also to visit us the same day the said Bessabez with six canoes. As soon as the Savages, who were on land, saw him arrive, they set to sing and dance and jump about until he stepped on shore: after which they all sat down upon the ground in a ring, according to their custom, when they have a speech to make or any festivity. Cabahis, the other chief, also arrived soon after, with twenty or thirty of his companions, who withdrew to one side, and were greatly delighted to see us, the more because it was the first time they had ever seen any Christians. A little while later I went on shore with two of my companions and two of our Savages, who served as our interpreters; I ordered the men of our vessel to draw near the Savages, and to hold themselves ready armed to

do their duty should they see any hostile disposition on the part of these people towards us. Bessabez seeing that we were landed, made us sit down, and began to smoke with his companions, as they ordinarily do before making their speeches, and made us presents of venison and game. All the rest of this day and the following night they passed in singing, dancing and feasting, waiting for daylight. Immediately after each one went his way, Bessabez his with his companions, and we ours, quite pleased to have made acquaintance with these people.

The seventeenth of the month I took an observation, and found the latitude to be 45 degrees 25 minutes. This done, I left to visit another river, called Quinibequy, distant thirty-five leagues from this place, and about fifteen from Bedabedec. This nation of Savages of Quinibequy call themselves Etechemins, as also that of Norumbegue.

The eighteenth of the month I passed by a small stream, where I found Cabahis, who went with us in our vessel about twelve leagues. And asking him whence the river of Norumbegue came, he told me that it passes the rapids which I have mentioned above, and that a little distance beyond they reach a lake, by way of which they go a short distance by land to the river of Sainte Croix, then enter the river of Etechemins. Moreover, another river flows into the lake on which they travel several days, and then enter another lake, through the middle of which they pass; and having reached the extremity, they make another short land journey, and then enter another little stream, which empties into

the great river Sainct Laurent. All the inhabitants of Norumbegue are quite swarthy, and dress in beaver skin and other furs, like the Canadian and Souriquois Savages, and live after the same manner.

This in fact is all that I saw of the coast, people and river of Norumbegue, in which there is no such marvel as has written of them. I believe that this place is as disagreeable in winter as Sainte Croix.

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## NOTES

ANECDOTE OF WASHINGTON.—The following letter, the original of which is in my possession, contains an anecdote of President Washington which has, at least, the merit of being unquestionably authentic. It is besides a good specimen of a long series of dignified but affectionate letters, addressed to his wife by the Hon. Jasper Yeates, while he was absent from home attending to his duties as one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania:

*"Bedford, 24 April, 1797.*

My Dearest Wife:

We got here this morning after Breakfast but experienced dreadful Roads. We were much fatigued yesterday, but forgot all our cares when we came to Hartleys, 6 miles from hence. A fine woman, handsomely but plainly dressed, welcomed us to his house. Good Trout, Asparagus, Olives, and Apples garnished our Table, and I had as good a Bed as ever I lay in, to console me after my Ride.

Mr Washington once told me, on a charge which I once made against the President at his own Table, that the admiration he warmly professed for Mrs Hartley, was a Proof of his Homage to the worthy Part of the Sex, and highly respectful to his wife. In the same Light I beg you will consider my Partiality to the elegant accomplishments of Mrs Hartley.

I wrote to you from Chambersburg by Mr Bowie. I now consider you at Belmont, and often speak to Mr Smith about what I presume to be your engagements. In about a month I shall begin to turn my Face homewards and rejoice at the anticipation. But I am fearful of pursuing the Idea long, lest my Stay abroad should be made doubly uneasy on Reflection.

My Love to our dear Children. I ever shall be, my dear wife, most affectionately yrs,  
J. YEATES."

MRS YEATES.

The lady for whom, according to the above letter, President Washington "warmly professed" his admiration, was the wife of Col. Thomas Hartley, M. C. from 1789 to 1800, who had in 1778 commanded the expedition against the Indians concerned in the massacre of Wyoming.

Lancaster, Pa.

J. H. D.

**LATITUDINAL ORDER OF THE UNITED STATES.**—Persons who have attended our public schools are familiar with the order in which the names of the States are called, viz: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, etc.

This order seems to have originated with Gov. James de Lancey of New

York, who, while Presiding Officer of the Congress on Indian Affairs, assembled at Albany, June, 1754, proposed "that to avoid all disputes about the precedence of the Colonies, they should be named in the Minutes according to their situation from North to South—which was agreed to."  
W. K.

**THE NUMBER THIRTEEN.**—*Philadelphia, June 28, 1777.*—At a meeting of a lodge of Free Masons, in order to celebrate the festival of St. John's day, it accidentally happened that exactly thirteen members met, that at dinner they had thirteen dishes of meat on the table; they drank thirteen loyal American toasts, sang thirteen songs; their bill for liquor was thirteen bottles of wine, and thirteen bowls of toddy; their reckoning thirteen pounds, and they spent thirteen hours viz. from eight o'clock in the morning, until nine o'clock in the evening, in the greatest harmony and good humor, which caused it to be remarked, that it was in some degree emblematical of the Union, Friendship, Harmony, and Freedom of the Thirteen United States of America.—*Independent Chronicle, July 17, 1777.*  
W. K.

**HISTORICAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES.**—Since the publication of the Historical Map of Pennsylvania in 1775, by the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the attention of State authorities and of Historical Students has been directed to the importance of a general map of a similar character. The State of New York has already taken steps for a new survey, reproducing the old historical lines. In such a map all the obsolete

Indian and colonial names should be preserved. The work for Pennsylvania was under the charge of Mr. P. W. Sheafer of Pottsville, who is still collecting material upon that State. We commend the plan to the consideration of our readers.

EDITOR.

### QUERIES

ORIGIN OF THE NAMES OF MAINE AND RHODE ISLAND.—In 1602 Maine (Purchas) was called "Mavooshen." Sir Ferdinando Gorges (Maine Coll. 11, 55,) speaks of "my Province of Maine." When and how did the names of "Mavooshen" and "Maine" originate?

Who will give the origin of the name of "Rhode Island"? "Rhode" has been translated *Red*, with a reference to a certain *Red Island*; and, also, with reference to the redness of the foliage in autumn. Was it called Rhode Island because Verrazano, 1524, compared Block Island to the Rhodes of the Mediterranean?

D.

CHALMERS' OPINIONS.—Who wrote the "Preface to the First American Edition" of Chalmers' "Opinions of Eminent Lawyers on various points of English Jurisprudence, chiefly concerning the Colonies, Fisheries and Commerce of Great Britain," published at Burlington; C. Goodrich & Company, 1858?

Boston.

J. W. T.

OLIVER POLLOCK.—I want information about Oliver Pollock, of whom a brief obituary gives these few facts: "He was the pioneer of the Commerce of New

Orleans. He was appointed Commercial Agent of the United States for New Orleans and Havana in 1777; and furnished the supplies for the army under Genl. Roger Clark, for the Illinois Country, at his own expense, and by his own patriotism."

The only items besides the above, which are preserved in imperfect family records, state that he owned Silver Springs, his summer residence near Philadelphia, and was possessed of valuable property in Penn. and Louisiana. He had two sons and two daughters. One son, Procopia Pollock, who was educated in England, and had a large Coffee plantation, I think, on the Island of St. Thomas. One daughter, Lucetta, lies buried in the Cathedral, Philadelphia. (R. C.) The other, Mary, married Dr. Samuel Robinson, of Miss., but born and educated in Philadelphia, and studied medicine under Dr. Rush. During the last war the grand-daughter of Oliver Pollock had stolen from her plantation in Mississippi, by the troops, his miniature, taken in the uniform of a British officer, and set in gold and diamonds; also the miniature of Procopia P, similarly set, and the family coat-of-arms, set in gold, and a History, written by him. I will be grateful for any information concerning the above.

H. E. HAYDEN.

Brownsville, Pa.

SAGITTARIUS'S LETTERS AND POLITICAL SPECULATIONS.—Sagittarius, p. 6, of "Letters," Boston, 1775, said: "They too have found out a new way to pay old debts. A Mr. Rome goes over to America to collect £50,000 owing his

House in London. The Judges there, in league with the debtors, render his errand abortive. He complains of this in a letter to a friend. This letter is stolen by somebody and transmitted to America. A printed copy of it is produced in Court against him, and the debtors imprison their Creditor for daring to complain of their collusive delinquency." Who were these "judges," "debtors," and "creditors?" What were the facts? When and where did they happen?

On p. 8 he says: "The Moderator of one of the Town Meetings about the time the tea was destroyed, was called a Tory some years ago, and in such disrepute with the faction, that when his house was on fire, the Liberty Boys swore that he and it might burn together, if it were not for the danger the rest of the town would be in. Now is he set at our head in the most momentous times, by the recommendation no doubt of his kinsman, Dr. Franklin." Who was this "Moderator," and what were the facts?

On p. 9 he says: "One of our most laboring demagogues and voluminous writers is a crazy Doctor, whom some years ago they were going to banish out of Town for professing himself an Atheist." Who was this?

Again he says: "But the principal man amongst them was once our Tax Gatherer, and spent about two thousand pounds lawful money belonging to the Town; but he was forgiven this and made representative, and Clerk to the House of Representatives, on account of his seditious writings." Who was this man, and what were the facts?

Again: "Another great patriot not

long ago brought milk into Town to sell." Who could he have been?

It was an enemy who said all these things—one John Meins. J. W. T.

SWEET LIPPED JONATHAN.—Who wrote a poem of some length, entitled, "Sweet Lip<sup>d</sup> Jonathan, or the Half Drowned Yankee," published in the *Pittsburg Gazette*, January, 1794? H. E. H.

## REPLIES

BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO.—(I. 129.) In the February number I find a note upon this personage and an endeavor to establish the date of his death. Although this is not in my power, I beg to send a short note upon some of the incidents in the life of this celebrated character. The accounts of him beyond those which we find in his own work or in that written by one of his descendants are extremely meagre. Notwithstanding which, foreign writers have rarely cited him without errors.

It is singular that up to the time when the *Relation of the Conquerors and Discoverers of New Spain* was sent from Simancas to the general archives of the Indies, (*Memoirs of the Economic Society*, Havana, Vol. 16, p. 274) the name of the historian, Diaz del Castillo, is not mentioned, and had not Francisco Gómara published his chronicle, posterity would have been ignorant of the writings of this soldier-writer. The indignation which the silence of the chronicler, who attributed all the glory of the conquest to Cortéz without naming any of his companions, aroused in the mind



of the soldier, checked the pen which was about to establish the base of a *true history*. (It is so stated in chapter XVIII.)

I will begin by quoting what Scherzer said in a note to the History of the Origin of the Indes, by P. Ximenez. He assures us that the original of the work quoted is in the Town-Hall of Guatemala, and that it "ends on the 14 November, 1605." He states in the same history that it terminated in 1568 (chapter CCX), and in this year a copy was taken of it. The writer, with extreme minuteness, adds *that later he cleaned it* (chapter CCXII), and when copy was made he called in the students and took their opinion on the merits of the work. It is no more the original than that which ended in 1605, although the final note proves it to be a copy which had been preserved.

Mr. Leclerc (*Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 109) indicated the 26 February, 1568, as the date when Castillo completed his work, adding that he was *Governor* of Santiago de Guatemala at that time; but the descendant of the writer does not give this title in announcing that published by the Padre Rémon. It is an error to call him Governor, although he was the sole ruler of the city; but the year coincides with that which Diaz del Castillo himself gives.

A fatal destiny pursued the memory of this valiant soldier. The most extensive and authoritative of French biographers (Michaud *Biographie Universelle*. Second edition. Vol. vii, p. 174) makes many errors in a few lines. He says that Diaz remained in the conquered country *upon a lot of land called En-*

*comienda*. The Encomienda was properly speaking land set aside for the service of the Indians; and although the name of the locality was given to it, it was not a lot of land conceded unless occupied by the Indians. It was not in Mexico but in Camula, in Guatemala, whence it was granted to Diaz del Castillo. It is said that the old soldier slept even in times of peace "*in his armor*," which is absurd. The habit of Diaz del Castillo was to sleep dressed, with his *arms under his pillow*. It is certain that it was indignation which caused Diaz del Castillo to take up his pen for this narration. He had already completed his Relation, and was about to discontinue it when the omissions which he discovered in the work of Gómara caused him to *continue* it. He says the style is vulgar, but in order to preserve its peculiarities he had not clothed the work in other language. "No *translation* of it was known." When he wrote (1844) three English translations were known, two in London (1800 and 1844) and another at Salem, Massachusetts (1823). See Brunet *Manuel de Librairie*, 5th edition, vol. ii, p. 681. In 1838 it was printed in German at Bonn (Trübner Bibliog. Hisp. Americana. 28).

In the edition of the Earlier Historians of the Indies, by Colonel Rivadencion, (Madrid, 1853), data are found to settle some uncertain points. In this edition a descendant of the historian confirms some incidents overlooked by later writers, and there are some observations upon the alterations of the original. The edition of Padre Rémon first appeared in 1675 at Guatemala, although it was printed in 1632! Then it was

seen "that it contained in some parts more, and in others less than my great great grandfather wrote," as was said by Señor Fuentes, descendant of Diaz del Castillo. He gives some examples (*Historia Prim.*, Vol. ii, p. 7), among others he states that the "Ancianidad Manuscrito," as it is named on the *original cover*, which the family have preserved and kept in sight, begins thus: "Bernal Diaz del Castillo, inhabitant and Regidor of the most noble City of Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala, one of the discoverers of New Spain and its provinces, and soon after of Honduras and Higueiras." He adds that the account of Mediano del Campo, son of the Regidor Francisco Diaz del Castillo and of Doña Maria Diaz Rejon, is quite a different story from what appears in the printed volume.

Nearly all those who have examined this work say that the style of Diaz del Castillo is vulgar, coarse and rude, because of the limited education of a soldier; yet this is not true. It is plain, artless; such as was current in Old Castile among the higher classes; as his lineage was such, he naturally used the language of persons of his class. He is minute in detail, little varied in phraseology and constantly repeats the same ideas, but nothing justifies the assertion that his defects are vulgarity or coarseness; his unaffected simplicity is worth much more than that which was set in vogue by the rhetoricians and purists, in whose number he did not wish to be counted. The students who read the work said, "the work is in the style of our old Castile," which at the time was considered the most agreeable. (Chapter CCXII.)

With regard to the age of Diaz del

Castillo, he could not have lived till 1605, in all probability. He calls himself one of the oldest (of the first comers) of the conquerers who were still living in 1558, and as he arrived in the Indies in 1514 he would have been in 1605 about 117 years old, at which date he could neither have signed nor completed his manuscript; hence the date given by Mr. Scherzer is an accidental or an intentional error. ANTONIO BACHILLER.

CHASTELLUX MEMOIRS.—(I. 258.) The note is taken substantially from the publisher's preface to the *Voyages de M. le Marquis de Chastellux, dans L'Amérique Septentrionale*, Paris, 1786. The following is a translation of a part of the preface:

"The public has been aware for a long time that the Marquis de Chastellux has written journals of his different travels in North America, and a desire has been expressed that they should be published. The author, who has prepared them solely for himself and friends, until now has constantly refused to do so. In fact, the first and most considerable portion of them had been printed in America, of which only twenty-four impressions were struck off. \* \* \* There was a small printing press in the squadron at Rhode Island, which furnished him with facilities, of which he saw fit to avail himself. Of these twenty-four impressions, scarcely ten or twelve reached Europe, and he had sent them to responsible persons, whom he had requested not to allow any copies to be made."

This is probably one of the earliest instances of a book privately printed in America. I once mentioned the fact to

the late Hon. Charles Sumner, who told me that he owned a copy of this very edition, which was given him by M. Laboulaye. Mr. Sumner's library was bequeathed to Harvard College, but this work was not in it at the time when the library was received. It would be interesting to know the present whereabouts of the book.

*Boston.*

SAMUEL A. GREEN.

ORGAN BUILDING IN AMERICA.—(I. 53. 133. 261.) The Jesuit Father Sepp mentions an organ built in South America nine years earlier than his own attempt to construct an instrument. The following extracts are from his account of Paraguaría, dated 1691: "each canton has a very handsome lofty built church and steeple, with four or five bells; and sometimes two organs. \* \* we have two organs, (at Japagu on the river Uruguay) one brought from Europe, the other made here (by the natives) so exactly after the first, that I myself could scarce discern the difference."

PETERSFIELD.

LONG ISLAND INDIANS.—(I. 257.) What little Indian blood remains, in amalgamation with African, at Poosepatuck may have come either from the Patchogue or the Shinnecock tribe, or from both. Peter John, a Shinnecock Indian or half-breed, who lived at what is now "Manorville," about 1750, gathered a small congregation at Poosepatuck, organized a church, and preached there till his death, about the beginning of the present century. Thirty years ago six families were living there, comprising thirty individuals. (See Dr.

Prime's "History of Long Island," pp. 114, 118, 232). "*Pinksole*," the ancient name of Manorville, used to be written "Punk's Hole"—a designation which does not seem to be aboriginal, though no satisfactory interpretation of it can be found in *English* dictionaries. Of the three Indo-African words preserved at Poosepatuck, *skūk* is good enough Algonkin for "snake," Mohegan *skeogs*, Mass. *askook*, Delaware *achgook* (in Heckewelder's spelling); *to bi ni* may stand for, but can hardly be translated, "thank you, sir;" *tau bi* (Mass. *tâpi*) means "enough," and *taubi ni* would be "that's enough," *i. e.*, "I am satisfied,"—a condensed thanksgiving. Roger Williams has *taubot neanawdyean*, "I thank you." The third word, *metchik*, means, literally, "the big one," and was doubtless appropriated (like the corresponding Ottawa *mezshika*) to the largest species of turtle known to these Indians.

J. H. T.

PORTRAIT OF FRANKLIN.—(I. 260.) There is an engraving of Dr. Franklin in D'Auberteuil's *Essais Historiques et Politiques sur la Revolution de l'Amérique* (Bruxelles, 1782) which has under the portrait the single word "VIR."

S. A. G.

CONNECTICUT YANKEES.—(I. 256.) Connecticut would not object to recognition as the original type of the "universal yankee nation," but honesty forbids her to claim a distinction to which she is not fairly entitled. The natives of New England, generally, were denominated "Yankeys," some years before Connecticut Colonists went to Wyoming.

The earliest occurrence of this name that I have met with, was noted in the *Historical Magazine* for December, 1857 (i. 375). It is found in "*Oppression*," a Poem by an American, with notes by a North Briton, . . . London, printed; Boston, reprinted, 1765. The writer denounces John Huske (then a member of the British Parliament, for Maldon, Essex,) as the proposer of the scheme for taxing the Colonies.

"From meanness first, this *Portsmouth Yankey* rose,  
And still to meanness all his conduct flows;  
This alien upstart, by obtaining friends,  
From T-w-n-nd's Clerk, a M-l-d-n member ends."

*Note.*—"Portsmouth Yankey." It seems our hero, being a New Englander by birth, has a right to the epithet of *Yankey*; a name of derision, I have been informed, given by the Southern people on the Continent, to those of New England. What meaning there is in the word I never could learn." (p. 10.)

The origin of the name seems plain enough. It is one of the many Indian attempts to master the words "English" or "l'Anglais," of which the Algonkins (Nippissings) made "Aganasha;" the Chipeways, "Jaganash" and "Saganash;" the Crees, "Agathesu" and "Akayâsiou;" and some of the Indians of New England, "Yengees." J. H. T.

REGIMENTAL HISTORIES U. S. ARMY.—(I. 197.) The Story of a Regiment, By Col. A. G. Brackett, is really a history of the Second U. S. Cavalry to the year 1872. H. E. H.

A History of the Eighth Regiment of Infantry, U. S. A., from its organization in 1838 to the present time has been prepared by Lieutenant Wilhelm. It was printed at intervals of leisure on the regimental press, and intended for private distribution. G.

INDIAN LANGUAGES OF THE PACIFIC.—(I. 145) Mr. A. S. Gatschet, in his article under this caption, published in the March number, says on p. 155, "To draw an accurate limit between the numerous bands of the *Utahs*, and those of the *Snakes* and *Payutes* seems to be impossible at present, since all of them show the same national characteristics." I have no desire to criticise any of Mr. G.'s statements, as I know but little of Indian dialects; but I wish to call his attention to a "Report on the Languages of the different tribes of Indians, inhabiting the Territory of Utah, by Lieutenant C. R. Collins, Topographical Engineers," published as "Appendix P," p. 467 of "Reports of Exploration across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah in 1859, by Captain J. H. Simpson, U. S. A., (now Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General, U. S. A.)" and issued by the War Department in 1876. In that Report Lieutenant Collins gives quite an extensive comparative vocabulary of Indian words used by the *Ute* or *Utahs*, the *Shoshone*, the *Pi-Ute*, and the *Washoe* Indians, and also a few numerals of the *I-at* language. He makes the statement that the *Washoe* dialect is quite distinct in its characteristics from the others, and "appears to bear no resemblance to any of those given in Schoolcraft's collection of vocabularies, nor does it seem to be at all related to the *Shoshonee*."

Brownsville, Pa. H. E. HAYDEN.

WAYMOUTH'S VOYAGE, 1605.—(I. 259.) In reply to the query of your correspondent "Plus" which appeared in the April number, I direct attention to Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, III, 504,

which mentions one James Rosier, who "was vicar of Winstar in Norfolk, but a zealous non-conformist to the ecclesiastical ceremonies, particularly in refusing to wear the surplice. Though he was willing to conform in all points as far as the word of God allowed, he was, in the year 1573, suspended from his ministerial exercise. *Strypes Parker*: p. 452."

PURITAN.

OUR FIRST SETTLERS.—(I. 252.) That this Continent was not blest with an "Odin," who, "intent upon beautifying" it, "created man & woman from the trunk of a tree thrown by the waves upon the shore," is reasonably certain, but from whence came the Aborigines of America is a question, a satisfactory solution of which I have never obtained, if it has ever been attained. I have read several theories besides those cited by *Petersfield*. One, that the Aborigines of this Continent, primordial, were from Asia, crossing at Behrings Strait, thence spreading in their migrations *South* and *East*; another, that of *Diodorus Siculus*.

This calls to mind that some twenty or more years ago I read a work, advocating the theory that America was the inhabited world prior to the *Deluge*. The writer endeavored to prove by nautical calculations, that at the time "the Lord said unto Noah: 'Come thou and all thy house into the Ark,'" the Ark rested at some point in what is now known to us as the State of New York, and from thence it was carried by wind and flood to its final resting place on Mt. Ararat.

J. T. BOOTH.

## APRIL PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Regular Monthly Meeting was held in the Hall of the Society, Tuesday evening, April 3d, 1877, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D., in the Chair.

The usual table business was transacted, the chief interest of which was the announcement by Judge Kirkland, Chairman of the Executive Committee, "that in accordance with the resolution of the Society, adopted February 6th, engagements had been made to commemorate the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Adoption of the Constitution of the State of New York, by a meeting at the Academy of Music on the evening of Tuesday, the 24th April, instant, when Charles O'Connor, Esq., will deliver an appropriate Address."

The paper of the evening was an historical sketch by General John S. Clark, of Auburn, N. Y., entitled: "The Champlain Expedition of 1615 against the Onondagas, and the authenticity of the Map."

Our readers will remember that our initial number, published in January, contained an elaborate article by Mr. O. H. Marshall, of Buffalo, on this interesting subject, with a section of the map appended to the edition of Champlain's Voyages, published by Pierre le-Mur at Paris, 1632.

The expedition was a military movement made from Quebec by Champlain, with a small French force and a body of Indian allies, to attack the fortified village of the Onondagas, the central na-

tion of the Iroquois. This stronghold stood upon the site of the present town of Fenner, Madison county, N. Y., a few miles south of Lake Oneida. It was constructed of palisades, thirty feet in height, and of thickness sufficient to resist the bullets of the French arquebuses. Beneath these defenses the Europeans and their allies met a sharp repulse, and were forced to a precipitous and ignominious defeat.

Of the general historical facts related by the great explorer in his own quaint manner, there is no dispute, but as is usual there has been a desperate struggle over some of the minor details. Even the map itself has been called in question under the various interpretations which the text seems to admit. The argument of Mr. Marshall, which was an enlarged and carefully corrected account of the expedition, which he read before the New York Historical Society, in March, 1849, impugns the authenticity of the map, and notes the peculiar fact that Champlain himself makes no reference to it in his text. He also asserted that it was not constructed till after the narratives were written—a matter seemingly of small consequence, as no doubt the original surveys and *rouitières* were in existence.

The uncertainty as to the route taken by the expedition is increased by a want of precision in the text itself. Champlain says: "*Nous fîmes la traverse en l'un des bouts (du lac des Entouhonorons—Ontario) tirant à l'orient.*" We crossed the lake at one of its extremities, directing our course eastwardly; and in the next sentence adds: "*Nous fîmes environ quatorze lieues pour passer jusques à*

*l'autre côté du lac tirant au sud, vers les terres des ennemis.*" We made about fourteen leagues to reach the other side of the lake, directing our course southward towards the enemies country. This end of the lake General Clark takes to be Quinte Bay, and he draws the conclusion that Champlain did not consider himself to have crossed the lake when he crossed the bay eastwardly. This interpretation seems all the more correct because the distances given by Champlain harmonize with it. The map itself is confirmed by an atlas, published in 1733 by Henry Popple, of London, compiled from the maps and records of the Lords Commissioners of Trade, and certified by the great astronomer, Halley, as being remarkably correct. On this map the lakes and smaller streams coincide with those on the map of Champlain.

General Clark has a marked advantage over all others who have treated this subject, in his familiarity with the topography of this region, in which he was born and bred.

The part of his address most interesting to the general public, was his account of the migratory habits of the Five Nations of the Iroquois, whom he believes to be from the same original western stock as the Dacotah, or Sioux. Thus he has traced the Onondagas through five villages. In the earliest of which there is any historic record, the relics found are wholly of the stone or prehistoric age, while in the others as followed eastwardly, the evidences of intercourse with Europeans rapidly increase.

On the conclusion of the paper, General Clark received the thanks of the Society.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post Office.)

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, A HISTORICAL STUDY, by the Hon. GEORGE SHEA. 8vo. pp. 73. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. HURD & HOUGHTON, New York, 1877.

This elegantly printed volume, the author, in a note to the readers, announces to be, while complete in itself, a part of his work (which is to contain four parts), and that it is issued in advance to "facilitate the success of an existing project to raise a public memorial in the City of New York to Alexander Hamilton, by diffusing in this way a more popular and full knowledge of the man, his genius, and the scope of his labors." It is dedicated to the genial and scholarly Lord Houghton.

This brochure, part I, is devoted to an account of Hamilton the individual. The reader will hardly expect to find any new facts in the history of this remarkable man, who, by the common consent of foreign judges, was the ablest of a generation of intellectual giants, to whom mediocrity was the exception. Greatest, also, in organization—the rarest power of the human mind. Hamilton was an organizer, an administrator and a creator. As an organizer he devised the system of checks and balances in the United States Treasury, which remains unchanged and needing no change to the present day; as a financier, in the language of Webster, "he smote the rock of national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth." As a creator he evoked from the discordant fragments of the confederation the constitution of our national empire. The consideration of the great statesman in these aspects is only shadowed in the present pages, the most interesting of which are those which relate the mutual admiration of Talleyrand and Hamilton for each other, with anecdotes concerning these two extraordinary men, of whom the indirectness and intrigue of the one were in striking contrast to the directness and sincerity of the other.

In an account of Hamilton the individual, there are omissions which strike us with surprise; for instance, we find no mention of Nicholas Cruger, the patriot, and friend of Washington,—in whose counting house at Nevis Hamilton was brought up, and to whose bounty he owed his dispatch to New York. We also find here repeated the story of the Collegian's speech at the great meeting in the Fields, in July 1774, which the author says was "marked by the qualities of his later time, deliberateness, clearness, warmth and reason." We have often heard of this speech, but the newspapers of the day contain no notice of it, and we believe that the contemporaneous record may be searched in vain for any account or even allusion to it.

The style of Mr. Shea is ambitious, but not without a certain largeness of movement which befits the treatment of a subject of this gravity. We shall look for the succeeding chapters with interest.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. SECOND SERIES. Vol. iv, No. 4. Daily Advertiser Office, Newark, 1877.

This number closes the volume 1875-1877, and contains a table of contents and an index. At the January meeting a characteristic and curious letter was read from hard-headed old Lewis Morris to the people of Elizabethtown in 1648, in sharp criticism of the "marsh land proprietors," and their assumption of power. Also, sketches of Colonel Philip Johnson, of the Revolutionary army, who fell at the Battle of Long Island, in 1776; of John de Hart, of the Committee of Correspondence of patriotic Essex County, in 1774, and delegate to the Congress of 1775; and of Richard Sheldon, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence from New Jersey; the latter from the pen of the accomplished Wm. Whitehead. The whole a welcome contribution to the history of the last century.

THE FIVE MINISTERS. A SERMON IN WEST CHURCH, by C. A. BARTOL, on the fortieth anniversary of his ordination. 8vo. pp. 21. A. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston, 1877.

The five ministers of this ancient congregation, which has now completed the one hundred and fortieth year of its existence, selected by the reverend divine to illustrate the history of the church are: I. William Hooper, who "gathered the church in 1737," in whom the author finds the salient trait to be that of a *Churchman*; II. Jonathan Mayhew, to whom he accords the title of "the *Moses* of the region, the prince in power and influence of American divines," settled in 1747; III. Dr. Simeon Howard, settled in 1767, whom he styles the *Philanthropist*; IV. Dr. Charles Lowell, well remembered by the passing generation, who is named the *Independent*, and, V. settled in 1837, Dr. Bartol himself, who boldly assumes the title of *Free Thinker*. The part of the sermon in which he recounts his own difficulties and his experiences when "exchanges in Unitarian and Universalist pulpits were refused him," is full of feeling, and our sympathies are with the venerable pastor in his final triumph over misrepresentation and prejudice.

**THE HUGUENOT ELEMENT AMONG THE DUTCH**, by ASHBEL G. VERMILYE, D. D. 8vo., pp. 23. Schenectady, New York.

This little pamphlet contains the full text of the address delivered by this eloquent and learned gentleman before the New York Historical Society in October, 1876, a synopsis of which we gave in our January number, and to which further allusion was made in a slight review of the Centennial Discourses of the Reformed Dutch Church in our March number. Our readers will be glad to learn of the separate publication of this sketch. The strain of Huguenot blood in America has been traced with the "patience of a Huguenot."

**PRE-HISTORIC WISCONSIN. CIRCULAR** by Prof. JAMES D. BUTLER, LL. D. Annual Address delivered before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, in the Assembly Chamber, February 18, 1876. 8vo, pp. 31.

A most valuable paper, full of facts, which will surprise all but the initiated in the mysteries of the Stone age. We extract the significant statement that there are now "within the walls of the Capitol of Wisconsin well-nigh nine thousand products of the Stone Age, all from within less than one-fifth of the area of the State." Beyond this the author informs us that there are "copper arms enough to equip a tribe of warriors," with a record of the discovery of each. There are a few pages of heliotype fac similes of these last implements. Our western friends are as wide awake to the treasures of the past as of the present.

**THE STRONG STAFF AND THE BEAUTIFUL ROD BROKEN. A SERMON COMMEMORATIVE OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF JOSEPH SMITH, LATE REAR-ADMIRAL, U. S. N.** Preached Jan. 28, 1877, in St. Andrews Church, Hanover, by Rev. WILLIAM HENRY BROOKS, S. T. D. 8vo. pp. 24. A. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston, 1877.

In our March number we published an obituary notice of the Three Admirals, Wilkes, Bailey and Alden, who died within five days, in the month of February. Had we delayed this notice till this month two more would have been added to the number—Rear-Admirals Smith and Davis.

Admiral Smith was a fitting object for a clergyman's eulogy, being himself a high type of the christian sailor and gentleman. For the admirable ingenuity and rare fertility of resource by which he saved his ship, the Eagle, warping her so as to present by turns her shattered and her sound

side to the enemy in the battle on Lake Champlain, in 1814, he received a medal from Congress. He was retired before the Rebellion broke out, his age unfitting him for sea service. His son was killed on the Congress, when she fell a prey to the ram monster, the Merrimac. Nothing shows more the character of the father than his remark when he heard that the Congress had struck her flag: "Then Joe is dead." The training and character of father and son are told in these simple words.

**RÉFORMES DANS LOS ILES DE CUBA ET DE PORTO-RICO, PAR PERFIRO VALIENTE AVEC UNE PRÉFACE PAR EDOUARD LABOULAYE.** 8vo. pp. 412. A. CHAIX ET CIE, Paris, 1869.

We take the occasion which the review of Mr. Wilson's great work, in our last number, affords us to call attention to this valuable volume, which is of peculiar interest at this time when the hour of Cuban deliverance seems so near. It is to the everlasting honor of her patriots, first among them we count the noble and self-sacrificing chief, Aguilera, whose death we lately noticed, that their first act was the emancipation of the slaves. The study of Mr. Valiente includes the two great questions of political and social reform. That of social reform was solved by the decree of emancipation, that of political regeneration will be complete when the declaration of independence shall be carried into effect.

It must not be supposed that Cuban slavery was an unmitigated evil. On the contrary, it was marked by many mild regulations, such as the right of the slave to purchase his freedom and to have his value fixed by the authorities on the payment of a small sum or the right to change his master if another would purchase at the price fixed, etc. These are rather questions of historic than of practical interest now.

**KASKASKIA, THE ANCIENT. READ BEFORE THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, by Rev. DAVID J. DOHERTY, AT THE MEETING OF FEB. 15, 1872.** St. Louis Republican, Feb. 19, 1872.

We trust to see this charming and instructive paper published in a more permanent form. It tells of a little village some twenty miles below St. Louis, on the Mississippi river, which has a peculiar history. Fifty years before the Lieutenant of La Salle landed on the bank where St. Louis now stands, Kaskaskia was known on the French maps and in the French councils. The sketch itself, Dr. Doherty states, was written by a priest of St. Louis, about the year 1834, and



abounds in the quaint detail in which this class of writers so delight. Kaskaskias was the most important of the French missions, being on the outskirts of settlement, and admirably adapted to the lucrative trade in furs. The Indian tribe from which it took its name, numbered about two thousand warriors, and it is asserted in the volumes of the records of the Catholic parish that Canadians were residing there as traders in 1695, whither Jesuits had preceded them, laying the foundation for a church in 1683. The records of the church are the oldest in the West. The registers go back to 1695.

#### PRE-HISTORIC DISCUSSIONS IN THE WEST.—THE "ADVANCE." Chicago.

This is a newspaper account of a recent interesting meeting of the Archæological section of the Academy of Science of Chicago, at which Mr. H. N. Rush exhibited a great variety of stone implements, and a collection of pottery taken in the summer of 1876 from the graves of the Mound Builders, in Scott County, Missouri.

The chief site explored was a swamp known as Northcott's Swamp, about forty miles west of the Mississippi, a part of the low country lying between Cape Girardeau and New Madrid, which was partly submerged by the earthquake of 1812. Here a grave was found where many hundred bodies had been buried. The pottery found represented in its forms the human physiognomy, the gourd and melon, the sun fish, frog and turtle, owl and duck heads, and even the salt water clam shell, and some few ornaments. The existence of oak trees, three hundred years old, growing above the graves is the only positive evidence of the antiquity, but there is little doubt as to a much more remote origin.

#### THE LIFE AND INDUSTRIAL LABORS OF WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT IN SOUTH AMERICA. By J. B. ALBÉRTI, (late Minister of the Argentine Republic to France and England). Translated from the Spanish with additional memoranda; with an introduction by the Hon. CALEB CUSHING. 8vo, pp. 213 and 57. A. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston, 1877.

As the introduction states in its first sentence, "this is the biography of a man who neither fought battles, nor gained victories, nor held office in the State, nor even so much as citizenship, nevertheless rendered such and so great services to the country in which he lived that her history would be ungrateful or blind if failing to record them in her annals." This Señor Albéрти has done with a generous and loving hand. The transactions of Mr. Wheelwright with the internal improvements and exterior development of South America cover a period of nearly fifty

years. Establishing himself in Valparaiso in 1829, his initial work was the establishment of a line of packets on the coast, one of which he commanded in person with great popularity; this was the forerunner of the organization, in 1838, of a line of steamers between Valparaiso and Panama, the first of which, the *Peru*, reached Callao in November, 1840. At first the line only ran from Valparaiso to Callao, but in 1845, in spite of formidable opposition and obstacles, the communication was extended to Panama.

A section of the book relates his railway enterprises, chief of which was the Inter-oceanic road, which will cross the Andes and diminish the time of travel between Chili and Europe by ten days. There are numerous appendices full of personal detail.

#### HISTOIRE DE LA GUERRE CIVILE EN

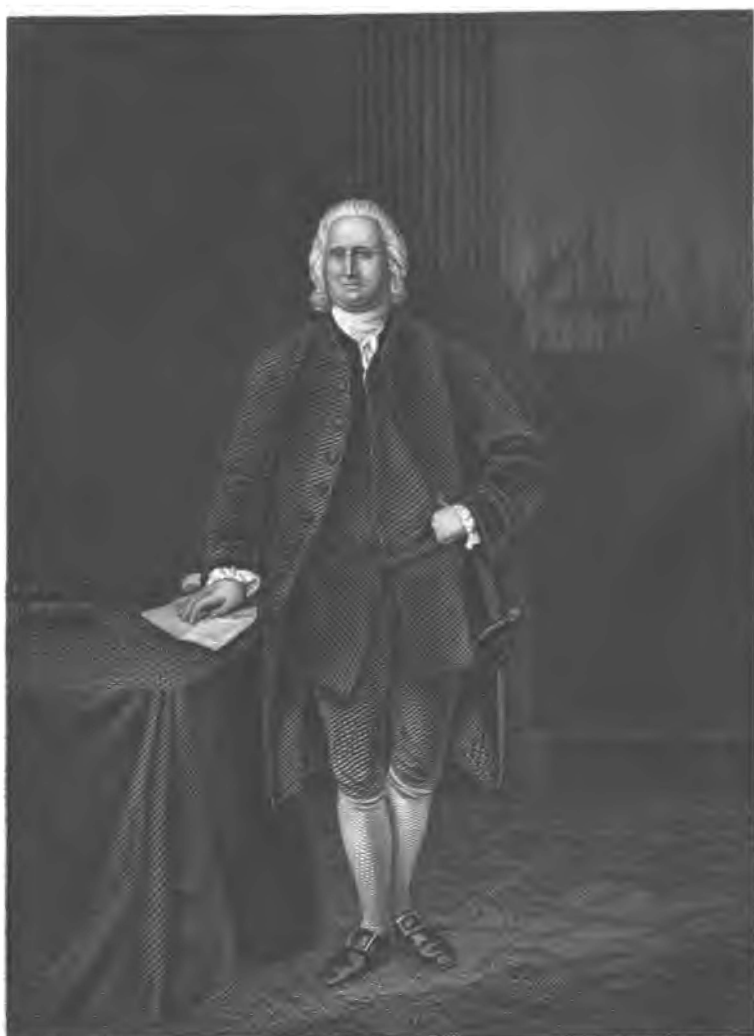
\* AMÉRIQUE, par M. LE COMTE DE PARIS, ancien Aide de Camp du Général McClellan. Tome quatrième. 8vo, pp. 732. MICHEL LEVY-FRÈRES, Paris, 1875. History of the Civil War in America, by M. LE COMTE DE PARIS, late Aid-de-Camp to General McClellan. Vol. IV. For sale by F. W. Christern, 77 University Place, New York.

In our March number we gave a slight account of the various opinions with which the work of the Comte de Paris has been received in England and this country. No translation can fully render the qualities of the author. The reader will look in vain in these pages for such picturesque and spirited sentences as lend a fascination to the historic works of Thiers, Macaulay, Prescott and Parkman. The imagination has little play in these volumes. Beginning with the Kentucky campaign of 1862, the reader is led through the battles of Corinth and the various minor struggles of Grant to obtain control of the Mississippi, and the contest in Tennessee, closing with the capture of Murfreesborough after the drawn battle of Stone River, the honors of which were divided, but of which the fruits fell to the army of Rosecrans. The third section continues the account of the operations of the army of the Potomac at the close of the year, including the disastrous battle of Fredericksburg. Here we find the Count most at home, the personnel of that army being well known to him from his own experience. The cause of McClellan's inaction is explained by the credence given in the bureau of army information to the exaggerated statements of Southern strength.

The great value of the book is in its precision of detail and the evident desire for perfect impartiality on the part of the author.

The edition before us is admirably printed and the accompanying maps are in the very highest style of military topographic illustration.





Mathew Pratt. Pease.

J. Parson Graham. Del.

ROBERT. D. W. GADSWARD. D. L. C. 1838.

From the original in the collection of the Pease family.

# RICAN HISTORY

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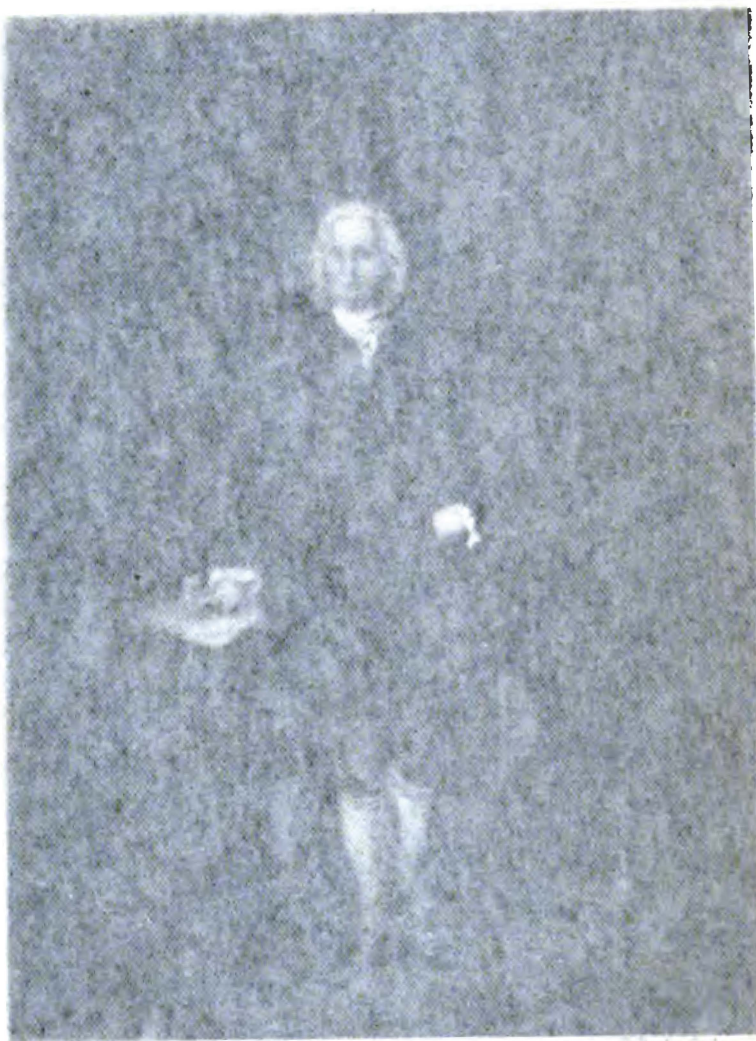
No. 6

NEW YORK

There is no doubt that the struggle for the great American country is the most important and the most difficult one that we have ever known. It is a struggle for the soul of the nation, for the future of the people, for the very life of the country. It is a struggle that will not end until we have won the peace and the freedom that we deserve.

[illegible]

...negotiations of her diplomatists had drawn the support of Austria, Russia and Saxony, the first two of whom were themselves contemplating



وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَهُمْ أَجْرٌ غَيْرُ الْمَمْنُونِ

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## THE STAMP ACT IN NEW YORK

THE history of Great Britain contains no chapter of more thrilling interest than that which describes the great seven years struggle which we are wont to call in this country the Old French War; The English people never passed through a period of such danger and never reached a triumph so complete enduring and secure.

While a nominal peace still existed in Europe, there was a perpetual border struggle in America which took definite shape in 1754 when the French began to tighten the interior cordon with which they surrounded the English colonies from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. In the spring of this year, upon the complaint of the Ohio Company that Du Quesne the Governor of Canada had established a military post and built a fort at the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, the Virginia Government dispatched a regiment of troops of the colony under command of Col. Washington then a youth of 22 years, to drive them out. They were met by an overpowering force of French and Indians and compelled to surrender. This news reaching England the ministry resolved to send a few regiments of regular troops to support the British claims and early in 1755 General Braddock sailed from Cork; On his arrival a convention of colonial governors assembled at his request in Virginia and a comprehensive plan of military operations was agreed upon. Of the three movements he reserved for himself the attack on Fort du Quesne with his British troops. His bravery and incapacity and the disastrous rout of his army in July of the same year are familiar stories. The dispatch of Braddock was accepted by the French Government as a declaration of war. It found them ready, willing and prepared.

From the time of the signature of the hollow peace of Aix la Chapelle France had been silently consolidating her alliances. To the family compact which united the French and Spanish branches of the house of Bourbon the skilfull negotiations of her diplomatists had drawn the support of Austria, Russia and Saxony, the first two of whom were themselves contemplating

the partition of Prussia, while the latter had every thing to fear from her powerful and aggrandizing neighbor. The league of the five powers was completed in 1755 although the treaty between Austria and France was not formally signed till the next year.

England who by her arrogant assumption of Ocean dominion had isolated herself from all the continental powers found but one ally with which to face this formidable coalition; this was Prussia with whom she entered into treaty at the close of the year. Fortunately for her, Frederick was himself a host and by his indomitable will and remarkable military genius thoroughly occupied the attention of his neighbours. Never was England so little prepared for war. The weak incapable Newcastle was at the head of the Ministry, and the utter want of military preparation is sufficiently shown by the startling fact that at the opening of 1756 there were but three regiments fit for service in all England.

The capture of Port Mahon in Minorca, the key of the Mediteranean, by the French under the command of the Duke de Richelieu; the cowardly withdrawal of the British fleet sent to its relief under Admiral Byng, and the equally disgraceful retreat of the Duke of Cumberland, with an army of fifty thousand men raised for the defence of Hanover, from a French force aroused the country to a sense of its degradation and danger.

Fortunately for her a man was found equal to the occasion; a man who embodied and personified all those types which go to make up that strong though unlovely character which the word Englishman conveys. Except Cromwell no single individual in England stands out so boldly on the historic canvas, as a representative of national character, as William Pitt.

From the day that the great commoner assumed the direction of the foreign policy and the conduct of the war the success of England was assured; the people rose as one man to his support and every nerve, individual as well as national, was strained to carry to complete success his comprehensive schemes. Although he essentially confined his operations on the European continent to the support of Prussia by liberal subsidies the laurels were not all to the great Frederick. At Minden, by the aid of the British contingent of twenty thousand men, Ferdinand of Brunswick routed a superior French force and drove them from the Weser to the Rhine and in Quiberon Bay Admiral Hawke destroyed the French fleet which threatened the invasion of England.

But Pitt did not alone infuse his indomitable energy and spirit into the people of Old England: The Colonists rallied to his support with an equal enthusiasm. They vied with each other in voting men and money for the war. Dr. Franklin states that the number of Americans or Provincial

troops employed in the war was greater than that of the regulars, and elsewhere that the Colonies raised, paid and clothed near 25,000 men a number equal to those sent from Great Britain and far beyond their proportion.

In a letter from Boston of the 18th December 1766, preserved in a newspaper extract in a curious volume entitled "Lord Chatham's Clippings," it is stated that the Royal Americans, engaged in the campaign which resulted in the capture of Quebec, amounted to 15,000 men. "The series of victories so glorious to the British arms" as they were termed by Theophylact Bache, President of the Chamber of Commerce, in an address to General Gage at a later period, were the expedition by General Winslow with an army of provincials chiefly against the French in Nova Scotia in 1755; the capture of Louisburg and the islands of Cape Breton and St. John by Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst; the taking of Frontenac by Col. Bradstreet with regulars and provincials detached from General Abercrombie's army and of Fort du Quesne by General Forbes with regulars and provincials in 1758; against Niagara by General Prideaux and Sir William Johnston with regulars and provincials; against Ticonderoga and Crown Point with regulars and provincials by General Amherst and of General Wolfe against Quebec in 1759; against Montreal, which terminated September 8th 1760 in the surrender of all Canada, by General Amherst with regulars and provincials; against Martinique by General Monckton, and Havana by the Earl of Albemarle and Admiral Pocock, both of which fell into British hands in 1762 and the same year the occupation of Newfoundland by a force, part regulars and part provincials, under Lord Colville and Colonel Amherst.

Thus on every field the blood of the Colonists had mingled with that of their English kinsmen and the glories of war were the reward of their joint labors.

It will be found no matter of surprise in the sequel that Pitt should to his dying day have preserved a sense of gratitude to the hardy provincials who so bravely and generously stood by him in his titanic struggle with the first powers of Europe. No wonder that he will be found devoted to their interests, faithful to their cause and that the noblest and most glowing sentences, that sprung from his heart and found utterance on his palsied lips, were in defence of their rights and liberties.

Early in the spring of 1762 the French ministry, disheartened by defeat and embarrassed by the exhausted state of the treasury, made the preliminary advances towards a peace. The conditions imposed by England, though hard in the extreme, were nevertheless submitted to and on the third of November the treaty of peace was signed at Paris between the allied powers;



England and Portugal on the one hand and the Bourbon Houses of France and Spain on the other. The cession to England included all the French Colonies in America, the Spanish possessions of Florida, all Louisiana to the Mississippi except New Orleans, which France transferred to Spain in consideration of her cession of the Floridas.

In the depth of this humiliation of their country the patriotic Choiseul and far sighted Vergennes found a grain of consolation in their prophetic and confident belief that the American Colonies would soon throw off the yoke of the mother country, restore the balance of power which seemed at the moment to lean only towards England and, creating a great maritime nation, establish the freedom of the seas over which the British flag waved unchallenged and supreme. Yet these views were rather based upon their insight into the philosophy of history than upon any disaffection in the body of the English American Colonies or even any latent purpose in the minds of the leaders of Colonial opinion.

No where in the British dominions was the spirit of loyalty more intense than in America. The important share the Colonists had borne in the long severe contest, of which American soil was the principal theatre, excited their just pride in the glorious results of the war, and their personal feelings of satisfaction were still further aroused by the fact that their triumph was over the old enemies who with their savage allies had been for a century a perpetual menace to their peace and their repose. Their temper towards the mother country before the year 1763 was, in the words of Benjamin Franklin on his examination at the bar of the House of Commons, "the best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the crown and paid in all their courts obedience to acts of Parliament \* \* \* \* They were led by a thread. They had not only a respect but an affection for Great Britain, for its laws, its customs and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Great Britain were always treated with particular regard; to be an Old England Man was in itself a character of some respect and gave a kind of rank." Dr. Franklin gave no opinion as to the personal affection of the colonists for the Sovereign but the histories and memoirs of the time are full of evidence of this sentiment. Indeed it may be said that no where was the creed of the Englishman "to love the King and hate a Frenchman" held in more implicit faith than among his Majesty's loyal subjects of America.

At the end of the long contest, which beginning in a rivalry for colonial supremacy finally merged into a struggle for existence between the Protestant and Catholic powers of Europe, the English treasury was in a distressing condition. Pitt had been unsparing of the public treasure to carry

out his aims. The public debt, doubled by the expenses of the war, had risen to One Hundred and Forty Millions of Pounds Sterling.

The Ministry was no longer under the control of Pitt. On the accession of George the Third in 1762, who began his reign at the immature age of eighteen, the policy of the administration was changed. The youthful sovereign chafed at the moral domination of the minister, thwarted his measures through the medium of Lord Bute and resolved himself to rule. Pitt disdaining to hold other than the controlling place in the cabinet resigned his office. The stupidity of Bute aroused such dissatisfaction that for a time the King was on the point of recalling Pitt but found the Great Commoner too imperious and his terms too hard. He then threw himself without reserve into the arms of the branch of the Whig party which was led by the Duke of Bedford and George Grenville.

To Grenville must be ascribed the alienation of the affections of the American Colonies. As the debt had been in part incurred in their defence he determined that they should share the burthen of the tax. In addition to an increase of the Customs dues he added a strict enforcement of the Navigation Acts, which checked the profitable trade the colonists had carried on with the West India islands, and arrested the extensive smuggling which had somewhat mitigated the severity of the application of the stringent laws by which Great Britain selfishly sought to secure for herself profitable and extensive markets in her colonial possessions without the privilege to them of intercolonial trade. But this was submitted to without murmur; the Colonists found in these unpopular acts no infringement of their rights. If the mother country needed such sacrifice the children would not complain although many were beginning to doubt the benefits of so unequal a connection. The final measure of Grenville was of a different nature. It was proposed to extend the Stamp Act to the American Colonies.

On the 9th March 1764 Mr. Grenville introduced the famous project of drawing a revenue from America by Stamps and announced his intention of bringing in a bill at the next session. In the development of his plan Mr. Grenville challenged the opposition to deny the *right* of Parliament to tax America. No voice was heard in denial and the next day it was unanimously resolved that it was right and proper to charge certain stamp duties in the Colonies. The house was thin and it was late at night when this resolution was agreed to and, as the declaration was only of *intention*, no word of remonstrance was heard in the British Senate. In the course of his speech Grenville declared himself "not absolutely wedded to a stamp act if the Colonies would provide some more satisfactory plan." A letter

from London published in the New York Mercury of June 4th states that the "well wishers of America have used their utmost endeavours to lessen the Taxes first proposed; in which they have in a measure partially succeeded and in other respects fallen short of what they attempted. In regard to the 15th resolution relating to the Stamp duty it will certainly pass next session unless the Americans offer a more certain Duty. Had not William Allen Esq. been here and indefatigable in opposing it and happily made acquaintance with the first personages in the Kingdom and the greater part of the house of Commons it would certainly have passed this session. All the well wishers of America are of the opinion that as the Tax in itself is an equitable act, and the least injurious that can be proposed, the several assemblies should signify their assent and desire to that Tax, under the present exigencies of the State and the necessity of the case, by which they avoid any appearance of an infringement of their Liberty and show their inclination to pay obedience to a British Parliament which has the power to make every Part of its Dominions submit to such laws as they may think proper to enact; by this means they will prevent a Precedent from internal Taxes being imposed without their consent which will inevitably be the case next session if they withhold their assent to the Stamp Act."

This William Allen was the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania; his wife a daughter of Andrew Hamilton the famous advocate who defended Zenger.

If such were the views of the friends of America, not such the spirit of the Colonies. Trained in the principles of liberty, which acknowledged no right to impose tax except by the consent of the people through their legally appointed representatives, they viewed with alarm this first encroachment on their sacred rights. There was still a hope that by representation of their agents abroad and by petition to the King and Parliament the blow might be averted.

Parliament was prorogued after a speech from the King on the 31st June.

The New York Colony led the van in their protests in a respectful Representation and Petition to the King and Parliament by the Assembly on the 18th October 1764. In this petition, after a declaration of inviolable fidelity to their Prince, it is recited "that in the three branches of the political frame of Government, established in the year 1683, viz. the Governor and a Council in the Royal appointment, and a representative of the People, was lodged the legislative authority of the Colony and particularly the power of taxing its inhabitants for the support of the Government; that the people of the Colony consider themselves in a state of perfect Equality with their fellow subjects in Great Britain, and as a political body enjoying, like the inhabitants of that country, the exclusive right of taxing themselves; a right

which whether inherent in the people or sprung from any other cause has recieved the royal sanction, is at the Basis of our Colony State and become venerable by long usage ; that the Representatives for the Colony of New York cannot therefore without the strongest Demonstrations of Grief express their sentiments on the late intimation of a design to impose Taxes on the Colonies by Laws to be passed in Great Britain and they invite the King to interpose his negative on the Unconstitutional law."

On the same day and by the same resolution, in which the Assembly of New York ordered the transmission of the memorials, it raised a committee to correspond with the several assemblies or Committees of assemblies on this Continent on the several objectionable acts of Parliament lately passed with relation to the Trade of the Northern Colonies and also on the *subject of the impending dangers which threaten the Colonies of being taxed by Laws to be passed in Great Britain*. A member of this Committee of Correspondence, William Bayard, visited Boston to obtain similar action from the Massachusetts Assembly which adopted a petition much less decided in tone than that of New York on the 22d of the same month. Both of these documents were transmitted through the foreign agents of the Colonies to the Board of Trade in England. They were laid before the Privy Council on the 11th December succeeding; the Privy Council advised the King to give directions that they be laid before Parliament." They were never laid before Parliament—they were suppressed.

In the begining of 1765, Mr. Grenville introduced his bill into the House of Commons. It contained 55 articles relating to stamp duties in the American Colonies. It passed the house the 7th February, the Lords in March without debate and received the Kings signature the 22d of the same month. Previous to its passage the American agents in London were informed that, if the Colonies would propose any other mode of raising the duties, their proposal would be accepted and the Stamp duty laid aside. But they were not authorized to make answer. When the bill came up they carried petitions to the House of Commons but no one could be found who would introduce a petition which should impugn the *right of* Parliament and even the most interested, and those who were of the opposition refused to present such a petition. This news was made public in New York early in April. The News of the passage of the Act excited intense indignation—with it came the consoling information that there was a large and powerful party in Great Britain who stood ready to defend the rights of America. In the English advices received in New York the 2d May it was stated 'Without doors we hear every person at all qualified to form any judgment of the matter seemed in favor of the Colonies.'

Chief among the opposition was the brave Col Barré who had served with Wolfe at Quebec and who now electrified Parliament with his bold reply to Grenville's assumption that the Colonists were 'Children of English planting.' It was on this occasion that Barré described the Americans as "Sons of Liberty." The happy term was at once caught up as a popular watchword and associations under this name were formed in all the principal colonies to resist the act. These associations shaped if they did not control public opinion. Closely allied with each other and holding constant communication by their own express riders they were enabled to act in concert and in fact formed a representative body, the forerunner of the Continental Congress.

The House of Burgesses of Virginia was sitting when the news arrived of the passage of the bill. On the 29th May they replied with a series of firm resolutions declaratory of their rights and denouncing the unconstitutionality of the obnoxious measure. It was during the debate on this exciting occasion that Patrick Henry used the memorable words which, if he had never spoken another, would have left his name immortal. On the 14th April the great guns at the fort and those at the barracks of Philadelphia were found to be spiked. In New York public spirit was roused by the stirring letters of Sentinel published in the New York Gazette, marked among which was that of the 30th May on the text of Liberty. It closed with some verses which are a fair specimen of the popular poetry of the period.

Cursed be the man who e'er shall raise  
His sacrilegious hand,  
To drive fair liberty, our praise,  
From this our native land.

In his letter to the home government Colden complains that the anathemas of Sentinel were directed against himself.

In June and July news were received of the appointment of the Stamp agents and the declaration that the act would be enforced on the 1st November. The time for action had now arrived and to be effective it was evident to all that it must be concerted.

The House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay, in June 1765, agreed to a meeting of committees from the houses of representatives or burgesses on the condition of the Colonies and to consider of a dutiful, loyal and humble representation to his Majesty and the Parliament, to implore relief. This meeting was proposed for the first Tuesday in October; the City of New York being designated as the place of assemblage.

New York was naturally selected for the place of meeting as the geographical, political and commercial centre of the colonies. These it is

well to remember were essentially sea board settlements each of which had its own sea port, its own communications with Great Britain and was therefore entirely independent of the rest except for purpose of common defence. The white male population, between 16 and 60 years of age, of the entire territory, was estimated at this time at three hundred thousand men; a sufficient force for any purpose if combined.

New York though not as thickly settled as her eastern or western neighbors was the centre of influence. Her geographical position, with the broad Hudson and the great bay at its mouth dividing the colonies, made her the key of the Continent. Her exposed situation as the great border bulwark against the encroaching French and their Indian allies was a source of constant care both to the colonies and the Home Government. Upon her safety depended the framework of British colonization. 'Whatever happens in this place' wrote Colden to Secretary Conway 'has the greatest influence in the other Colonies. They have their eyes perpetually upon it and they govern themselves accordingly.' On the other hand no colony was in so direct sympathy with England. New York was not a chartered government but a province of Great Britain. The leading merchants were Britons born and held close relations with their kindred in the old country. Moreover the salubrity of the climate and the natural charms of the favorite city of the continent rendered it even then the preferred choice of British officials. The markets then as now abounded in the choicest provisions, native and tropical, and there was an elegance and luxury in life which was not only entirely unknown in the other colonies but was a source of surprise even to English visitors, who found the residences and tables of the New York gentry not inferior to those of the better classes at home.

Between New York and the English ports there was a constant and rapid communication by swift sailing vessels whose arrival was eagerly looked for on either side. Even the local elections in Great Britain excited as much attention and interest in New York as in many of their own boroughs. Visits to the old country were frequent; nothing was more common than notices in the journals, "of gentlemen intending for Great Britain by the next packet." Frequent intermarriages added family ties to commercial intercourse. New York therefore, as the most English in sentiment of all the Colonies, seemed a natural place for the meeting of a Congress, the declared purpose of which was a *loyal* demand for redress of grievances.

The suppression of the petitions of the New York and Massachusetts assemblies by the King was looked upon by the Colonies as a most serious outrage and dangerous infringement of their rights. The action of the Governors was awaited with anxiety and the hope was publicly expressed

"that neither the Governor of Virginia nor any other Governor on the Continent would think the proposed Congress so improper a step as to dissolve the assemblies to prevent it and, that there might be no question as to the right, it was added that their Excellencies and honors cannot be thought altogether unacquainted with the Act of Parliament, made immediately after the glorious revolution, which declares it is the right of the subject to petition the King — — and that Parliament sits for the redress of grievances.'

As the season advanced the popular discontent increased until it culminated in an outbreak which from its violence caused general alarm to the Royal authorities charged with the enforcement of the act. On the morning of Wednesday the 14th August the citizens of Boston were surprised to discover two effigies suspended from a branch of the Great Tree, one of a number of stately elms which stood in Hanover Square. One, as appeared by the label on it, represented a Distributor of the Stamps, behind whom hung a boot newly soled with a Grenville sole out of which proceeded the Devil. This spectacle continued the whole day, without the least opposition, though visited by multitudes. In the evening they were cut down, placed upon a bier covered with a sheet and carried in a solemn procession, in which several thousand persons joined, through the town to a newly erected building, belonging to Mr. Oliver the stamp officer of Massachusetts Province, which was sacked and destroyed. Alarmed, and with good reason, for his personal safety Mr. Oliver resigned his office the next morning and gave satisfactory evidence to the people that he had written to the Lord Commissioners in England that he would not and could not execute the Act.

The example thus set was rapidly followed. Ingersoll, who had accepted the post in New Haven, was visited and compelled after many evasions to pronounce that he would either reship the stamps when they arrived or open his doors to the public who might act as they thought proper. Later he was hanged in effigy at Norwich. Johnston of Newport was burned in effigy and publicly resigned. Coxé of New Jersey, unable to hire an office for the distribution of stamped paper, threw up his commission. McEvers of New York, a merchant of the highest standing, directly threatened by the populace, formally resigned on the 30th August.

On the 12th September a card appeared in the New York Gazette which closed with these violent and significant words "All ye stamp officers resign; resign as you will answer the contrary at your peril to your sovereign lords and masters, the incensed mob." The warning was taken and on the 1st October every stamp officer had been forced to withdraw or seek safety in flight.

In Boston the excitement ran high. On the 26th August occurred the great riot in which numerous buildings, including that of the Lieutenant

Governor, who had made himself obnoxious by his enforcement of the revenue acts, were totally destroyed with property to the amount of twenty five hundred pounds sterling. There was no doubt of the temper of the people. They were resolved not to submit.

Early in September the news reached the Colonies of a change in the Ministry. In Boston there was great joy. The great elms, which were held in veneration for their antiquity were decorated with the Ensigns of Loyalty, the colors embroidered with mottoes, and amid cheers and military salutes of a vast assemblage, a copper plate, on which were stamped in golden letters, THE TREE OF LIBERTY AUGUST 14 1765, was placed on the tree whereon the effigies had hung. This appears to have been the first Liberty tree and to this day, though the pole surmounted by the Liberty Cap is the usual symbol, there is hardly a town in the country where at some period a tall tree, stripped of all but its topmost branches beneath which the national standard waves, does not recall the memory of this first example.

The stamped paper now began to arrive. The first was brought to Boston early in September by Captain Daverson for New Hampshire.

A few days later fourteen boxes of stamped paper arrived in Boston, but the ship that brought them was obliged to be guarded by a man of war sloop and cutter and brought in under the guns of the Castle. Those for Philadelphia arrived on the 5th October; the ship in which they came, laid off Newcastle upon Delaware under protection of a man of war. As it rounded Gloucester Point the colors of the vessels in the harbor were raised half staff high and the bells of the city were tolled. A mass meeting was held and the stamp master Hughes compelled to promise that he would not execute his office.

During all this period the Sons of Liberty were active in perfecting their organization, extending its numbers and to use an expression later familiar "firing the popular heart." On the 23rd September Lieutenant Governor Colden, who administered the affairs of the province of New York in the absence of Sir Henry Moore the actual Governor, wrote to Mr Conway the Secretary of State for the Colonies. 'that it was evident that a secret correspondence had been carried on throughout all the Colonies; and that it had been concerted to deter by violence the Distributors of Stamps from executing their office and to destroy the Stamped Paper when it arrives.'

On the 21st September there appeared a paper which styled itself '*The Constitutional Courant*,' upon the heading of which was printed the device of a snake divided into thirteen parts, each part bearing the initial letter of one of the thirteen Colonies and with the motto "Join or Die"—the familiar symbol used by Dr Franklin in his Pennsylvania Gazette in 1754 to arouse



the Colonies to the danger of French invasion. This paper, containing spirited appeals, which the public press was as yet unwilling to publish fearing prosecution by the government, was prepared at Woodbridge New Jersey by James Parker, the old New York printer, and as Colden wrote to Franklin was by him distributed to the Post Riders in several parts of New York and the neighboring Colonies. These Post Riders were a powerful agency, indeed the only agency for the distribution of news.

Copies of this paper were hawked about the streets of New York by Lawrence Sweeny, a famous character of the period, better known as "Bloody News" from his familiar cry announcing the army news during the French War; a period marked by daily sanguinary episodes. Lawrence was a true patriot and no bribes of the Administration could make him disclose the secret of the publication. When asked by Colden where he obtained the paper he replied at 'Peter Hassenclevers iron works please your honor.' Whether the Governor took the joke does not appear, but that it was appreciated by the authors of the paper and the town is evident from the grave announcement in the succeeding number that it was printed at "Peter Hassenclevers Iron works." The device of the snake was revived again in 1774, just previous to the meeting of the first continental Congress.

The delegates to the Congress began to arrive early in October. The first to reach New York were a committee from South Carolina. When the measure was proposed in the assembly of South Carolina, says Ramsay, it was thus ridiculed by a humorous member; "If you agree to the proposition of composing a Congress of deputies from the different British colonies what sort of a dish will you make. New England will throw in Fish and onions; The middle States flaxseed and flour; Maryland and Virginia will add tobacco; North Carolina pitch, tar and turpentine; South Carolina rice and indigo and Georgia will sprinkle the whole composition with saw dust. Such an absurd jumble will you make if you attempt to form a union among such discordant materials as the thirteen British provinces;" to which a country member replied, "he would not choose the gentleman who made the objections for his cook, but nevertheless he would venture to assert that if the Colonies proceeded judiciously in the appointment of deputies to a Continental Congress they would prepare a dish fit to be presented to any crowned head in Europe."

The odd image tempts us to add that the national chowder, composed of these very ingredients, has proved a staple dish and to express a confident opinion that so long as it continues to be served after the recipe left us by the great Expounder (Webster) it will be found an excellent *constitutional diet*.

Thus South Carolina took the first step to a Continental Union in advance of her Southern neighbors. The relative importance of this Colony and of its population was much greater than at a later period, but even then her people showed the same zeal for what we may familiarly term the "newest fashions." Colden on the 12th October advised Secretary Conway of the arrival of these delegates 'about a week since' but was then in doubt whether others would come. This meeting he adds plaintively 'was kept secret from me till lately'—and continues 'I have in discourse discountenanced it as an illegal convention and inconsistent with the Constitution of the Colonies by which these several Governments are made distinct and independent on each. Whatever plausible pretences may be made for this meeting their real intentions may be dangerous.'

The hard headed old Scotchman carried his belief in uncontrolled authority to such an extent that to the remark of John Watts that a jury was the bulwark of English freedom he replied 'that there were no juries in Scotland and he did not see but justice was as well administered as in England.' He was perfectly consistent. In February he had written to the Earl of Halifax 'that all associations are dangerous to good government—more so in distant dominions;' this of an association of lawyers; now a Congress was about to hold a secret session under his very nose

To the Boston Committee who waited upon him a few days later he gave a cold reception and told them 'that the meeting of the Commissioners was unconstitutional, unprecedented and unlawful and that he should give them no kind of countenance or encouragement.'

On Monday, the 7th day of October, Congress met. There were present delegates from nine colonies, Massachusetts Bay; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations; Connecticut; New York; New Jersey; Pennsylvania, the Governments of the counties of New Castle, Kent and Suffolk upon Delaware; Maryland and South Carolina. Of these only six were duly authorized committees appointed by the respective legislatures of their several colonies in accordance with the terms of the call. Lieut-Governor Colden having prorogued the assembly of New York from time to time, so that they had not an opportunity to appoint members, the Committee of Correspondence chosen by the assembly at its last session was admitted to represent the Province.

The South Carolina Committee was restricted by their assembly and ordered to submit the proceedings agreed upon to its approbation. The Connecticut Assembly confined their delegates by the same restriction. Of the four Colonies, not represented, the assemblies of North Carolina and Virginia were prorogued by their Governors, so that they had no opportunity

to join. That of Georgia had been informed by their Governor that he did not think it expedient for them to send a committee, and the Assembly of New Hampshire wrote that though 'approving the plan of a representation and the proposed method for obtaining it' yet that 'the position of their governmental affairs would not permit them to appoint a committee.'

Of the twenty eight members who composed this Congress many were already well known throughout the Colonies. All were in the prime of life and power. John Cruger, one of the oldest and best known, a leading merchant, who for ten years had held the office of Mayor of the City; Philip Livingston, also a merchant of great wealth, later signer of the Declaration of Independence and Robert R. Livingston known as Justice Livingston; the soul of the opposition to the Ministry, worthily represented New York. From Massachusetts came James Otis whose "flaming patriotism" and consummate eloquence, as a defender of constitutional rights in opposition to the writs of assistance, had in 1761 electrified the Colonies. From Connecticut William Samuel Johnson, later one of the framers of the Federal Constitution. From Pennsylvania, John Dickinson the Pennsylvania Farmer, later a member of the Continental Congress. From Delaware, Cæsar Rodney and Thomas McKean, both tried patriots and both signers of the Declaration of Independence. From South Carolina, Christopher Gadsden, one of the boldest and most resolute of the proud unflinching spirits of the time, and John Rutledge who although but twenty six years of age had already displayed those brilliant powers which made him later a conspicuous figure in the first Continental Congress. It is impossible to give an outline of the lives and characters of this illustrious band. Their history is the history of the country. To recite their achievements in field and council would take volumes; indeed has taken volumes.

The first business of the Congress was to ballot for a chairman. The candidates were James Otis and Timothy Ruggles, the latter of whom was chosen. It was a proper compliment to Massachusetts to select the presiding officer from her committee and it was not unnatural that the choice should fall upon Ruggles who was one of the senior members of the Congress and had been distinguished both as the speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly and as Brigadier General in the French War; the Congress then adjourned; the meagre journal of the proceedings, printed in 1765, gives no account of further action until the 19th October when it is stated to have met according to adjournment and resumed 'as yesterday' and upon mature deliberation agreed to a declaration of rights and grievances of the Colonies of America. It is not stated by whom this declaration was presented, but it is a well known and universally accepted tradition that it was from the

clear head and manly pen of John Cruger, the veteran of the patriotic assembly. This able document, which ranks among the best of the period, declares in unmistakeable terms the equality of the Colonists with natural born Britons; that taxation without representation is unconstitutional; that the acts of Parliament applying stamp duties and other duties had a tendency to subvert their rights and liberties. Committees were then appointed; Robert R. Livingston, Johnston and Murdock to draft an address to the King; Rutledge, Tilghman and Philip Livingston a memorial and petition to the Lords; and Lynch, Otis and McKean a petition to the house of Commons.

On the 21st, 22nd and 23rd these addresses were severally adopted. On the 24th consideration was had as to the manner of presenting these petitions when it was determined to recommend to the several colonies to appoint special agents 'to solicit relief.' Only those delegates from the six Colonies who were fully authorized by their assemblies appended their signatures, though all concurred in the proceedings.

For an insight into the nature of these proceedings reference must be had to the diaries and memoirs of the delegates. From them we learn that from the beginning, the chairman, Brigadier Ruggles appeared to be in full sympathy with the Congress yet at the close entirely changed his front. John Adams relates in his diary that Otis informed him in 1766 that when the delegates 'came to sign the address, Ruggles moved that none of them should sign, but that the petitions should be carried back to the assemblies to see if they would adopt them; this would have defeated the whole enterprise.' Mr. Adams adds 'that Ruggles had an inflexible oddity about him which has gained him a character for courage and probity but renders him a disagreeable companion in business.' In 1774, Adams makes entry in his diary of a conversation with McKean of Delaware who gave him an account of the behavior of Ruggles. 'He was treated [he says] pretty cavalierly. His behavior was very dishonorable.' A few days later Adams relates an interview with Caesar Rodney whom he describes as 'the oddest looking man in the world, tall, thin and slender as a reed, pale: his face not bigger than a large apple yet with sense and fire, spirit, wit and humor in his countenance; Rodney made himself very merry with Ruggles and his pretended scruples and timidities at the last Congress.'

In 1812 John Adams wrote to McKean who was then the only survivor of the Stamp Act Congress, to have been a member of which Adams says has 'long been a singular distinction,' and invited him to 'commit to writing his observations on the characters who composed that assembly and the objects of the meeting.' 'Otis and Ruggles' he adds 'are peculiarly inter-

esting to me and 'every thing that passed on that important occasion is and will be more and more demanded (and it is to be feared in vain) by our posterity.'

In August 1813, McKean replied with a copy of the proceedings in a tract published by Almon in 1767 and gave some personal details. 'James Otis' he says 'appeared to him to be the boldest and best speaker. When the business was finished our president would not sign the petition and peremptorily refused to assign any reasons until I pressed him so hard that at last he said that "*it was against his conscience*:" on which word I rung the charge so loud that a plain challenge was given by him and accepted in presence of the whole corps, but he departed the next morning before day without an adieu to any of his brethren. He seemed to accord with what was done during the session so fully and heartily that Mr. Otis told me that frequently it gave him surprise as he confessed he suspected his sincerity.'

'Ogden of New Jersey,' McKean adds, 'following the example of the president, declined to sign the petition though warmly solicited by himself and his own colleague. Some of the members seemed as timid as if engaged in a traitorous conspiracy'

Gordon states that 'Ruggles took leave of the members Thursday evening, the twenty fourth October and came off the next day without signing, for which he was afterwards censured by the Massachusetts Assembly and adds the remarkable statement that *Mr. Otis was on the point of trespassing in like manner: but was prevented by the influence of Mr. Thomas Lynch of the South Carolina Committee.*'

Gordon is rarely inaccurate, but this can not be credited nor is there any authority to support the statement. It was Otis who, on the 1st November laid on the table of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts the Proceedings of the Commissioners at the Congress in New York. A motion was then made, to exclude Ruggles from the vote of thanks, which does not appear on the journals. We have it however on the authority of Otis himself in a letter to William Samuel Johnson from Boston, of the 12th November 1765, 'the assembly have done us the honor fully to approve our proceedings and have voted the thanks of the house to their committee. There was a motion to except the Brigadier our notable president; but as he was absent I apologized for his strange conduct as well as I could and the proposed discrimination subsided. The people of the province will never forgive him.'

Ruggles however was not allowed to go scot free. On the 6th February the journal reports that "the House according to the order of the day, entered into the conduct and services of the committee on the late Congress at New York. And after a debate the question was put, *Whether the reasons*

*offered by Brigadier Ruggles for his not signing the Petitions prepared by the late Congress at New York, be satisfactory to this house?* It passed in the negative. Then the question was put, *whether the reasons offered by Brigadier Ruggles for leaving the late Congress before they had completed their business be satisfactory to the house?* It passed in the Negative. *Resolved unanimously* That the account given by James Otis and Oliver Partridge Esq's of their conduct at the late Congress at *New York*, is satisfactory to this house." Surely the fame of Otis needs no vindication.

Adams acknowledging McKean's letter says he knew them both, 'Ruggles was my cousin, Otis my friend and one of my patrons. I could not have drawn the character with more precision than you have done. Both high minded men, exalted souls, acting in scenes they could not comprehend and acting parts whose effects and consequences will last longer than their names will be remembered.' What words of praise he found in McKean's account of the Brigadier it is impossible to discover; but John Adams had his full share of the family trait of judging for himself and was generally in opposition to the rest of mankind.

Ogden fared no better; when McKean returned home to Newcastle through New Jersey and mentioned Ogden's refusals to sign, the popular indignation was aroused and Ogden was burned in effigy in several of the counties and lost his place as speaker of the assembly at the next meeting. Ogden, like Ruggles, menaced McKean with a challenge but neither encounter came off. McKean bears testimony to the 'zeal of the great mass of the people in the cause of America.'

In an account of the South Carolina proceedings written to the agent of the colony at London, by Christopher Gadsden, a hint is given as to the views of the different Colonies. He expresses the fear that the *charters*, 'being different in different colonies, may be the political trap that will ensnare, by at last drawing different colonies, on that account, to act differently in this great and common cause and whenever that is the case, all will be over with the whole. There ought to be no New England men, no New Yorker, &c known on the continent, but all of us Americans; a *confirmation* of our essential and common rights as Englishmen may be pleaded from the *charters* safely enough, but any farther dependence on them may be fatal."

The Carolinians seemed to have been strenuously opposed to sending the Memorial to the Lords and Commons, inasmuch as the King was requested in the petition to lay the matter before Parliament and because in their opinion their rights were not held from either the Commons or the Lords. But they finally yielded because as Gadsden says *Union is most certainly all in all*. Gadsden pushed his ideas of nationality beyond any

one of the period. He expressly records his dislike of charters and fears that they might yet be the bane of America.

Having completed their business and engaging themselves not to make public their proceedings until the petition should be presented [great indecency in that respect, the newspapers remarking, having taken place the last year] the Congress adjourned, Friday, the 25th October, at half past three in the afternoon. They are quaintly described as having taken a very affectionate leave of each other; on the same day most of them set out from New York for their respective Colonies. The enterprising editor who made this report does not seem to have known of the hasty retreat of the Brigadier.

While the delegates were thus engaged, in their endeavor to reach a pacific solution of the differences with the Home Government, the mass of the people were not idle. The years which immediately followed the French War were years of great distress in the Colonies. The war period was one of abnormal and unnatural excitement in all kinds of trade which, ceasing all at once with the peace, was followed by the usual depression. In their distress and discontent the people, as much from necessity as from choice, began to look about them and to study how far they could supply themselves from their own resources independently of Great Britain. This was the beginning of Home Manufactures. In this the colonies were encouraged by the arrival of skilled artisans from England. In the London Chronicle of the 3d February, reproduced in Holt's newspaper of the 18th April, there is striking testimony to the extent of this movement. 'It is something remarkable that ever since the regulations were made last year concerning the North American trade, we hardly read a newspaper that does not mention manufacturers of one kind or another going from England Scotland or Ireland to settle in these colonies; which if true is certainly a matter that should to the last degree prove alarming to these kingdoms'; The article, which is full of sound economic arguments, closes with the warning that 'with a transfer of arts and people England would make such a transfer of strength and property as would soon throw out of her hands all wealth and power.' It was also stated, the same month, that the fourteen new manufactures lately established in North America would cause an annual loss to Great Britain of nearly half a million sterling. At the same time came news that near one hundred journeymen, 'silk throwsters,' had engaged themselves for New York and Philadelphia upon extraordinary encouragements; at both which places they are going to establish manufactures of silk. Smelters and refiners to work the mines, gauze and crape weavers of mourning goods hatters, in fact artisans of all descriptions were announced

as about to emigrate to the colonies. Such was the alarm in London that it was already proposed to bring in a bill to impose certain duties on the produce of North American Manufactures.

In May articles began to appear in the papers congratulating the public on the patriotic and frugal spirit that was beginning to reign in the Province of New York. The principal gentlemen of the city clad themselves in country manufactures or *turned clothes*. Weyman printed in large type in his paper the N. Y. Gazette the patriotic motto 'It is better to wear a homespun coat than lose our liberty'. Spinning was daily in vogue; materials being more wanting than industrious hands; a need the Farmers were endeavoring to remedy by sowing more Flax seed and keeping more sheep and finally we notice the odd statement 'that little lamb came to market as no true lovers of their country or whose sympathetic breasts feel for its distresses will buy it, and that Sassafras, Balm and Sage were greatly in use instead of Tea and allowed to be more wholesome.' Funerals and mourning which were then expensive luxuries were modified and their extravagance curtailed.

The Society for promoting Arts and Manufactures resolved to establish a Bleaching Field and to erect a Flax Spinning School where the poor children of the City should be taught the art. They also ordered large numbers of spinning wheels to be made and loaned to all who would use them. In September we find it announced that womens shoes were made, cheaper and better than the renowned Hoses', by Wells, Lasher, Bolton, and Davis, and that there was a good assortment on hand; that boots and mens shoes were made, in every quarter of the city, better than the English made for foreign sale; wove thread stockings in sundry places: the making of linen, woolen, and cotton stuffs was fast increasing; gloves, hats, carriages, harness and cabinet work were plenty. The people were now self dependent; Cards now appeared recommending that no true friend of his country should buy or import English goods, and the dry goods men were warned that their importations would lie on hand to their cost and ruin.

There being now a sufficiency of home made goods it was proposed on the 19th October to establish a market for all kinds of Home Manufactures; and a market was opened under the Exchange in Broad Street on the 23d. From the shortness of the notice the design was not sufficiently known in the country and there was neither plenty nor variety; but numbers of buyers appeared and everything went off readily at good prices.

The gentlemen Merchants of the City, as they were styled, were not behind any class in patriotism or sacrifice. A meeting was called for Monday 28th October at Jones' house in the Fields "The Freemasons Arms"



but the attendance, owing to the short notice, not being sufficient to enter upon business they were again summoned on the 30th October to meet the next day at four o'clock at Mr Burns' long room at the City Arms to fall upon such methods as they shall then think most advisable for their reciprocal interest.

On the 31st there was a general meeting of the principal Merchants at this tavern which was known under the various names of the City Arms, the Province Arms, The New York Arms, and stood on the upper corner of Broadway and Stone, now Thames street, on the site later occupied by the City Hotel.

Resolutions were adopted and subscribed by upwards of two hundred of the principal merchants; 1st, To accompany all orders to Great Britain for Goods or Merchandize of any nature kind or Quality whatever with instructions that they be not shipped unless the Stamp Act be repealed; 2nd, to countermand all outstanding orders unless on the conditions mentioned in the foregoing resolution; 3rd, Not to vend any goods sent on commission, shipped after the 1st January succeeding unless upon the same condition.

In consequence of these resolutions the Retailers of Goods subscribed a paper obliging themselves not to buy any Goods, Wares or Merchandize after the 1st January unless the Stamp Act were repealed.

This was the first of the famous Non Importation Agreement, the great commercial measure of offense and defence against Great Britain. It punished friends and foes alike and plunged a large portion of the English people into the deepest distress; at the same time it taught the Colonies the value and extent of their own resources.

The honor of this movement belongs to New York. It was credited to her by Mr. Bancroft in the original edition of his History. To the astonishment of students the "New Centenary edition" of this standard work ascribes a priority to Philadelphia. The final New York meeting was held on the 31st October as we have already stated. In a note to the History of Independence Hall, at Philadelphia, published last year the reason of this change is given. Mr Etting, the author of this volume and the late chairman of the committee on the restoration of that venerable building, caused a tablet to be set up in the vestibule with the following inscription. INDEPENDENCE FORESHADOWED by the NON IMPORTATION RESOLUTIONS of the Merchants and other Citizens—Philadelphia October 15th 1765,—New York, October 31st 1765—Boston, December 3d &c.—This tablet was pointed out to Mr Bancroft when on a visit to Philadelphia.

The original document of the Philadelphia agreement bearing the signatures of the Merchants and others is now in the archives of the Penn-

sylvania Historical Society. It had been preserved in the family of William Bradford the publisher of the Pennsylvania Journal. There is no doubt of the authenticity of the document but there is no question that the date is incorrect. There is abundant evidence to the contrary.

The original manuscript is bound in folio form and is in admirable condition. The names of the signers are on both sides of the sheet in columns. It was not dated. On the right hand upper corner of the first page there appears a date in pencil which is explained in a postscript to a letter written (May 10, 1854) by the donor, Mr. William Bradford, to the Pennsylvania Historical Society. It reads as follows: *'The date of October 25, 1765 was placed on the document by my grandfather Thomas Bradford in lead pencil. I know it to be his writing. It was done at the time he gave me the paper. He was ninety years of age when he gave the instrument to me and in the full vigor of all powers of mind and body. May 8, 1835.'*

On such uncertain foundation as the recollection of an old gentleman of ninety, of an event which transpired seventy years before, when he was but twenty years of age, stands the flimsy claim of Mr. Etting to the priority of Philadelphia in this important action. Let us now examine the contemporaneous record.

In the St James Chronicle published in London December 26th 1765 there appears a letter from a merchant at Philadelphia to his London correspondent dated Philadelphia November 7th 1765 which says. "At a general meeting of the Merchants and Traders of the City it was this day resolved by them (and to strengthen their resolutions they entered into the most solemn engagements with each other) that they would not import any Goods from Great Britain until the Stamp Act was repealed;" in the same column an extract from another letter dated Philadelphia November 9th has the following sentence. "It might have been deemed scandalous not to have signed the Merchants, General Resolutions and Engagements of the 7th inst. In volume II of the Upcott Clippings, in the Library of the New York Historical Society, there is a printed Extract of a letter from a clergyman in Pennsylvania dated November 7th 1765, which states, "An association was formed this day *and articles signed* by a very great number of the merchants and will be subscribed by all, engaging that they will not import from Britain any Goods or Merchandize till the Stamp Act is repealed." In the same volume of the same collection there is another printed extract of a letter from Philadelphia dated November 14th which contains this paragraph "At a meeting of the Merchants and Traders and also of the Retail Dealers here, they came to the same resolutions as those of New York (formerly mentioned) to counter-

mand all orders sent to England for goods; unless the Stamp Act is repealed."

The Philadelphia resolutions were printed in full for the first time in their newspaper, The Pennsylvania Gazette of the 14th November, the next issue after the meeting. The sets of resolutions differ somewhat but from their order of arrangement and the textual similarity of sundry phrases it is beyond doubt that the one is based upon the other. Those of Philadelphia being much more elaborate are clearly modelled on those of New York.

The statement of Mr Bancroft, that the New York Sons of Liberty sent expresses to invite the people of the neighboring governments to join in their league, justly confident that they would follow the example of New York, is no doubt correct.

That they did follow it in Philadelphia on the 7th November and in Boston the 9th December are matters of history which no uncertain unauthenticated date can overthrow.

In a faithful narrative of the proceedings of the North American Colonies in consequence of the Stamp Act published by Almon in 1766 it is stated that the New York Merchants passed their resolutions on the 31st October and "the inhabitants of Philadelphia followed their example; and on the 7th November the Merchants met and entered into the like engagements."

Gordon is more explicit; Under date of the 31st October, he says "the merchants of New York were foremost in adopting the non importation agreement and recommended the like conduct to the Massachusetts and the neighboring provinces in trade," Under date of the 7th November "The Merchants and traders of Philadelphia had a general meeting and entered into a similar agreement." Under date of December 9th "That the merchants and traders of Boston resolved upon a non importation." But why multiply evidence? *In justice to the truth of history, to Philadelphia as well as to New York the order of precedence on the tablet in Independence Hall should be changed or the tablet itself removed. As it stands it is untrue.*

The orders countermanding goods were at once sent out and it was estimated in November that the amount of orders withdrawn reached the sum of Seven Hundred Thousand pounds sterling.

The dreaded first of November the date fixed for the enforcement of the Act was now at hand—strange to say it was the anniversary of the accession of the Young Sovereign George the Third to the throne. Throughout the Colonies it was looked upon as the "last day of Liberty." Everywhere it was a day of mourning.

The Stamps reached New York later than the other Colonies. They

were brought over in the ship *Edward* which arrived on the 23rd October after a voyage of six weeks and three days from Falmouth. They had been 'shipped so privately that not a passenger in the ship knew of their being on board till a man of war here came on board to take care of their security' as soon as it was known that they were really arrived, 'all the vessels in the Harbour lowered their colours to signify *Mourning, Lamentation and Woe*' so runs the newspaper account of the next day. The boarding at the Hook was in accordance with an agreement previously made between Colden and Captain Kennedy of the *Coventry* Frigate. The most graphic account of these events is to be found in a letter of Robert R. Livingston to Governor Monckton. "When the Stamps arrived it was announced to the City by the firing of several cannon from one of the Men of War, at about 10 o'clock at night, and the next day the ship was convoyed into the harbour with a Man of War and a tender with great Parade. A vast number of people beheld this sight and were greatly enraged." The cause of this excitement was the alienation of Lieut Governor Colden from the feeling of the Province and of its Assembly. Even his Council who were all men of approved loyalty were distrusted by him; he himself said in a letter to Sir William Johnston on the 31st August that they 'had not been in good humour with him for some time past.' he adds 'I do not meet with them and there is no necessity for it' He felt his isolation to be so great that he expressed the hope to see Johnston in New York as he had 'few to advise with him in whom he could place confidence.' When the necessity came a quorum could not be brought together. To this was added the indignation of the people at his evident intention to recur to force to carry out the purposes of the Ministry. His purpose is plainly shown by his letter of the 8th July in which he requested General Gage, then in command of the British Regular troops, 'for a guard sufficient to secure the Fort against the Negroes or a Mob.' The Fort which included the Governor's House was then in a state of dilapidation. The Guns were honeycombed, the carriages rotten and there was no powder. The same month a company of the 60th Regiment arrived from Crown Point and shortly after, the relief of the Royal Regiment of Artillery from England. On the 23rd September Colden wrote to Secretary Conway that the garrison then consisted of one hundred privates besides officers and was secure against any attempt or insult that was apprehended.

There was a large restless unoccupied population in all these sea board towns; soldiers and volunteers who had made the campaigns for twenty years, sailors and adventurers; of even the better class of society, who had officered and manned the privateers which had captured many a Spanish

galleon laden with its precious freight and carried terror to the French settlements on the northern coast, in the West Indies and on the Spanish Main. Men accustomed to dangerous and desperate adventures, and it is useless to deny, not over scrupulous as to their measures, and now also freed from the control of any superior authority. The night after the arrival of the *Edward*, a written paper was posted over the city a copy of which remains preserved in the State Paper office in England of which we give a fac simile. *Pro Patria*—*The first man that either distributes or makes use of Stamped Paper let him take care of his House, Person & Effects*—*Vox Populi*—*We dare*.

The first difficulty the Governor met with was to obtain the stamped paper from the cargo of the *Edward*. The boxes containing it had purposely been mixed in as freight with the general cargo by the Commissioners of the Stamp Office, to prevent any intelligence of their shipment from reaching the city. As he was afraid to bring the vessel to the dock it became necessary to unload her in the stream ; but no small craft could be hired to lighten the cargo to shore and Colden was compelled to call upon the Captains of the King's ships to assist in removing the cargo sufficiently to reach the packages containing the Stamped Paper. All but three were reached and safely taken to the Governor's House in the fort [they were contained in three boxes and two bales marked No 1, J McE (James McEvers) New York, and one marked J. I. (Jared Ingersoll) Connecticut]

The rage of the populace increased, though no doubt restrained by the meeting of the Congress. On the evening of the 31st October a number of sailors and others gathered in front of the City Arms ; but the merchants had quietly separated. The night was an excited one but there was no serious mischief done. The authorities were in alarm ; Colden having notified the Mayor, John Cruger, of whom we have spoken, ' that there was a design to bury Major James alive that day or the next and that a riot or tumultuous proceedings were intended for the same time.' Major James was an officer of the Royal Artillery and had not only been active in putting the Fort in posture for defence, but with the usual foolish brag of an English regular, he had publicly asserted that ' he would cram the stamps down their throats with the end of his sword and that he would drive them all out of town for a pack of rascals with four and twenty men.' The same day Colden, determined if possible to enforce the Act, himself took the oath, enjoined by Parliament, before the Council. His son had offered to take the office of Stamp distributor, vacant by McEvers' refusal, but his father had no power of appointment.

No Advice

The first Man that either  
distributes or makes use of Stamp  
paper, let him take care of  
his House, Person, & Effects.

Vox Populi;

We dare



## THE STAMP ACT IN NEW YORK

The next day, the first of November, Colden wrote to Captain Kennedy that the Magistrates of the City had informed him that they apprehended a mob the same night and begged the favor of a reinforcement of Marines to secure the Fort. Up to this time the City, controlled by its leading people, had been in marked contrast to its eastern and southern neighbors. At last the storm broke forth with all the more fury because of its long repression. A Mob 'the most formidable imaginable' as Livingston describes it (and it passed twice by his door) began to collect in the Fields, opposite the Commons where a moveable gallows was erected on which was suspended an effigy of Governor Colden which was made much to resemble the person it was intended to represent. In his hand was a stamped paper which he seemed to court the people to receive; at his back hung a drum, on his breast a label "The rebel drummer in the year 1715," a soubriquet which had been before attached to him by the Chief Justice Horsmanden. It was a bitter satire upon the zeal with which Colden, then on a visit from New York to his home in Scotland, voluntarily took up arms against the Pretender and his own countrymen, in support of the King. By his side hung the Devil with a boot in his hand (emblematic of the King's unpopular adviser, Lord Bute) who seemed to be whispering in his ear. While the multitude gathered about these Figures a second party, with another Figure, made of paper, also representing the Governor 'in his grey hairs' seated in his chair, and carried on the head of a sailor, preceded and attended by a great number of lights, (six hundred are said to have been and on the occasion,) paraded through the principal streets of the City; as they moved pistol shots were repeatedly fired at the effigy. Passing through the 'Fly' the low meadow land through which Pearl Street ran they turned into Wall street and paid a visit to McEvers, whose residence was there, and gave him three cheers in honor of his resignation of his office as Stamp Master. The Mayor and Aldermen had met at the City Hall in Wall Street and with the aid of their Constables, with their staves, endeavored to prevent the progress of the procession and even threw down the effigy, but the leaders of the Mob, with magisterial authority and perfect good temper, ordered it to be raised again and the City authorities to stand aside at their peril. The Mob then marched to the Fort at the Foot of Broadway. The Governor's residence was inside the walls, his coach house without the ramparts; this they broke open and took out his Chariot, then placing the effigy upon the coach and one of their number sitting as Coachman, whip in hand, they drew it about the town. Passing the Merchants Coffee House, which stood on the present corner of Water and Wall streets, and was a famous place of resort they were greeted with approbation and applause; thence they hur-



ried with great rapidity towards the Fields. Meanwhile the first party had begun its movement, bearing the gallows on its frame upon which were hung numbers of lanterns. When the two parties met they halted and proclamation was made that no stones should be thrown and no windows broken and no injury offered to any person, all of which was punctually obeyed. The multitude then marched to the Fort and, although aware that the guns were loaded with grape and the ramparts were lined with soldiers, moved directly to the gate; knocking their clubs against it, they demanded admittance; they called to the Sentinel to tell the Rebel drummer or Major James to give orders to fire. But for the interposition of some moderate men they no doubt would have forced the gates as there were said to be four or five hundred sailors and old soldiers among them quite accustomed to desperate undertakings. From the gate, after many insults to the Effigy, they fell back to the Bowling Green which they stripped of the palisades which surrounded it. Here they planted the Gibbet, with the effigies hanging from it, though still under the muzzles of the fort guns. In the middle of the green with the palisades and the planks of the fort fence and a Chaise, two sleighs and the stable fixtures which they had also taken from the Governors coach house, they soon reared a large pile, which being fired, soon kindled to a great Flame and reduced Coach, Gallows, Man, Devil and all to ashes.

This it is said was all that the leaders of the expedition originally intended, but while the flames were at their height a party of volunteers left the main body and, breaking through the palisades on the other side of the green repaired to the house of Major James; this was the Vaux-hall a fine residence with large Gardens which stood on the North River at the foot of Warren Street below the College grounds. It had been a popular summer resort as a public house and gardens under the direction of Sam Fraunces, the famous Black Sam of Colonial and Revolutionary history. 'The Vaux-hall had been recently fitted up in the most elegant manner; the House itself was genteely furnished with good Furniture, contained a valuable library of choice Books, Papers, Accounts, Mathematical Instruments, Draughts, rich clothes, linen and a considerable quantity of wine and liquors. In the large garden attached there were summer houses and many curiosities. The mob burst open the doors and destroyed every individual article the House contained; then making a fire outside they threw in everything that would burn; drank or destroyed all the liquor; beat to pieces all the doors, sashes, window frames and Partitions, leaving it a mere shell; then destroyed the summer houses and tore up the garden. At two o'clock they retired, carrying off with them in triumph many military trophies including the Colors of the Royal Regiment.'

This bold determined act of resistance aroused the spirit of the whole neighboring country. Numbers of people came in from all directions to 'attend the important crisis' and volunteering their assistance remained in the city. Others, satisfied that New York could take care of herself, returned home determined to maintain their Freedom in their own places of residence. News came in from a distance that thousands were ready to march upon the least requisition. The next day, Saturday, the 2d, the people collected in bodies throughout the City, which was in the greatest confusion and tumult. Colden, obstinate as he was brave, still meditated resistance but on the public report of an intention to attack the Fort that night and the receipt of menacing letters he was induced to summon his Council. They advised him to announce that he would not distribute the stamps or act further in the matter till the arrival of Governor Moore. As night approached the people grew more excited and the magistrates alarmed. The mob gathering about the fort, to pacify them Colden requested the members of the Council to make public his decision. 'This was instantly done and was received with loud huzzas by the people who quietly dispersed, apparently satisfied;' such is the language of Colden himself. Sunday, the 3d, was a day of peace and quiet in the streets but threatening letters were sent to the Custom officials, in case they should decline to clear vessels without stamped paper and a placard was put up at the Coffee House cautioning the people against the peaceable orators who had quieted them the evening before and giving notice that if resolute they would be commanded by men who had given proofs of their courage in defence of their country. This was subscribed the 'Sons of Neptune' and fixed the time for the assault for Tuesday the fifth of November. This it must not be forgotten is Guy Fawkes day, even now a time of noisy popular excitement in all English towns.

Monday the 4th, it was discovered that on the nights of Saturday and Sunday all the cannon on the Copsey Battery, in the Kings Yard and many, the private property of the merchants had been spiked that they might not fall into the hands of the people. This created distrust and again aroused the popular fury.

All who dreaded excesses now became alarmed. It was idle to attempt to avert the movement. All that the most trusted of the friends of Liberty could do was to lead it. A meeting was called at the Coffee House at ten o'clock to form a Union for the protection of property. Such was the dread of the people and the fear of the secret power which directed them under the name of 'Vox Populi' [no doubt the Sons of Liberty] that none could be found to acknowledge the necessity of the meeting. Judge Livingston himself, whom Colden charges with having been the leader of

the movement, was openly threatened for his denunciation of what he termed Mob Government.

A printed card was issued by Robert R. Livingston, John Cruger, Beverley Robinson and John Stevens announcing the Governors promise not to issue nor suffer any of the stamps to be issued. This card declared that the Freeman, Freeholders and inhabitants were now satisfied that the Stamps were not to be issued and determined to keep the Peace of the City at all events, except they should have other complaints.

Numbers of persons now volunteered to assist the Magistrates, but earnestly urged that the Governor would remove the Stamps from the Fort and send them on board the frigate Coventry. Colden again consulted his Council who advised him to this course. Captain Kennedy refused, assigning as his reason that he had been privately informed that the Mob designed to compel him to deliver the Stamps after they came into his possession by threatening to destroy the houses he owned in the City. He is said to have possessed more property of this character in his own and his wife's right than any other person in town. For this refusal he afterwards lost his commission. Meanwhile the soldiers were noticed to be zealously at work to put the fort in a better posture of defence. Colden called on General Gage, as military Commander in chief, to take charge of the Fort. This General Gage declined but, as he had his residence in town, ordered sixty men to be in readiness to march to his defence if threatened.

The dreaded morning of the fifth arrived. Colden confidently expected the fort to be stormed that evening ; he wrote to Secretary Conway in the morning that every thing had been done in his power to give them a warm reception. A deputation of merchants called upon him but found him obstinate. The Magistrates now found it necessary to intervene. Meeting in Common Council, the Mayor presiding, the Corporation of the City resolved to request the 'Governor that for the peace of the city and to prevent the effusion of blood the stamped paper be delivered into their hands to be deposited in the City Hall and guarded by the City Watch, guaranteeing the value of such stamps as should be lost, destroyed or carried out of the province.'

The citizens gathered at the City Hall at four in the afternoon to know the result of this application. The Council readily agreed to the proposition but the obstinate Colden still refused until General Gage had also given his assent. Colden says that he finally yielded out of compassion. There seems to be little doubt that it was a bitter pill to the old gentleman. He was then in his seventy eighth year.

A message being received from the Governor that if "the Mayor and

**T** H E LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR declares he will do nothing in Relation to the STAMPS, but leave it to Sir HENRY MOORE, to do as he pleases, on his Arrival. Council Chamber, New-York, Nov. 2, 1765.

By Order of his Honour,  
Gw. Banyar, D. Cl. Con.

The Governor acquainted Judge *Livingston*, the Mayor, Mr. *Beverly Robinson*, and Mr. *John Stevens*, this Morning, being Monday the 4th of November, that he would not issue, nor suffer to be issued, any of the STAMPS now in Fort-George.

*Robert R. Livingston.*

*John Cruger,*  
*Beverly Robinson,*  
*John Stevens.*

The Freeman, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of this City, being satisfied that the STAMPS are not to be issued, are determined to keep the Peace of the City, at all Events, except they should have other Cause of Complaint.



Aldermen would attend at the Fort Gate the paper should be delivered them; they accordingly soon after accompanied with a prodigious concourse of people of all variety attended at the gate of the Fort when the stamped paper and parchment were delivered according to the stipulated terms. It was received with demonstrations of joy and after three cheers was carried to the City Hall when the people dispersed and tranquility was restored to the City.

The stamps, which were contained in seven packages, were said to have weighed one ton and a half and it was estimated that their value was about that weight in silver. Gage's moderation was in happy contrast with Colden's unbending tenacity and did much to retain the sympathies of the people for the royal authority. It endeared him personally to them and won for him from the City authorities an address of gratitude and thanks.

The violence of these proceedings alarmed the sober men in the other colonies. Even Otis who had witnessed the Boston riots was surprised and found the issue beyond his ken. He wrote to his friend Johnson on the 12th to "*pray for the peace of Jerusalem.*"

On the 13th Sir Henry Moore, the newly appointed Governor of the Province with his Lady and family, arrived on the *Minerva* after a passage of about ten weeks from Portsmouth. He was saluted with seventeen guns from the Fort and received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, in which Lieut Governor Colden and General Gage were conspicuous. After taking the oath of office before the Council, and his Commission being published at the Fort, he walked to the City Hall attended by all the Magnates of the City, where his commission was again republished amid the acclamations of the People. In the evening the City was illuminated. The same journal which announces his arrival contains notice also of the sailing for England of the Ship *Edward* which brought the odious stamps,

—"fatal and perfidious bark  
Built in the eclipse and rigg'd with curses dark."

carrying as a passenger the luckless Major James. James was quite a character. He was a cultivated man. His history of the Herculean Straits, two sumptuous quarto volumes printed in London in 1771 attests his industry as well as his scholarship. He had served at Gibraltar before coming to America. There is a passage in the first volume of this work in which he laments the loss of the descriptions of the Alhambra and numerous views and manuscripts collected for his history 'destroyed at Vaux Hall on account of the stamp act.' He later returned to New York and was distinguished by his style and fashion. His magnificent black coach horses were the envy of the

town. The dedication of his history dated June 13th 1768 was from *Vauxhall* to which he returned.

Governor Moore's first efforts were turned to conciliation. He threw open the gates of the Fort to the people, as had been the custom, and in every way sought to win their favor. Old Colden looked upon this consorting with demagogues with great disgust. He charges Moore with having put on a home-spun coat, the badge of the faction, and to have been a frequenter of the Coffee House whenever he had a bit of news to retail. All this he charged to his fear of losing his bread and butter; his salary being dependent on the annual vote of the Assembly. With regard to the stamps Moore wrote to his government that he was 'obliged to suspend the power he was unable to exert.'

All the newspapers in the Colonies, which were not suspended, appeared in mourning on the first of November. In Philadelphia Franklin's paper dropped its headings for the two succeeding days, printing broadsides only. In New York Gaine and Weyman both suspended, but John Holt 'faithful among the faithless' continued his publication and printed in a card in his New York Gazette that he 'chose rather to hazard the penalties mentioned in the Stamp Act than desert the cause of Liberty and in every issue after the 31 October supplemented his title with the motto "The United Voice of all His Majesty's *free* and *loyal* Subjects in America,—LIBERTY and PROPERTY, and NO STAMPS." This was an adaptation of the old English popular cry of 'Liberty Property and no Excise.

The Sons of Liberty were now alert to prevent any surreptitious use of stamps, no matter from quarter they might come—and generally to keep alive the spirit of opposition. Discovering that the ship which brought over the Governor had a second instalment on board they required the City Authorities to take charge of them with the rest—and they were accordingly lodged in the City Hall on the 16th. On the 20th November they called a great meeting at the City Arms and adopted a vigorous representation to the representatives of the City and County in the General Assembly declaratory of their right as British subjects to trial by jury and freedom from taxation. On the 18th November, Zachariah Hood, the Maryland Stamp Master, who had fled to New York to escape resignation and had placed himself under the protection of Governor Colden following him to Flushing, was visited there and compelled to take oath before a Justice of the Peace to resign his office. The Sons of Liberty would not permit him to remain within the province on any other terms. On the 12th December a vessel arrived from Quebec with a stamped *Let-Pass* from Governor Murray and the intelligence that the Act was there in force. The pass, of V shillings,

was posted at the Coffee House and visited by throngs of people with 'dejected countenances.' This was their first view of the hated instrument. On the evening of the 17th their indignation took the usual shape of an effigy burning. A multitude of people passed through the streets bearing a gallows upon which hung three figures representing George Grenville, the author of the act, Lord Colvill who had ordered the stoppage of vessels without stamped papers and General Murray, for having executed the first stamped instrument which appeared in the City. On this occasion, for the first time, the people appeared in two bodies who seemed not in harmony with each other : the beginning of a struggle for supremacy which continued until the Revolution and reasserted itself after its close. On the 21st, the Minerva was searched by an armed delegation from the Sons of Liberty for a package of stamps intended for Connecticut. They ascertained that they had been delivered at Fort George. On the 7th January 1766 a public meeting was held at the call of the Sons of Liberty at the tavern of William Howard in the Fields. This house, the first headquarters of the Sons of Liberty, stood on the Church ground near the College facing the Commons. After passing resolutions threatening resentment upon any who should use stamped paper and resolving to preserve the peace of the City, if it could be done consistently with the security of their rights and privileges, they agreed upon regular fortnightly meetings ; thus openly completing their organization. On the night of the 8th they boarded a brig from London which had ten boxes of stamped papers, intended for New York and Connecticut ; opened the hatches, took out the packages and carried them in a boat to the ship yards where they made a bon fire out some tar barrels and destroyed the whole. On the 17th every patriotic American was requested to wear crapes in their hats and the ladies black ribbons and handkerchiefs on account of the death of the Duke of Cumberland. On the 3d January, Capt Chambers received public censure for venturing to take in eight packages of stamps in England although they were delivered here to the City authorities. On the 4th February the Sons of Liberty appointed a permanent Committee to correspond with similar organizations in the neighboring colonies. On the 13th February, hearing of the existence in the City of stamped passes for the Mediterranean, they assembled at the Coffee House where all these passes whether filled or blanks were delivered and burned in the presence of several thousand spectators. On the 21st April the ship Prince George arrived from Bristol with a large mixed cargo, imported contrary to the general agreement. The cargo was taken possession of by the Sons of Liberty and branded with the New York Arms for reshipment to Bristol.

The attitude of the other Colonies being equally firm and Pitt having



from the beginning of the struggle espoused the cause of the colonies and declared his joy at their resistance, the ministry were compelled to yield. When early in the year petitions poured in upon Parliament from all the manufacturing towns showing the distress of the population, one half of which was out of employment and at the point of starvation, the ministry led by Rockingham determined to repeal the act.

The petitions of the Congress were not admitted, as emanating from a body not called together by Royal authority, but others were received in great number. Franklin was called before the Committee of the House of Commons and gave an account of the condition of the Colonies remarkable for its precision and comprehensiveness. He clearly showed that there was not money enough in the colonies to pay the stamped duty, that there was no single article consumed in the Colonies that they could not either do without or make themselves and that the expenses of the late war had left them in a condition where every additional restriction upon Commerce was an intolerable burthen.

The bill to repeal the Stamp Act was introduced into the Commons and passed the 21st February by a large majority. From the Commons it went up to the Lords where, in spite of the declaration that the King was against a repeal, it was likewise passed and on the 18th received the formal assent of the King. How it was coupled with a renewed declaration of the Right of the Parliament to tax the Colonies it is not necessary here to relate. The Colonies resisted not the declaration but the enforcement.

There was great joy in London; as the King went up to the House of Peers, to give the Royal Assent, he was detained several hours by a vast concourse of applauding people; couriers at once carried the news to the sea-ports and vessels which had been detained for months set sail for America; a swift ship which had been kept in waiting was despatched with orders to make the first port possible on the Continent. The next day great numbers of the American merchants went to the House of Peers to express their satisfaction and gratitude. There were over fifty coaches in the procession.

The news reached New York on the afternoon of Tuesday, May the 20th, simultaneously by expresses from Boston and Philadelphia. 'Though it had been long expected, a sudden joy was diffused through all ranks of people in the whole City—people shook hands in the street, the bells were set to ringing and continued till late at night—and renewed the next day till nine o'clock. The Sons of Liberty had a meeting the same evening and arranged for a great celebration the next day. At one o'clock there was a great gathering at the Fields where a Royal Salute of twenty-one cannon

was fired; a numerous body dined at Howard's; when every loyal toast was saluted by seven guns. At night there were two great bonfires in the fields and the whole city more generally and beautifully illuminated than ever before.'

On the anniversary of the King's birthday the 4th of June, there was a similar outburst of popular rejoicing; 'there was a great barbecue on the Common where two fat oxen were roasted; the guns on the battery and ships fired royal salutes; a great dinner was given to the Governor to which three hundred and forty people, sat down when forty one toasts were drank with grateful hearts; and the day closed with a general illumination.'

The gratitude of the people to Pitt, who was the idol of the Colonies was everywhere displayed—from Massachusetts to Georgia his name was a household word. In May, South Carolina took the lead in a practical demonstration, ordering the portraits of her Commissioners to the Stamp Act Congress at the public expense and a marble statue of Pitt. This example was followed in New York, the citizens of which at a large meeting held on the 23d June petitioned the Assembly to erect a statue of the great Commoner. The wish was complied with and a statue ordered from Wilmot of London. The two statues were similar and by the same artist.

The one designed for New York was set up on the 7th September 1770 at the intersection of Wall and Smith now William street. It was injured during the revolutionary war by the British troops and now stands headless in the refectory of the New York Historical Society, a melancholy evidence of the vicissitudes of popularity. It would be a grateful act in some public spirited citizen to restore this Statue. It will be all the more becoming, now that in the rage for novelty the City authorities have attempted to take from one of her streets the name of the great statesman whom at one period every citizen delighted to honor as the Champion of American Liberty.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

#### THE NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENTS 1765

NEW YORK, October 31st

[*The N. Y. Gazette Nov. 7. John Holt*]

At a general Meeting of the Merchants of New York, trading to Great Britain, at the House of Mr. George Burns, of the said City, Inn-holder, to consider what was necessary to be done in the present Situation of Affairs with Respect to the STAMP ACT, and the melancholy State of the N. American Commerce, so greatly restricted by the

Impositions and Duties established by the late Acts of Trade: They came to the following Resolutions, viz.

FIRST, that in all Orders they send out to Great-Britain, for Goods or Merchandise of any Nature, Kind, or Quality whatsoever, usually imported from Great-Britain, they will direct their Correspondents not to ship them, unless the STAMP ACT be repealed. It is nevertheless agreed, that

all such Merchants as are Owners of, and have Vessels already gone, and now cleared out for Great Britain, shall be at Liberty to bring back in them on their own Accounts, Crates and Casks of Earthen Ware, Grindstones, Pipes, and such other bulky Articles as Owners usually fill up their vessels with.

SECONDLY, It is further unanimously agreed that all orders already sent Home, shall be countermanded by the very first Conveyance; and the Goods and Merchandise thereby ordered, not to be sent, unless upon the condition mentioned in the foregoing Resolution.

THIRDLY, It is further unanimously agreed, that no Merchant will vend any Goods or Merchandise sent upon Commission from Great Britain that shall be shipped from thence after the first Day of January next, unless upon the condition mentioned in the first Resolution.

FOURTHLY and lastly it is unanimously agreed, that the foregoing Resolutions shall be binding until the same are abrogated at a general Meeting hereafter to be held for that purpose

In Witness whereof we have hereunto respectively subscribed our Names

*[This was subscribed by upwards of Two Hundred principal Merchants]*

In Consequence of the foregoing Resolutions, the Retailers of Goods, of the City of New York, subscribed a Paper in the Words following viz.

We the under-written, Retailers of Goods, do hereby promise and oblige ourselves not to buy any Goods, Wares, or Merchandises of any Person or Persons whatsoever, that shall be shipped from Great Britain, after the first Day of January next, unless the STAMP ACT shall be repealed. . . . As Witness our Hands, Oct. 31, 1765

PHILADELPHIA November 7.

*[Pennsylvania Gazette Nov. 14. Franklin & Hall]*

The Merchants and Traders of the City of Philadelphia, taking into their Consideration the melancholy State of the N. American Commerce in general, and the distressed Situation of the Province of Pennsylvania in particular, do unanimously agree,

THAT the many difficulties they now labour under as a Trading People, are owing to the Restrictions, Prohibitions, and ill advised Regulations made in the several Acts of the Parliament of

Great-Britain lately passed, to regulate the Colonies; which have limited the Exportation of some Part of our Country Produce, increased the Cost and Expense of many Articles of our Importation, and cut off from us all means of supplying ourselves with Specie enough *even* to pay the Duties imposed on us, much less to serve as a Medium of our Trade.

THAT this Province is heavily in Debt to Great-Britain for the Manufactures, and other Importations from thence, which the Produce of our Lands have been found unequal to pay for, when a free exportation of it to the best Markets was allowed of, and such Trades open as supplied us with Cash, and other Articles, of immediate Remittance to Great Britain.

THAT the late unconstitutional Law (the Stamp-Act) if carried into Execution in this Province, will further tend to prevent our making those Remittances to Great Britain for Payment of old Debts, or Purchase of more Goods, which the Faith subsisting between the Individuals trading with each other requires; and therefore, in Justice to ourselves, to the Traders of Great-Britain, who usually give us Credit, and to the Consumers of British Manufactures in this Province, and Subscribers hereto, have voluntarily and unanimously come into the following Resolutions and Agreements, in Hopes that their Example will stimulate the good People of this Province to be frugal in their Use and Consumption of all Manufactures excepting those of America, and lawful Goods coming directly from Ireland, manufactured there, whilst the Necessities of our Country are such as to require it; and in Hopes that their Brethren the Merchants and Manufacturers of Great Britain, will find their own Interest so intimately connected with ours, that they will be spurred on to befriend us from that Motive, if no other should take Place.

FIRST. It is unanimously Resolved and Agreed, that in all orders any of the Subscribers to this Paper may send to Great Britain for Goods, they shall and will direct their Correspondents not to ship them until the STAMP-ACT is repealed.

SECONDLY. That all those amongst the Subscribers that have already sent Orders to Great Britain for Goods, shall and will immediately countermand the same, until the STAMP-ACT is repealed. Except such Merchants as are Owners

of Vessels already gone, or now cleared out for Great Britain, who are Liberty to bring back in them, on their own Accounts, Coals, Casks of Earthen-Ware, Grindstones, Pipes, Iron Pots, Empty Bottles, and such other bulky Articles, as owners usually fill up their ships with, but no Dry-Goods of any Kind, except such Kind of Dye Stuffs and Utensils necessary for carrying on Manufactures, that may be ordered by any Person.

THIRDLY. That none of the Subscribers hereto, shall or will vend any Goods or Merchandizes whatever, that shall be shipped them on Commission from Great Britain, after the First of January next, unless the STAMP-ACT *be repealed*.

FOURTHLY. That these Resolves and Agreements shall be binding on all and each of us the Subscribers, who do hereby, each and every Person for himself, upon his Word of Honour, agree, that he will strictly and firmly adhere to, and abide by, every Article from this time, until the First Day of May next, when a Meeting of the Subscribers shall be called, to consider whether the further Continuance of this Obligation be then necessary.

FIFTHLY. It is agreed that if Goods of any Kind do arrive from Great Britain at such Time, or under such Circumstances, as to render any Signer of this Agreement suspected of having broke his Promises, the Committee now appointed shall enquire into the Premises, and if such suspected Person refuses, or cannot give them Satisfaction, the Subscribers hereto will unanimously take all prudent Measures to discountenance and prevent the Sale of such Goods, until they are released from this Agreement by mutual and general Consent

LASTLY. As it may be necessary that a Committee of the Subscribers be appointed to wait on

the Traders of this City, to get this present Agreement generally subscribed the following Gentlemen are appointed for that Purpose, viz; Thomas Willing and Samuel Mifflin Esquires; Thomas Montgomery, Samuel Howell, Samuel Wharton, John Rhea, William Fisher, Joshua Fisher, Peter Chevalier, Benjamin Fuller, and Abel James

[*The above is signed by above Four Hundred Traders*]

We the Retailers of the City of Philadelphia, at a General Meeting, taking into Consideration the melancholy State of the North-American Commerce in general, and the distressed Situation of the Province of Pennsylvania in particular, occasioned by the late unconstitutional Law (the STAMP-ACT) if carried into Execution, do hereby voluntarily and unanimously promise and oblige all and each of us, upon our Word of Honour, not to buy any Goods, Wares or Merchandizes of any Person or Persons whatsoever, that shall be shipped from Great Britain after the first day of January next, unless that unconstitutional Law (the STAMP-ACT) shall be repealed; excepting such Goods and Merchandizes as shall be approved and allowed by the Committee of Merchants nominated and appointed for that Purpose, and all lawful Goods coming directly from Ireland, manufactured there.

The above to be binding on us till the First Day of May next, at which Time we propose another General Meeting, to consider whether the further Continuance of this Obligation be necessary. As Witness our Hands &c.

The following Gentlemen are appointed to wait on the Retailers of this City to get the above Agreement generally subscribed to, viz, John Ord, Francis Wade, Joseph Deane, David Dashler, George Bartram, Andrew Dox, George Schloffer, James Hunter, Thomas Paschall, Thomas West and Valentine Charles.

## ERKURIES BEATTY

PAYMASTER OF THE WESTERN ARMY 1786-1788

Major Erkuries Beatty was born October 9, 1759. He was a son of Rev'd Charles Beatty, who emigrated from Ireland to America in 1729, and served as chaplain to the Provincial Forces of Pennsylvania, under the command of Dr. Benj. Franklin, in 1756, and in the same capacity in Col. Clapham's regiment at Fort Augusta, now Sunbury, Pennsylvania.

His father coined his name thus: *e, from; Kurios, the Lord*, and it was variously spelled as Erkurios, Erkurius, and finally rested at Erkuries.

Erkuries was apprenticed to a gentleman at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, when the war broke out, and though but a boy, served with the Jersey troops; was at Long Island, August 29, 1776, under General Sterling, and acted as sergeant at White Plains, October 28th. He was commissioned an ensign in the 4th Pennsylvania, Lt. Col. Wm. Butler commanding, rank dating from January 3, 1777; promoted 1st Lieutenant May 2d, and participated in the battle of Brandywine, September 11th. He was badly wounded at Germantown, October 4th, but rejoined his regiment at Valley Forge in January, 1778. He was at Monmouth, June 28th, and shortly after went with his regiment to Schoharie, New York. He was with Van Schaick's expedition against the Onondagas, April 18, 1779; followed the fortunes of the 4th Penn. under General James Clinton and General Sullivan in Sullivan's campaign. In the battle at Newtown, August 29, 1779; wintered at Morristown, 1780 and 1781.

When the Pennsylvania Line was reorganized after the revolt in January, 1781, he went south with it under General Wayne. Joined La Fayette at Raccoon Ford on the Rappahannock, June 10, 1781. Fought at Jamestown, July 6th, and was present at Cornwallis' surrender, October 19th. He was then detached to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to guard the prisoners, and finally mustered out of service, November 3, 1783.

After the war he acted as clerk in the War Office, settling the accounts of the Pennsylvania Line, and obtained a 1st Lieutenant's commission in the regular army July 24, 1784. In 1786, '87, and '88 he was acting paymaster of the Western Army. In 1789 and 1790 commandant at Fort St. Vincent (now Vincennes). He was a major under General St. Clair, but was not at the defeat, November 4, 1791, having been sent back with a detachment to Fort Jefferson.

He resigned during Wayne's campaign, January 11, 1793, being dissatisfied with the appointment of Col. James Wilkinson as Brigadier over Col. Hamtramck. Went to Princeton, New Jersey, to reside, where he died February 23, 1823, and is buried in the cemetery at that town.

Before he left the army (September 29, 1787, as appears in his journal), he met at Philadelphia a Miss Ewing,\* whom he describes "as a very sprightly, interesting, and attractive young lady, with beautiful black eyes, and sings a good song." But she was affianced to a brother officer, and he seems for years to have thought no more of it. He however renewed his acquaintance with her when the widow of Major Ferguson, who was killed at St. Clair's defeat, and they were married February 21, 1799. His only surviving son, Charles Clinton Beatty, D.D., is the well-known founder of the Steubenville, (Ohio), Female Seminary, and President of the Board of Trustees of the Western Theological Seminary at Alleghany, Pennsylvania, to the building and endowment funds of which latter institution Dr. Beatty and his wife have contributed the munificent sum of \$92,000.

Major Beatty had three brothers, who were officers in the Revolution :

1. Major John Beatty (late General John Beatty of Trenton, New Jersey), 5th Pennsylvania Batt., Col. Robert Magaw. Captured at Fort Washington, November 16, 1776, afterwards Commissary of Prisoners, etc. He died at Trenton, May 30, 1826, aged 78.

2. Lieutenant Charles Clinton Beatty, 2d Lt. Capt. Thomas Church's company, Col. Anthony Wayne's 4th Pennsylvania Batt. He served during the campaign of 1776 in Canada and on Lake Champlain. This battalion re-enlisted as the 5th Pennsylvania, Continental Line, under Col. Francis Johnston (Col. Wayne having been promoted Brigadier), and was being recruited in Chester county when, on the 17th of February, 1777, Lt. Beatty was killed by the accidental discharge of a fusee in the hands of a brother officer (Col. Caleb North, the last surviving officer of the Pennsylvania Line, who died at Coventryville, Chester county, November 7, 1840, aged 88 years).

3. Surgeon Reading Beatty (ensign of the 5th Pennsylvania Batt., also captured at Fort Washington subsequently), of Proctor's 4th Regiment, Pennsylvania Artillery, Com'd 10th February, 1781. He died at Newtown, Bucks Co., October 29, 1831.

JOHN B. LINN

\* "Susanna, daughter of Mackell and Mary Ewing, who was said to have been both a beauty and a belle."—American Hist. Record, vol. 2, p. 218, notice of Major Wm. Ferguson.

NARRATIVE OF  
THE PRINCE DE BROGLIE  
TRANSLATED FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MS  
BY E. W. BALCH

Part IV

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This interview excited the curiosity of both armies. It passed with a most perfect propriety on the part of both gentlemen. Mr. Washington treated Mr. Gates with a politeness which had a frank and easy air, whilst the other responded with that shade of respect which was proper towards his general, but at the same time with a self-possession, a nobility of manner and an air of moderation which convinced me that Mr. Gates was worthy of the successes he had gained at Saratoga, and that his defeats had only rendered him more worthy of respect, because of the courage with which he bore them. Such also was the opinion, as far as I could gather, that other gentlemen, both capable and disinterested, entertained concerning Mr. Gates.

Mr. Washington would have done himself infinite honor, if after the affair of Camden, he had left the Congress to nominate a successor to Mr. Gates, and if, instead of selecting Mr. Greene, had asked that Mr. Gates should be continued in the command of this army, and given an opportunity to repair his misfortunes. But it must so be that every great man is bound by some little thread to the weaknesses of humanity. He had been very jealous of the success of Gates at Saratoga. The latter had been a little too vain glorious. Certain of Gates' flatterers, amongst whom figured

our compatriot, M. Conway, had fomented on both sides these seeds of jealousy between the two generals. Mr. Washington, when he became as it were after a fashion the judge of his rival, allowed himself to indulge in a little movement of vengeance, to which he was justified by the event itself (Camden), and he made an excellent choice in selecting General Greene. In fact, if he did not take the most noble line of conduct, he did nothing that could be censured.

It may be easily believed that from the moment I joined the army I did my very best to discover if there was a chance of terminating this campaign in an agreeable way, that is to say, in a movement against the enemy. M. de Chastellux told me he believed that there was nothing to hope for in that direction. He intimated to me there was at the moment an idea of embarking our army upon the squadron of M. de Vandreuil and he colored it with a hope apparently reasonable of our taking part in the capture of Jamaica.

This project of embarkation, which did not suit the ideas of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and which displeased General Washington, was not long kept a secret in the army. We quitted our camp the 12th of October, to march to our sea-side destination.

In seven days we arrived at Hartford, a town of some consideration, situated on the Connecticut river. There we remained four or five days, and it was at this place that M. de Rochambeau publicly announced his resolution of returning to France with M. Chastellux, the Intendant,\* and a large part of his staff.

M. de Vandreuil was not ready, be-

cause the navy never is, and he insisted that the army should not arrive at Boston until the moment when it could be embarked.

These continual delays vexed M. de Rochambeau, who seeing the season advancing, found it very disagreeable to expose his troops to the ice and snow, and subject them to the sufferings of the cold before going on board. Nevertheless, as it was embarrassing to go into cantonment, he resolved to move his army as far as Providence, three days march from Boston, to camp there in the neighborhood of a forest, and thus to ameliorate the rigors of the season by glorious fires and good barracks.

In consequence we quitted East Hartford the fourth of November, but as my presence was by no means necessary during this march, I obtained from M. de Rochambeau leave to go to New London, scene of the cruelties of Arnold, and from thence to Newport.

In consequence I left with the Comte de Ségur, M. de Vauban and M. de Champeenez. We travelled about fifty miles before arriving at New London, but passing through such a lovely country, and with such delicious weather, we had no time to feel fatigued.

A notable thing is that one finds upon this route three villages, distant each about one league from the other, which by the beauty of their charming situation on the banks of the River called the Thames, which passes by New London; by the neatness and regularity of their houses, by their abundant population, are altogether remarkable. All three are of the same name, and are called the three Norwiches.

New London, situated on the Thames at about a mile from its mouth, where it empties into the sea, was a rich and very commercial city before its devastation by Arnold. But a large part of its houses were burnt by that General, and the warehouses of the most important merchants were pillaged or destroyed, and thereby many of them reduced to downright poverty. New London itself is situated very advantageously as a commercial port. Its harbor was filled with well freighted ships and privateers when the traitor Arnold arrived there. Many of them were pillaged, and the others burned.

At about a quarter of a league from New London, on the two banks of the Thames, are situated two forts, of which one is quite extensive and susceptible of good defense. That on the eastern bank is pretty well mounted with artillery.

The day's journey from New London to Newport is heavy work. It is about fifty-five miles of bad road, besides which there are two ferries to pass. The first is of no consequence.

The second, called Conanicut Ferry, separates the mainland from the island of Newport. It is a good league wide and not always safe. We arrived there at night. The business of embarking the horses, and the anxiety of fear of some of the passengers as the bark rolled to and fro, was not at all amusing, especially at night. We passed about an hour in this critical fashion, and at last the "pilot" finished by striking a sand bank about two hundred steps from the place where we should have landed. All the passengers, masters and servants were



compelled to work so as to disengage us. We jumped into the water where it was about two feet deep, and thus it was that we made our entrance into Newport; that charming place, regretted by the whole army, for that is the way in which everybody speaks of it.

As my companions and myself entered this town with all these agreeable impressions, we immediately set ourselves to work to make acquaintance with its society.

That same evening M. Vauban introduced us at the house of Mr. Champlain,<sup>†</sup> well enough known to us for his wealth, but much more known in the army for the lovely face of his daughter. She was not in the drawing-room at the moment of our arrival, but she appeared an instant after. It is useless to say that we examined her with attention, which was to treat her handsomely, for the result of our observation was to find that she had beautiful eyes and an agreeable mouth, a lovely face, a fine figure, a pretty foot, and the general effect altogether attractive. She added to all these advantages that of being dressed and coiffée with taste, that is to say in the french fashion, besides which she spoke and understood our language.

We rendered to her charms the tribute of admiration and polite civility due to them, and then we hastened off for the purpose of saying just about the same thing concerning the Misses Hunter, who were her rivals in beauty and in reputation.

The elder, without being regularly handsome, had what one might call a noble appearance and an air of aristocratic birth. Her physiognomy is intel-

lectual and refined. There was grace in all her movements. Her toilette was quite as finished as that of Mademoiselle Champlain, but she is not altogether as fresh, in spite of what Fersen said.

The younger sister, Nancy Hunter, is not quite so stylish looking, but she is a perfect rosebud. Her character is gay, a smile always upon her countenance, with lovely teeth, a thing seldom met with in America.

Enchanted with these first specimens of Newport, we returned home at an early hour. Vauban promised us something even better for the next day, and he kept his word. Without saying where he was conducting us, he took us to a house where an old gentleman, very serious, very silent, received us without taking off his hat, bade us sit down without compliments, and only answered in monosyllables to the observations which we addressed to him.

This first interview seemed to us very queer, and we began to suspect that we must be in the house of a Quaker. Just then the door opened, and in came the very goddess of grace and beauty. It was Minerva herself, who had exchanged her warlike vestments for the charms of a simple shepherdess. She was the daughter of a Shaking Quaker. Her name was Polly Lawton. According to the custom of her sect, when she spoke to us she used "thou," but with a grace and simplicity only to be compared to that of her costume. This was a species of English gown, pretty close to the figure, white as milk, an apron of the same whiteness, a fichu very full and firmly fastened. Her headdress was a simple little cap of very fine muslin, plaited and

passed around the head, which allowed only half an inch of hair to be visible, but which had the effect of giving to Polly the air of a Holy Virgin.

She seemed to be in no respect conscious of her charms. She spoke with ease, and "thoued" like the Quakers the most unaffected and polite remarks. She enchanted all of us, which she discovered, and did not appear dissatisfied at pleasing those that she kindly called her friends.

I acknowledge that this attractive Polly appeared to me the most exquisite work of Nature, and that every time her image occurs to me I am tempted to write a big book against the dressing, the theatrical graces, and the coquetishness of certain rich ladies much admired in the world of fashion.

Polly had a sister dressed like herself, and of a very agreeable appearance, but one had not the time to look at her while her elder sister was present.

Miss Brinley, Miss Sylvan and some other ladies to whom I was introduced after having quitted the lovely Quakeress, convinced me that Newport possessed more than one rosebud.

All these young people appeared to regret very much the absence of our army. They declared that since the French had left there had been no more amusements nor conversation parties. This little complaint decided de Ségur, de Vauban and myself, and some other young gentlemen of our army, to give a ball to these disconsolate fair ones. M. de Sotteux took charge of the preparations.

We met with neither reluctance nor refusals when we spoke of dancing. Our company was composed of some twenty

young ladies, some of them married, all beautifully dressed, and all appearing to be pleased. We toasted very gaily at supper, and everything passed off very satisfactorily.

The second day after this little entertainment we left, so as to rejoin the army at Providence. We quitted Newport with great regret, but not without first having kissed the hand of Polly Lawton.

I do not mention the military works which the French army constructed around Newport, nor the defense of the harbour, because I have treated those matters very carefully in another place.

To go from Newport to Providence one has to pass two ferries; the first, called Tyverton, is sufficiently formidable and rather dangerous in heavy winds. The other, Bristol, is about a quarter of a league broad. Except the ferries the road is very agreeable. The distance from Newport to Providence is about thirty miles.

Providence is situated in a forest, and the river Pautucket or Narankas, which passes through it, is wide and navigable. It seems to have about eighteen hundred or two thousand inhabitants, amongst whom are some quite rich men, who have extensive commercial transactions.

The army was camped on the road to Boston about a league from Providence, in some fields which it had occupied the preceding year. The weather became exceedingly rough and the troops suffered a great deal from the almost continual rain and snow.

M. de Rochambeau, much vexed with the perpetual delays of the fleet, nevertheless behaved at Providence like a thoroughly good French General; that is

to say, in order to divert his army and gratify the ladies of the city, he gave some balls in a handsome and large public apartment intended for such purposes.

It was at the first of these balls that I saw for the first time the Misses Brown, sisters of the Governor of the city. I do not give their portraits here because I do not want to turn all the men crazy and render all the women jealous. I will content myself merely by saying that Clarice is awkward in comparison with the elder of the two, Nancy Brown; and that Betsy, the youngest sister, after a most agreeable conversation, one which showed that she had been well educated, appeared greatly surprised when she was told that amongst her many advantages not the least of them was that of having great black eyes with eye lashes so long as to half hide them, a thing both rare and lovely. She naively acknowledged that she had never imagined that this was a beauty, and it is quite certain that it was for her a discovery.

We left Providence the first of December to go to Boston, where we arrived on the third. The army was at once embarked on board of the different vessels intended for their transport.

M. de Rochambeau had left his army on the 28th at Providence to go to Philadelphia, and the Baron de Viomenil remained as our General.

I shall not describe here the town of Boston because I have already done so in another place. I will merely say a little something about its society and the more important people whom I met.

The first person to whom I was introduced was Mr. Hancock, Governor of the town. He is a gentleman who did

not seem to possess either genius or talent, but who by his zeal for freedom, by the pecuniary sacrifices which he made to forward the revolution, and by the popularity which he possesses, plays a very important part and will be highly praised in his country's history.

Mr. Adams was the second acquaintance which I made at Boston. His name has been well known since the beginning of the revolution. By his eloquence and his ardor he often carried the most important resolutions in Congress. He is rather more than sixty years of age, but with a bright eye and spiritual physiognomy, and appeared to me to merit the consideration accorded to him. He is often reproached for a love of flattery, but where is the man of talent who is destitute of vanity.

The Rev. Dr. Cooper, famous for his bold sermons, his discourses purely political, although delivered in the pulpit and in the church, his supple, insinuating and crafty spirit, and also his extensive and varied knowledge, is one of the men whose character and deportment struck me the most forcibly at Boston. His conversation is interesting, and although he expresses himself with difficulty in French, he understands it perfectly well, knows all our best authors, and has sometimes cited, even in the pulpit, passages from Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau. Dr. Cooper is himself the author of several esteemed works. He writes sprightly verses, and carries certainly much cleverness under the immense wig of a clergyman, which he wears bigger and more heavily powdered than any of his brethren. He has his enemies among the clergy as well as the laity, and he is

generally accused of a ductility quite macchiavellian.

Let us speak a little of the ladies, for that is always an important matter for a Frenchman, and with my pretensions to be a rose-colored philosopher it would be unpardonable in me to neglect such a charming subject.

Boston being a very commercial town in time of peace, necessarily possesses a large number of well-to-do people and a certain number of rich merchants. Luxury was introduced there some time before it was into any other city in America, and there it prospered so well that this city has thereby become one of those best for society and good living. One sees there less of the rather gross rusticity of American manners. They have capital wines and also napkins. At table everybody drinks out of his own glass, and the plates are changed as often as can be desired. It is in fact downright magnificence.

The women are expensively dressed, but without taste. They know not how to dress their hair. They dance badly, although they love the exercise dearly. Some of them are pretty good musicians, and play agreeably on several instruments. Their manner of singing is rather monotonous. It is a mixture of the English and Italian mode, and is quite pleasant when the voice is agreeable.

After this little abridgement of what I may call the moral qualities of the Boston women—I do not speak of their virtue—I am going to say a word about their physical charms, and according to my habit I will make a little list of the women whom I know at Boston.

The prettiest of them without doubt is Mrs. Ferris. Her complexion is white and rose, and her figure is worthy of a full length portrait. She is naturally very sweet tempered, and has been very lately married.

Mrs. Smith, wife of a rich merchant, has one of the most agreeable houses in Boston. She often gives capital dinners. She likes attentions, and has always found us Frenchmen disposed to render them to her, because certainly, although not so handsome, she resembles the Queen of France. Mrs. Smith is considered very affable.

Mrs. Tudor, wife of a Boston lawyer, is amiable, and speaking French well could not fail to have admirers, and those, some of our most distinguished men: At their head was the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who was devotedly given to kissing the hand of Mrs. Tudor.

M. de Paroys, nephew of the Admiral, was even more aspiring than his uncle, and he had great help because of his talent for the harp, the favorite instrument of Mrs. Tudor; but as they never seemed to agree, what shall we suppose? Nothing special for M. de Paroys.

This same Mrs. Tudor was the author of some pleasant verses addressed to the Queen of France, of which M. de Chastellux was the bearer. They were well written and the idea was happy.

It is only to be regretted that the Admiral and the other officers whose good qualities are mentioned towards the end, should not have made themselves a little more amiable during the last fifty years.

Mrs. Temple, the wife of a famous opponent of Dr. Cooper, Mrs. Norton, Miss

Debloys, Miss Polly Seiff are all pretty women, but I did not know them well enough to speak of them.

The day before Christmas we hoisted sail for a destination known only to the Admiral and Baron de Viomenil.† The season was very far advanced, and we encountered a gale so strong that it seemed as if the whole fleet would be wrecked in French Bay. It is true that we owed in part this adventure to the somewhat daring resolution of M. de Vaudreuil to cruise before Cape Ann to await his brother the Comte de Vaudreuil, who intended to quit Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to join us with the *Auguste*, of eighty guns, which he commanded, and the *Pluton*, of seventy-four.

The bad weather compelled our Admiral to renounce this meeting. It also helped to rid him of a convoy of about thirty merchant vessels, which he intended to escort. They left us during the night and we never saw them again. Some of these ships carried troops, which could not be embarked in the vessels of war. The English captured more than half of these ships, amongst them one named the *Allégiance*, on board of which were two companies of the regiment of Saintonge.

The fleet of the Marquis de Vaudreuil at its departure from Boston was composed of the following vessels, that is to say :

*Le Triomphant*, 80 guns, M. le Mqs. de Vaudreuil; *La Couronne*, 80 guns, M. de Milton; *Le Duc de Bourgogne*, 80 guns, M. de Charitte; *L'Hercule*, 74 guns, M. le Chevalier de Brasse; *Le Neptune*, 74 guns, M. d'Alain; *La Bourgogne*, 74 guns, M. de Champmartin; *Le Northumber-*

*land*, 74 guns, M. de Médine; *Le Brave*, 74 guns, M. d'Amblesmont; *Le Citoyen*, 74 guns, M. Héty; *L'Amazone*, 32 guns, M. de Gaston; *La Néréide*, 32 guns, M. le Chevalier de Laiguille; *Le Souverain*, 74 guns, M. le Commandeur de Glaudevez.

The 24th of December the French fleet, composed of the twelve vessels above mentioned, quitted North America.

\* M. de Tarihé—see Blanchard's Journal, p. 179.

† Mr. Champlain was an accomplished gentleman, and his house was the resort of all cultivated visitors to Newport. His daughter was highly accomplished, very beautiful and qualified in every way to assist her parents in entertaining the French officers and others who visited them. When the ball was given to Rochambeau and Washington, the latter was asked to open the ball, and he selected Miss Champlain for his partner, and as he stepped with her upon the floor the French officers took the instruments from the musicians and played "A Successful Campaign," the name of a dance then in high favor, and which had been selected by Miss Champlain when asked to dance.

‡ The destination of which the Prince de Broglie speaks as being unknown except to the Admiral and M. de Viomenil proved to be Spanish America, with orders to await the allied fleet at Porto Cabello. It was from this port that the Prince started on a visit to Carracas, of which he gives a narrative not presented here. E. W. B.

## DIARY OF

### MAJOR ERKURIES BEATTY

PAYMASTER IN THE WESTERN ARMY

MAY 15, 1786, TO JUNE 5, 1787

#### Part IV

October 17 — Arrived at New York the day after Maj. North.\* The next day delivered my public dispatches and layed my business before the Secretary at war, which was a demand for money for the

troops. The public treasury exceeding poor indeed, and very little prospect of our getting our wants supplied. Stayed here about 10 days, then returned to Philadelphia with Gen Knox, where he received the clothing for the Regt which was making, and made some alterations in the uniform. Gen. Knox staid here only two days, and went back to New York, without any thing being done about money, and ordered me to stay here till I would hear further from him. He wrote to me in about ten days, saying the only prospect I had of obtaining money was from Pennsylvania, and if I could get them to accept of an order from the Board of Treasury, to come to New York, and he would procure it for me— With a great deal of difficulty, I prevailed upon the State to accept an order for 12,000 dollars, to be paid as soon as possible— Went on to New York, and after making the necessary arrangements, which took me ten or twelve days, got orders from the Board of Treasury on Thos Smith, Esq, Loan office of Penna, for 12,000 dollars. Returned to Philadelphia with them, and as Mr Smith had no money, transferred the orders on D. Rittenhouse, Esq, Treasurer of Penna; he having no specie in the treasury, gave me orders on several County treasurers, to the amount of 8,000 dollars, as that was all he could then possibly pay— With these orders I set out to the country, going first to Eastown in Northampton company, staying all night with my brother Reading on the way; met with very poor success; from here went to Reading, in Berks County, then to Lebanon, in Dauphin County; then to Lancaster, so to Yorktown, and sent from there my orders I

had on Cumberland County to Carlise, then returned to Philadelphia, calling at Chester County on my way— In all these places got but very little money, and that chiefly in paper, but gave orders to have the several sums made up as soon as possible— When I returned, made my report to Mr. Rittenhouse, and wrote to Genl Knox my poor success, and that I had no prospect of getting any thing but paper money, which I thought would not answer—he gave me orders to take any thing I could get, and discount such a part of it for specie as would pay the troops one month's pay at least—took another trip to the County treasurers in very cold weather. I went out several times afterwards to the nearest treasurers, and in a length of time, from one person or another, obtained 8,000 dollars, about 3,000 of which I converted into specie, and 1,000 was in a bill of credit on the Contractor to answer for the paying officers and soldiers debts due him. The remaining orders for 4,000 I left with Mr. Rittenhouse, to be paid the 1st of April next in any money he will receive. Made myself ready to set out for the Westward—having gone through as troublesome a piece of business as ever I undertook.

*January 27, 1787*—Set out for Pittsburgh, in company with Mr. Lacasagne. Roads very bad; received my money from the Cumberland County treasurer as I passed thro', and at Fort Lyttleton Mrs Genl Butler and her brother, Mr Smith, overtook us on their way to Pittsburgh to see Genl R Butler; this augmentation made our party very agreeable the remainder of the way, and we arrived at Pittsburgh on the evening of—

*February 6*—Where I remained about a week, waiting for an opportunity to go to Fort Harmar, and carry a quantity of clothing with me. Set off in a Contractors boat, in company with Capt Heart; was obliged to remain one day at Fort McIntosh on account of high wind and ahead, arrived at Fort Steuben in one day— This is a Fort built since I was on the river by Capt Hamtramck, at Mingo Bottom, on the Indian shore, about 47 miles below McIntosh, and 23 above Wheelin— It is about 120 yards from the river, on a very excellent high bank of commanding ground— A square, with a large Block House on each corner, and picquets between each block house form the fort, much in this manner, (*Here follows a blank in Mss.*) The big Gate fronting the main on West and the Sally port the river, with the Guard house over the latter— The Block house serves for all the men, and the officers houses are on each side of the big Gate—the back part of them serving as a row of Pickets. It is garrisoned by Cpts Hamtramcks and Mercers Companies, the former commanding— Stayed here one night, and arrived at Fort Harmar, mouth of Muskingham,

*February 18*—Where I found all well, the Fort entirely completed to a Pentagon, and garrisoned by Cpts Doughtys Harts, Strongs and McCurdys Companies— The Colonels house in one Bastion, Capt Strongs in another, Dr. McDowells in another, the magazine in another, and Capt McCurdys in a fifth— These houses add much to the beauty of the fort, but rather crowd the Bastions too much. The Colonel's is two story high, with a kitchen back; the others,

one story and a half or one story, with small kitchens in the rear and good stone chimneys, as there is very good stone for building to be got near here; a little ways up the Muskingham and other places. The Fort at present appears in this manner— (*Here follows a blank in Ms.*) Great disputes arose among the officers about the paper money which I brought on, and the Colonel concluded not to have it paid out until he consulted the officers up the river, for which purpose, and others, he intends setting out for Fort Pitt in a few days. Delivered what clothing came on to the several Companies that are entitled to it— On the Island just above us a Mr. Carr has built a house, and intends moving to it shortly; he now lives near Grave Creek, also I hear a Mr. Williams, with ten or a dozen other families, which live at Grave Creek, intend making a Settlement right opposite this Fort on the Virginia shore, to be under protection of the Troops.

*February 26*—The Colonel, with some more officers and myself, set off for Pittsburgh in his Barge, which rows twelve oars and is very elegantly built; went about 18 miles; the next night got the Second Island in the long reach near the Head; the third night got to one Bakers, 6 or 8 miles above Fish Creek; here Maj Finney overtook us in a small boat from the rapids of Ohio, having leave of absence to visit his friends down the country— Set out together in the morning, and got to Wheelin, the next day to Fort Steuben, where Maj Hamtramcks, who was ordered to muster the troops up to Jan'y 1st, 1787, agreed to accompany us to Fort Pitt— Set out all

together, taking some more officers from McIntosh with us, arrived safe at Pittsburgh, had an elegant dance soon after, and kicked up a dust as usual. Col. Harmar agreed to stay here some time— A white man named Ryan, who murdered an Indian, five or six miles from Pittsburgh a little while ago, on the Indian shore at Alegheny, was taken in custody by Genl Butler, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and put in charge of the troops in the Garrison in heavy irons. The Indian who was killed was a principal man in the Seneca Nation, and it remained ever since in doubt whether he was murdered by our people or accidentally died, until the perpetrator [Ryan] was discovered, immediately on which the Indians brother that was murdered dressed himself in all the honors of war, took his Rifle, tomahawk and scalping knife, determined to be avenged for the death of his brother, and came over the river among the Inhabitants to kill the first white person he could find, but was happily prevented by Genl Butlers meeting him on the Bank, and fetching him to the Garrison, showing him the murderer of his brother confined in a dark dungeon with exceeding heavy irons on him, and explained to him the nature of our laws, and that he [Ryan] if found guilty, which in all probability he would, would certainly be hung. The Indian (who could not speak a word of English), instead of shewing any resentment, changed his ferocious countenance into that of pity, took the prisoner by the hand, said he forgave him, and prayed that the Lord, or Great Spirit, would have more mercy on him than he had on his Brother, and left him, seemingly sat-

isfied— A number of presents were made to the wife and friends of the deceased Indian, who all seem affected with his loss. The confining of this man enraged the people a good deal near here in Washington County—they concurring that it is no crime to murder an Indian, and a rescue was talked of, to prevent which, by the advice of the Magistrates, Col Harmar sent the prisoner to Fort McIntosh, to remain there till the Supreme Court sits— The people seem to be no ways satisfied— The wind being very high prevented our setting out two days; as soon as we expected however.

*March 25*—Early in the morning left Pittsburgh, stayed two hours at McIntosh, and arrived at Fort Steuben in the evening; stayed all night; set out early in the morning, and about 11 o'clock at night arrived at Fort Harmar, coming to-day reckoned 113 miles.

*March 27*—Major Hamtramck arrived and mustered the troops—

*March 29*—Paid the remaining companies here their two months pay, having paid the companies up the river as I went up— The Colonel determined to visit the troops at the rapids as soon as possible.

*April 2*—This day a Mr Trueheart came in from up little Kenhawa, about 25 miles from here. where he and one or two more families were improving, and informed Colonel Harmar that yesterday four or five Indians attacked them, killed a Mr. Lozier, an old man, and took a boy prisoner. Burnt one house with all the things, and took away their horses, &c— He wished to have a party of men to conduct here the women and



children. A Corporal and a few men were sent, and returned the next day, discovered the Indians crossing the river in a canoe, six or eight miles below here.— D. Smith went out from here with a scouting party, and the men say they saw four or five Indians within half a mile of the garrison, and pursued them, but Mr Smith could not see them himself—but no doubt these same fellows that did the mischief up the Kenhawa lay skulking about here several days, and another small party has been up on Grave Creek nearly the same time. Mr Carr is living in his house on the Island, and Mr Williams, with 8 or ten families, is living in 7 or 8 very snug huts opposite us on the Virginia shore, which makes the Garrison much more pleasant. The land belongs to Mr Williams, who seems to be a tolerable decent man.

*April 3*—Maj Hamtramck set out for his own fort again, and

*April 7*—Sergeant Sausse arrived with the letters from below, being brought on by Mr. Schuyler, who has returned from furlough, in consequence of which orders were given for Capt Héarts company to march to Fort Pitt on Tuesday next; accordingly Captain Heart, with his company, marched on the Virginia shore, taking with him two boats for carrying his baggage, to take post at Venango, on the river Allegheny, where French Creek empties into it, about 100 miles above Fort Pitt—he takes one piece of artillery and a Serjt, Corporal and 12 artillery men— I believe the intention is, the protection of the frontiers of Pennsylvania and to keep the Six Nations in order—Promotion taken place in the New York Line—Capt Hamtramck to be Ma-

jor of the Regt, &c— He is sent for to take command here in the Colonels absence to the Falls— The Colonel determined to set out to-morrow, Sunday—

*April 15*—The Barge sett out from Fort Harmar 10 o'clock for the Rapids, having on board the Colonel, Mr. Pratt, myself and 26 men; the water low— Stopped half an hour at Bellville, passed the little falls about 8 o'clock. Kept only four oars at work at night, arrived at Great Kenhawa a little after 3 o'clock, staid till about 7 in the morning—

*April 16*—I breakfasted with Col Lewis &c, and set out; at dark suppose we were about 10 miles from Sciota; found ourselves in the morning,

*April 17*—In sight of the three Islands, which is 12 miles above Limestone; got to Limestone a little after 10 o'clock. Breakfasted and staid till near one, set out, and passed little Miami 10 o'clock at night, exceeding dark and dangerous passing the mouth of this river, on account of a great many logs and sand bars; got over safe, kept only two oars at work to-night, in the morning about sunrise,

*April 18*—Got to Maj. Finneys old Fort at Miami, staid here two hours and breakfasted; the fort not destroyed, one block house burnt, which was done soon after its being evacuated; set out at sundown, passed the Kentucky river, which is not so big as I supposed it to be; suppose 150 yds over at its mouth; and little Kentucke, which is close by below, is a trifling stream. This river is supposed to be half way between Great Miami and the Rapids. I think there are but three Islands between Miami and Kentucke; kept four oars going all night.

# POETIC PROPHECY OF THE GREATNESS OF AMERICA

*From an English Newspaper, April, 1766*

## A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A BRITON AND A NORTH AMERICAN

To the Tune of Push about the brisk Bowl

To judge at this crisis which England's the best,  
This tottering old State or the new;  
The story I tell, not devised as a jest,  
Very clearly the matter will shew.

To a Briton in point of dispute t'other day,  
An American made this reply;  
Those measures which bring your dear land to decay  
Are such deeds as we boldly defy.

The fruits of our country we freely enjoy,  
And when any intrusions arise,  
In a body we join, and disdain to comply  
To be stung by that monster Excise.

I grant every mortal in freedom delights;  
In the State which your greatness did "raise,"  
Who protected your lives, and defended your rights,  
Sure in taxing may do as they please.

As our blood and our treasure were lavish'd away  
To secure you from insults from France;  
Pray, why should you grumble those levies to pay  
Which we in proportion advance?

Then the Colonist frowned in the wrangling debate,  
And reply'd as in anger he wax'd,  
Ye Britons have always been fooled by your State,  
For Americans scorn to be tax'd.

You're tax'd in your Lights, and how shocking to think!  
That you three pence must pay to the ——  
For ev'ry twelve-penny worth of stingo you drink,  
Which by *Bacchus* I swear's not the thing.

Now if you are minded to live at your ease,  
Ride o'er the Atlantic with me;  
Leave your Statesmen to wrangle or do what they please,  
And with us you shall ever be free.

You may laugh at my prattle, and think it a joke,  
But you'll want to follow in time;  
America quickly will shake off its yoke,  
And of Empires will soon be the prime.

Old England's decline and embarrassed with cares,  
Caus'd the Briton no longer to stand;  
For he not to his tale only laid down his ears,  
But bid far adieu to the land.

## NOTES

INDIAN NAMES OF PLACES ON LONG ISLAND, DERIVED FROM ESCULENT ROOTS—The Indians frequently designated localities by the names of esculent or medicinal roots which they produced. In the Algonkin language, the generic name for tubers and bulbs was *pen*,—varying in some dialects to *pin*, *pena*, *pon*, or *bun*. This name seems originally to have belonged to the common ground nut, *Apios tuberosa* (Abnaki, *pen*, pl. *penak*). Other species were designated by prefixes to this generic, and, in the composition of place-names, a suffix was employed to denote locality (*auk*, *auki*, *ock*, etc.) or abundance (*kānti*, *kādi*). Thus, *p'sai-pen*, 'wild onion,' with the suffix for 'place,' gave *p'sai-pen-auk*, or as it was written by the Dutch, "Passapenock" (O'Callaghan's New Neth., I. 122), the Indian name for Beeren Island, in the Hudson, near Coeyman's. *Si-pen* (for *m'si-pen*) i. e. "large ground-nut," was the Abnaki name for the root of the yellow lily, *Lilium canadense*; in the Penobscot dialect, '*she-pen*, Micmac '*shie-bun*. *Shubenacadie* river, N. S. (*Chebenacardie*, Charlevoix; *Shebenacadia*, Jefferys, 1775,) was named from a locality in which there were 'plenty of *shepenak*'; Micmac, *shubunak-kādi*.

Several local names of this kind have been preserved in the eastern townships of Long Island. The species, denoted by the prefix, cannot in all cases be determined, but the generic name, with its localizing affix, is easily recognisable.

*Acabonac*, *Accabonuck*; now the name of a harbor on Gardiner's Bay. Easthampton was originally the designation of a 'root-place.' The species is not

ascertained. Probably it is the same that is mentioned by Hariot, in Virginia, as *Okeepenauk*, "roots of round shape, found in dry ground; the inhabitants used to boil and eat many of them."

*Ketchaponock*, *Catchebonnuc*, a neck on Shinnecock Bay, Southampton, was a "place of the largest roots" (*kehche-pen-auk*), i. e. the largest species of esculent roots found in that neighborhood. In some parts of the country the name would indicate the Yellow Water Lily (*Nuphar advena*) Josselyn's "water lily with yellow flowers; the Indians eat the roots, which are long in boiling. They taste like the liver of a sheep." *N. E. Rarities*, p. 44. The Long Island *kehche-pen* may have been the Arrowhead (*Sagittaria*), the *katniss* of the Delaware Indians, the root of which is sometimes "as big as a man's fist." It was eaten either boiled or roasted. Its name was transferred by the Indians to the *turnip*, introduced by Europeans.

*Sagabonock*, in Bridgehampton parish, Southampton, has left only the remnant of its name to *Sagg Pond* and *Sag Harbor*. "The great pond, commonly called *Sackaponock*" is mentioned, 1661, in Conn. Col. Records, I. 368. The *sagabon* (Micmac *segubbun*) is "a ground nut or Indian potato" (Rand), that is, I suppose, the *Apios tuberosa*. "At a general court [in Southampton], held March 6, 1654, It is ordered, that noe Indians shall digg for ground-nuts in the plain, or digg in any ground, upon penalty of sitting in the stocks," &c.—(Records in Thompson's L. Island).

*Sebonack*, *Seaponack*, a neck, on Peconic Bay, Southampton, was a 'large-ground nut place.' *Sebon* or *Sepen* (Ab-

naki *sipen*, mod. Penobscot *she-pun*, Micmac *shubun*) is the root of the Yellow Lily (*L. canadense*). Thoreau's Indian guide told him that "these roots were good for soup, that is, to cook with meat to thicken it," and showed him how to prepare them" (Maine Woods, pp. 194, 284, 326). *Sabonac* point, near Mastic, Brookhaven, has the same name differently spelled. The bulb of the Orange-Red Lily (*L. Philadelphicum*) was also used for food. It is the Chippeway *mashkode-pin*, Abn. *muskata-pen*, i. e. 'meadow ground-nut.' The Jesuit Relation for 1634 names it ("des oignons de Martagons rouges") among the roots eaten by the Indians of Canada. The tuberous rhizoma of the Yellow Nelumbo or Water Chinquapin (*Nelumbium luteum*) was highly prized by the western Algonkins. It resembles the sweet potato, and Dr. Torrey says (Botany of New York, I. 38) that, "when fully ripe, it becomes, after considerable boiling, as farinaceous, agreeable, and wholesome as the potato." The Chippeways call it *mako-pin* (for *makwa-pin*), i. e. "bear's potato"; from which comes the name of *Macoupin* county, Illinois.

*Tuckahoe*, a level tract of land near Southampton village, takes its name from one or another of the larger 'round' (Mass. *p'tuckwe*) roots. The common *tuck-aho* of Virginia (*tockwhogh*, as Capt. John Smith wrote the name; *toccaho* and *tockowhough* of Strachey) was the root of the Golden Club or Floating Arum (*Orontium aquaticum*). "It groweth like a flag, in low, muddy freshes. In one day a salvage will gather sufficient for a weeke. These rootes are much of the bignes and tast of potatoes" (Strachey).

In New Jersey and Pennsylvania the name seems to have been specially appropriated to a sort of truffle or subterranean fungus (*Pachyma cocos*, Fries), popularly called "Indian loaf." Several localities, creeks, etc., in various parts of the country retain the name of Tuckaho; e.g., Tuckahoe Creek and village, Cape May co., N. J.; Tuckahoe Hill, Yonkers, N. Y.; another, Tuckahoe Creek, Jones co., N. C.; another in Maryland, etc. One of the most amusing of Mr. Heckewelder's etymologies is that by which the name of Tuckahoe Creek, Md., is derived from "*Tuchdhowe*, deer are shy, difficult to come at; also, *tuch-auchsok*, the place where the deer are very shy!"

J. H. TRUMBULL.

UNIFORMS OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.—*Origin of the Buff and Blue*. It was at Alexandria where George Washington first stepped forth as the public patron and leader of sedition and revolt, having subscribed fifty pounds to these purposes when others subscribed only five, and having accepted the command of the first company of armed associators against British government, which he had clothed in his old uniform of the Virginia regiment last war, viz, blue and buff, a dress he has continued to wear until this time (1783).

*Virginia Volunteers in scarlet*. I reached Piscataway to breakfast, where an Irishman named Johnson, a deserter from the fourteenth regiment of foot, was exercising a company of gentlemen rebels all in scarlet (1775).

*The Backwoods Riflemen*. Their whole dress is very singular, and not very materially different from that of the Indi-

ans; being a hunting shirt, somewhat resembling a waggoner's frock, ornamented with a great many fringes, tied round the middle with a broad belt, much decorated also, in which is fastened a tomahawk, an instrument that serves every purpose of defence and convenience; being a hammer at one side and a sharp hatchet at the other; the shot-bag and powder horn, carved with a variety of whimsical figures and devices, hang from their necks over one shoulder; and on their heads a flapped hat, of a reddish hue, proceeding from the intensely hot beams of the sun.

Sometimes they wear leather breeches, made of Indian dressed elk, or deer skins, but more frequently thin trowsers. On their legs they have Indian boots, or leggings, made of coarse woollen cloth, that either are wrapped round loosely and tied with garters, or are laced upon the outside, and always come better than half way up the thigh; these are a great defence and preservative, not only against the bite of serpents and poisonous insects, but likewise against the scratches of thorns, briars, scrubby bushes, and underwood, with which this whole country is infested and overspread.

On their feet they sometimes wear pumps of their own manufacture, but generally Indian moccassons, of their own construction also, which are made of strong elk's, or buck's skin, dressed soft as for gloves or breeches, drawn together in regular plaits over the toe, and lacing from thence round to the fore part of the middle of the ancle, without a seam in them, yet fitting close to the feet, and are indeed perfectly easy and pliant.

Thus habited and accoutred, with his

rifle on his shoulder, or in his hand, a back-wood's man is completely equipped for visiting, courtship, travel, hunting or war. According to the number and variety of the fringes on his hunting shirt, and the decorations on his powder horn, belt, and rifle, he estimates his finery. Their hunting, or rifle shirts, they have also died in a variety of colours, some yellow, others red, some brown, and many wear them quite white.—*Tour in America.* By J. F. D. Smyth. W. K.

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AMIABILITY OF MRS. WASHINGTON.—*Extract of a Letter from S. Johnston to James Iredell, dated New York, March 4, 1790.*—"I have just left the President's, where I had the pleasure of dining with almost every member of the Senate. We had some excellent champagne; and, after it, I had the honor of drinking coffee with his Lady, a most amiable woman. If I live much longer, I believe I shall at last be reconciled to the company of old women for her sake, a circumstance which I once thought impossible. I have found them generally so censorious, and envious, that I could never bear their company. This, among other reasons, made me marry a woman much younger than myself, lest I should hate her when she grew old; but I now really believe there are some good old women." W. K.

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A SPARTAN CONGRESS.—Mr. Clay refused to permit the Senate of the United States to assemble in the Representatives' Chamber to witness the inauguration of Mr. Monroe, *unless they would use the wooden chairs belonging to the House.* The Senators—who are used to sitting

on velvet—refused; and the inauguration took place out of doors.—*Massachusetts Spy*, March 26, 1817. PETERSFIELD.

AMERICAN CANNIBALISM.—Murphy's "Voyage of Verrazzano," page 149, referring to the statement of Ramusio, that Verrazano was killed and eaten by savages on the coast, says that statement "has no support or confirmation in the history of that rude and uncivilized people; for, however savage and cruel they were towards their enemies, or, under provocation towards strangers, no authenticated instance of their cannibalism has ever been produced."

In this connection may be noted the fact that Montcalm's Canadian Indians roasted and eat English prisoners at Lake George in 1757. The tribe concerned were "Outaouacs," who resembled the Abnakis. Father Roubaud witnessed the horrid feast, and was offered "a piece of the broiled Englishman." See Kip's *Early Jesuit Missions*, p. 155.

SELAH.

BUFF AND BLUE.—Of the sentiments with which the Whigs [in England] of this period [1775] regarded the great Colonial struggle, two memorials have come down to us—the uniform of the Fox Club, and the cover of the Edinburgh Review, "*buff and blue*," the insignia of so many patriots, and the subject of so much periodical discussion, became during the war with the colonies the badge of the entire Whig party, and were adopted by it as the distinguishing colours of the American Army.—*Albemarle's Memoirs of Rockingham II*, 276.

W. K.

## QUERIES

THE NEW ENGLAND TONE.—In 1763, the Reverend Alexander McWhorter of Newark, New Jersey, wrote to an eminent divine in Connecticut in behalf of the church of Newark Mountains (now Orange, N. J.) for a young man to be their minister: "Don't send us any of your Antinomian or Arminian Christians; neither send us any of your Sandemansians." Another applicant in the same behalf writes: "In that country they insist very much upon a man's being a good speaker; and *they hate the New England tone*, as they call it."

Is there any earlier allusion to an alleged peculiarity of intonation prevalent in New England? C. W. B.

FIRST COMPANY OF MINUTE MEN RAISED IN AMERICA.—General Heath, in a letter addressed to Harrison G. Otis, dated April 21, 1798, made the following statement: "The first company of Minutemen raised in America in the year 1775, preparatory to the defense of their invaluable rights and liberties, was raised in this town (Roxbury), and that company, with others, distinguished itself in the battle of Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1775." Was Gen. Heath right in supposing Roxbury to be the Banner Town of the Revolution? LEXINGTON.

PEMMICAN.—Will J. H. T., who has explained *Pembina* (I. 47) in accordance with the statements to me on the spot by Consul Taylor, also give us the meaning of *Pemmican*—or Pemitigon, as it appears in Lewis & Clarke, vol. i, p. 106—which is apparently a word analogous to *Pembina*? J. D. B.

STEPHEN BUTLER.—Was a stepson of Benjamin Ward, shipwright in Boston, who had a water lot there for plying his trade before 1638. Is there any list extant of early ships? Information—not in Savage or Genealogical Register—regarding this Butler is desired.

*Madison, Wis.* JAMES D. BUTLER.

YANKEE DOODLE.—Rivington's New York Gazette of January 12, 1775, contains some verses supposed to be written by a Long Island Quaker; they are signed, "No Yankee," and conclude with the following:

"P. S. I fret, I storm, I spit, I spew  
At Sound of Yankee Doodle Do."

Is there any earlier mention?

PETERSFIELD.

THE ARMY LODGE.—What became of the Masonic Lodge which existed in the Continental Army during the revolution, having, while army headquarters were at Newburgh, accommodation set apart for it there, and when army headquarters were removed to West Point, was continued there at the close of the war? Was the lodge removed to Marietta by the officers who went west from West Point in 1785?

ARMOR.

A VACANCY IN THE ORDER OF THE CINCINNATI.—There is a place vacant in this Society, which, as our readers know, is composed of eldest sons in the eldest line of the original founders. Who is the eldest male descendant of Dr. Isaac Ledyard, who died at Staten Island, while health officer, August 28th, 1803, and in default of direct issue, who is the titular representative of this original founder?

J. L. V.

## REPLIES

WAS MILES STANDISH A ROMANIST?—

(I. 258.) A query in your important periodical, touching the religious opinions of that true Pilgrim hero, Captain Miles Standish, has induced me to recur and to communicate to you the result of certain investigations which I made some time ago, when the subject was originally, I believe, brought to the attention of the public. The *Catholic World*, in a paper published in that magazine two or three years since, made some attempt to show that the stout old soldier, who came over with the Pilgrims from Leyden, and who was for so many years the military champion of the colony, *might have been* a Roman Catholic in belief. If so, it must have been necessarily in secret. The priority in starting this notable theory was claimed, however, by a well-known Unitarian clergyman of Boston, in a public address made by him in that city during the last year. The *Catholic World*, naturally desirous to claim so conspicuous a character as an adherent to its faith, based its theory, so far as I now recollect it, upon the fact that the Standish family in England, of which the Captain was a younger son, were Roman Catholics; as well as upon the presumption, fortified by some traditional statements, that this valiant officer, who had seen a good deal of the world and of military service abroad, did not hold opinions in strict conformity with the more rigorous doctrines of his pious compatriots at Plymouth. There is not a stain, so far as I ever heard, upon his moral character; but he entertained apparently more liberal views of religious doctrine than they, and for

this reason, perhaps, withdrew to his well-known residence upon "Captain's Hill," in Duxbury, about eight miles distant from Plymouth—though often spending the winter in that town—his Duxbury residence being so solitary as to have fully vindicated his character as one of the bravest of the brave, were other evidence wanting, in the constant danger from savage foes, to whom he was especially obnoxious, and where he continued to live, when not engaged, as he almost incessantly was, in service as the military chief of the colony, or in his civil duties as one of its chief magistrates, until the close of his life. It may throw some light upon his partial isolation, that within eight years, it is alleged, after the landing of the Pilgrims, some of the more distinguished persons of their body, Cudworth, Hatherly, Vassal and others, removed to Scituate, twenty miles distant from Plymouth, and though truly pious, as men in those days were pious, yet manifested a liberality of religious sentiment far in advance of that entertained by their brethren in the original settlement.

The Boston Doctor of Divinity sought to support his theory by the notion that Captain Standish, though in full trust with the brethren at Plymouth, who confided their lives and fortunes to his sagacity, courage and good faith, all his own life long, yet might, if convenient, have made a voyage to *Pemaquid*, where he could have had the religious offices of a French Jesuit stationed at that place; though this could hardly have been without the knowledge of those who must have accompanied him; without an open and ruinous scandal at home, and with-

out an absolute contradiction of all that is known of his manly and noble character. Certainly, Miles Standish was no hypocrite.

Lossing, in his "Field Book of the American Revolution," gives *fac similes* of the signatures of a dozen or more of the passengers by the Mayflower, among which is that of Standish, and remarks that "all these were members of the First Church of Plymouth." If this be so, and it is to be presumed that it was so stated on sufficient authority, the question at issue is conclusively settled. It is true, that Standish may have fallen away afterwards; that is, as I have intimated, into a somewhat more liberal way of thinking than that which prevailed at Plymouth; but, in the absence of the slightest evidence it is, at least, extremely unlikely that it was into the arms of the Roman Catholic Church. I do not mean to intimate that avowed adhesion to that church would have been at all to his discredit, but I do boldly assert that any secret connection with it would have been entirely inconsistent with his whole life and character; and that the least suspicion of such a fact must have necessarily excluded him from participation in the civil and military affairs of the colony. I say *civil* as well as military, implying the highest trust in his capacity and fidelity, because it appears that as early as 1625,—“In the bigger of these ships [ships sent to England] Capt. Miles Standish sent over as agent in behalf of the plantation, in reference unto some particulars yet depending betwixt them and the adventurers; as also to the honorable council of New England \* \* \* and accomplished his business, so as he left



things in a fair way for future composition betwixt the said merchant-adventurers and the plantation; and he spake also with some of the honorable council afore-named, who promised all helpfulness to the plantation, that lay in them." Morton's "New-England's Memorial," p. 125.

And Judge Davis, the editor of the edition of the "Memorial" of 1826, in a note on page 262, says: "It thus appears that he continued active in military employments, on every occasion, until three years of his death. *He was uniformly one of the board of assistants.*" These assistants were the predecessors of our Governor's council of the present day, and the presumption certainly is, that a man so trusted in vital affairs, throughout his life, by the Plymouth colony, could have had no Roman Catholic sympathies whatever.

The first we learn about this scion of a noble English house is, that he served with the English troops in the Netherlands, in the Thirty Years War, and, of course, on the Protestant side; that while there, he "came acquainted with the church at Leyden," and united himself with those of that religious company, who first came over to New England. For it must be remembered that the Pilgrim company of Leyden was a strictly religious association.

In fact, on the point of his imputed Roman Catholic tendencies, alleged without the shadow of evidence, the negative proof is as conclusive as on any undisputed matter of history; and the positive testimony is no less certain. The only presumption suggested in favor of the Catholic theory is, that the Standish

family in England was of that religious communion; but, on the other hand, it appears by the Captain's will that he had been deprived of large family possessions which he claimed as heir; the reason for which may have been that, in the conflict of opinions prevalent in England in his day, he may have refused his adherence to the ancient faith before he joined the Protestant forces to the Netherlands. The presumption, it will be seen, is of the slightest possible weight, implying that he who was one of the bravest of the brave—and, therefore, inferentially honest, and was really the right-hand of the Pilgrim colony—was all his life-long a hypocrite, not only without motive, but contrary to every conceivable motive; and was, moreover, devoting his life until its end to establish and uphold a strictly anti-Catholic organization, in the service of which he never hesitated to risk all that could be dear to him as a citizen and a man.

But really positive evidence on this subject is afforded by the notice of him after his death in "New England's Memorial," under date of the year 1656. Secretary Morton, as he is commonly called, of Plymouth, was admitted a freeman in 1625, became secretary in 1645, and held the office until his death, in 1685. According to the preface of the "Memorial," by Judge Davis, he was "scrupulously faithful, diligent and exact," and his work is one of extraordinary value. It can hardly be imagined that he was not intimately acquainted with his neighbor, Captain Standish, his contemporary at Duxbury and Plymouth for more than twenty years, and surviving him nearly thirty

years, with ample opportunity to learn all that could be said of him, living or dead. I quote his words:—"This year Captain Myles Standish expired his mortal life. He was a gentleman, born in Lancashire, and was heir apparent unto a great estate of lands and livings, surreptitiously detained from him; his great grandfather being a second or younger brother from the house of Standish. In his younger time he went over to the Low Countries, and was a soldier there, and came acquainted with the church at Leyden, and came over into New England with such of them as at the first set out for the planting of the plantation of New England, and bore a deep share of their first difficulties, and was always very faithful to their interest. He growing ancient, became sick of the stone, or strangury, whereof, after his suffering of much dolorous pain, *he fell asleep in the Lord*, and was honorably buried at Duxbury." "Memorial," p. 262.

The language used above is the same as that employed by Morton, so recording the decease of divines and other devout persons of the little separatist Pilgrim colony; but it cannot be believed that he would have applied it to one not recognized as in practically full communion with himself and his companions.

GEORGE LUNT.

*Scituate, Mass.*

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY.—(I. 128.) "The New England Society, in the City and State of New York," probably the first of the kind, was organized May 6, 1805, in the city of New York. James Watson was chosen President; General

Ebenezer Stevens and Francis Bayard Winthrop, Vice Presidents; Rufus King, Samuel Osgood, Abijah Hammond and Oliver Wolcott, Counselors. On Saturday, December 21, 1805, they celebrated the 185th anniversary of the landing of their forefathers at Plymouth, by a dinner at the City Hotel on Broadway, a report of the proceedings on which occasion in the *Commercial Advertiser*, of the 23d inst., contains the following paragraphs:

"More than 150 gentlemen of the Society, forgetting all differences of party and opinion, united to celebrate the occasion with an affectionate remembrance of their common origin and in the true spirit of a Society, the objects of which are *friendship, charity*, and mutual assistance."

"This, we believe, is the first time in this State that the descendants of New England, now so extensively diffused, have joined in a public and solemn celebration of that anniversary."

Among the twenty-three toasts drank were the following:

"The descendants of the first settlers of New York—we respect them as our elder brethren, and may they regard us as members of their family."

"Tranquil sleep to those who have dreamed that this Society has any other views than charity and good will towards all men."

W. K.

JOURNALS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.—(I. 128.) I have found to my cost that the edition of 1823, referred to by P. F., is not an exact reprint. On any important point it is necessary to verify the Proceedings by a comparison with the original edition. STUDENT.

WILLIAM EUSTIS.—(I. 259.) William Eustis tendered his resignation as Secretary of War to the President of the United States on the 3d of December, 1812. It was accepted, but at the request of the President, Mr. Eustis consented to remain in office until a successor was appointed. On the 13th of the same month, for the personal convenience of the late Secretary, the War Department was committed to the charge of the Secretary of State, in accordance with the Acts of Congress; it being understood by the Executive that Mr. Eustis would give all the aid and assistance in his power while he remained in Washington.

The following extract from the *National Intelligencer*, of Dec. 8, 1812, does not support the suggestion of a removal from office made by G. W. C. in his query. "It gives us much pleasure to state our belief that this resignation is not the result of any collision between the President and the Secretary of War, but has been tendered by the one and accepted by the other in a manner the most amicable and conciliatory." The friendly relations of Madison and Eustis are confirmed by the fact that the latter was appointed Minister to Holland two years later.

G. W. C. is in error as to the fate of the public archives; they did not perish in the "vandal conflagration" of 1814, but were removed to a place of safety before the enemy took possession of Washington.

W. K.

THE FIRST BORN. *In Ohio*—(I. 195.) At least eighteen years before the birth of Williams, which you have chronicled

as near Cleveland, in 1798, was that of Samuel Leith, born before 1780, in a Moravian mission, far west of Cleveland, on the Sandusky river. See Butterfield, *Crawford's Campaign*, p. 179. J. D. B.

AN HISTORICAL PORTRAIT.—(I. 251.) There is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society a portrait of Lafayette, similar to that in the gallery of the New York Historical Society. Its size is about 3 x 2 feet; dress, dark blue coat with white facings buttoned back, standing collar of scarlet, white waist-coat with gilt buttons, white breeches, white cravat and ruffled shirt, gold epaulets. Hair powdered and cued and face clean shaven. On the left breast three decorations, one being of a lozenge shape. The portrait is labelled "Lafayette, Gilbert Motier, taken at Paris for Thomas Jefferson."

S. A. G.

LAFAYETTE'S DECORATIONS.—(I. 259.) The lozenge shaped medal referred to as designed upon the breast of General Lafayette's portrait, was probably a Masonic emblem. Some brother mason may give further details.

APPRENTICE.

## MAY PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Regular Monthly Meeting was held in the Hall of the Society on the evening of Tuesday, May 1, 1877, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D., in the Chair.

The Executive Committee reported that, at the request of the Orator, Mr. Charles O'Connor, the meeting at the Academy of Music, to commemorate the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Adoption of the Constitution of the State of New York, arranged for the 24th April, had been postponed until the evening of the 8th May.

Numerous new members were admitted, among whom several ladies. Ladies have been always gladly received into the ranks of the Society, and are entitled to all its privileges, including the ballot.

Upon the conclusion of the routine business, the President, in the name of Mr. George Clinton Tallmadge, presented to the Society a fine three-quarter length portrait of George Clinton, the first Governor of the State of New York, and later Vice President of the United States. This picture, from the hand of Ezra Ames, one of the best works of the artist, has been for many years in the care of this Society, the permanent property of which it has now become. On presenting the picture, Mr. de Peyster read a brief sketch of the distinguished services of Clinton as a soldier and statesman, and offered a resolution of thanks to the generous donor, which was unanimously adopted.

The Paper of the evening was an account of the "the Stamp Act in New York," by the Librarian. It is the leading article in this number of the Magazine. Its main point of interest is its establishment of the claim of New York as the originator of the Non-Importation Agreement of 1765, and a demand for a reversal of the order of precedence upon the tablet set up in Independence Hall,

which erroneously ascribes the priority to Philadelphia.

The meeting, commemorative of the adoption of the Constitution of the State, was held at the Academy of Music, Tuesday evening, 8th May, when Mr. Charles O'Connor delivered an address upon "The Constitutions," to one of the largest and most brilliant audiences ever gathered in this city. The President, Mr. de Peyster, in the chair. The platform was occupied by distinguished gentlemen, among whom were the Presidents of the Massachusetts and New Jersey Historical Societies; Representatives of the Judiciary, Literary and Collegiate Institutions and of the Professions. Besides these a delegation from the New York State Society of the Cincinnati. The speaker's table was elegantly festooned with flowers, emblematic of the occasion, and patriotic airs were given by the Seventh Regiment Band.

The oration was distinguished by the force, incision and originality, which are the characteristics of Mr. O'Connor's mind. It was delivered with admirable clearness; the thrusts at existing evils being at once caught by the appreciative audience and greeted with applause. Mr. O'Connor made allusion to the last great effort of Mr. Webster in his address before the Society. "He had already passed three score and ten; yet how magnificent, how like a immortal was that presence! None who witnessed the display can ever forget it." Perhaps this memory prompted him to his own great effort.

At its close, a vote of thanks, offered by Mr. Moore, on behalf of the Society, and ably seconded by Judge John K. Porter, was adopted with enthusiasm.

(Publishers of Historical works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

A CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE LATE AMERICAN WAR, BY A. MAHAN, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY LETTER BY LIEUT. GENERAL M. W. SMITH. 8vo., pp. 461. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York, 1877.

This extraordinary volume has already attracted general attention and criticism, although as yet we have not noticed any review emanating from a competent military authority; whether it is entitled to any notice from such critics we are not competent to decide. Although a doctor by profession, Mr. Mahan assumes by reason of his long study of the science of war to be competent to pass *ex cathedra* judgments on the conduct of campaigns. But theory and practice teach lessons often diametrically opposite. It is often forgotten that the chief merit of a commander is to accommodate himself to the nature of the institutions and the character of the people from which he must draw his army and his supplies. In this respect we find that both Grant at the North, and Lee at the South, were thorough representatives of the different orders of government and society which were in antagonism. The American people would never have endured the rigor of the French convention, or the discipline of the great Frederick; certainly not unless in the last extremity of despair.

The rapid movement of the German armies over roads as broad and substantial as those of the Central Park, so solid that the continual movement of the heaviest artillery made little impression upon them, can not be used as a ground for censure of the slow draggling of our American armies whose trains sunk axle-deep in the mire of our country roads. Nor must it be forgotten that the short levies were constantly dismissing from the service drilled troops and replacing them with inexperienced material.

According to the doctor, if his prescription had been taken, and he tells us that the plan he presented to the Government in 1863 was approved by Generals McDowell and Burnside, the campaign in Virginia could have been finished up in a winter. He names persons high in authority who are still living, and we presume his modest assumption will be either contradicted or confirmed. Every thing connected with the war attracts great attention, though we repeat the doubt we have before expressed, that any certain judgment, which will stand the test of time, can yet be written. We suppose, if this work be authoritative, that the doctor will make his mark somewhere on the line of the Danube. As an Englishman he will no doubt be called into consultation by the "sick-man," when we shall see his "*practice*."

The publishers deserve credit for presenting a book so novel and attractive on a subject of such general interest.

MONTCALM ET LE CANADA FRANÇAIS.

ESSAI HISTORIQUE, PAR CHARLES DE BONNECHOSE, AVEC UN PORTRAIT ET DEUX CARTES. 12mo, pp. 208. HACHETTE & CIE, PARIS, 1877. For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

In the range of American history there is no name which awakens more romantic reminiscences and touches the sympathetic cord more than that of the brave, courteous and unfortunate Montcalm; whose destiny it was, after showing more military genius than any soldier France had ever sent to her American domain, to feel in his dying hour that it had slipped from her grasp. The story of French colonization on this continent is well told by this expert historian, but it is in the minor details that we find the charm of this volume. Take his description of Montcalm: "He was of small stature, of proud mein, nervous in manner, with a thick nose and great sparkling eyes, the brilliancy of which was heightened by his hair powder. The chief trait of his mind was his *coup d'oeil*, the precision of which was not injured by its rapidity

\* \* An imagination bold while not chimerical, rich without illusion, he was above all a man of action and of rapid action. But his greatness was neither in his faculties nor his talents, but in his absolute devotion to duty. \* \* \* When the hour of his supreme sacrifice arrived he was ready; with head erect and in serenity of spirit he saluted France and died." We hope soon to see a translation of this book.

1776-1876—ÉTUDE SUR LA RÉPUBLIQUE DES ÉTATS UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE par le MARQUIS DE TALLEYRAND-PÉRIGORD, Attaché de la Commission Française de l'Exposition de Philadelphie. 8vo., pp. 226. Riverside Press, Cambridge. HURD & HOUGHTON. New York, 1876.

The author of this work bears a name which alone will attract attention to his book. In its preface he announces himself as "earnestly desiring to see his country strengthen its republican institutions, alone compatible with the march of the century"—but he recommends to it the Government of America as it existed in 1776, and warns it against that of 1876, which with national modesty he pronounces to be "a democratic anarchy incompatible with national prosperity." We shall not follow him through the chapters

which, giving a sketch of the causes and results of the war of Independence, are preliminary to his "parallel between the America of 1776 and the America of 1876." Here he claims to have remarked the changes which have "lowered the moral level of its individuality." After paying full justice to the men of a century ago, he gives the present generation the coup de grace in one paragraph, which is a sample of the whole: "It is a people whose morality is that of nations in decay; its religious principles are so weak that it is doubtful whether there are any whatever; its instruction elementary to the most striking degree." All this he attributes to the love of money and the spirit of "go-ahead."

The elementary instruction of which he complains has at least been of that practical character which a new country demands, and has enabled America to give to mankind the mechanical marvels of the century, which have contributed to the general welfare of the world. Its love of money does not exceed that which we have found in England, where, as Hawthorne said, no man is above taking a sixpence; or of France, where a franc is a more popular idol than a dollar is here; or in Germany, notoriously penurious. Its governmental integrity will compare favorably with that which was developed by England in the outbreak of the Crimean war, and by France when she went into a colossal struggle "*without* a button on her gaiters," such had been the speculation in every department of her civil and military service. And for financial integrity, we invite the Marquis to consider the days of Mires, and Pereire, and the fortunes of the followers of the Emperor. We have enough to weep over, but we need not look to Europe for either moral or political education.

**HISTORY OF CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, 1630-1877, WITH A GENEALOGICAL REGISTER,** by LUCIUS R. PAIGE. 8vo, pp. 731. The Riverside Press. HURD & Houghton. New York, 1877.

A thorough and elaborate history of this ancient seat of learning. This volume is divided into sections, reciting the Civil, Ecclesiastical and Military History, and a register of such families as dwelt in Cambridge before the year 1700, and their descendants, down to a recent period. This volume is not of those which attract or amuse, although full of information and interesting detail.

The author excuses himself for the omission of other than a meagre account of Harvard University, because of the thoroughness of the Histories, of that Alma Mater of thousands of the most eminent men of the nation, by Benjamin Pierce in 1833, by Josiah Quincy in 1840, and by Samuel A. Eliot in 1848. For the military

events in and around Cambridge, the reader is referred to Worthington's History of the Siege of Boston.

It is a capital book of reference, and should be on the shelves of every public library.

**PIONEER HISTORY OF MILWAUKEE, FROM THE FIRST AMERICAN SETTLEMENT IN 1833 TO 1841, with a Topographical Description,** as it appeared in a State of Nature, by JAMES S. BUCK. 8vo, pp. 292. MILWAUKEE NEWS COMPANY. Milwaukee, 1876.

A volume, valuable because written by one of the "old settlers" of this thriving city, and interesting to the pioneers of Wisconsin. It contains biographical sketches of many living citizens, and is illustrated by portraits, steel and lithograph.

**CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF LICKING COUNTY, OHIO.** Read at the Centennial Celebration of the Licking County Agricultural Society at the "Old Fort," July 4th, 1876, by ISAAC SMUCKER. 8vo, pp. 80. Newark, Ohio, 1876.

**LITCHFIELD CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION, JULY 4TH, A. D. 1876.** Historical Address by GEORGE C. WOODRUFF. 8vo, pp. 44. Hartford, 1876.

**SARATOGA AND KAY-AD-ROS-SE-RA; AN HISTORICAL ADDRESS,** by N. B. SYLVESTER, delivered at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., July 4, 1876. 8vo, pp. 52. WILLIAM H. YOUNG, Troy, 1876.

These three pamphlets are interesting to collectors as contributions to history on the occasion of the Centennial Anniversary. The last named is of special interest this season, when all the localities in the vicinity of the "decisive battle field" will be the object of visit and study by American historians.

**OUR NATIONAL CENTENNIAL JUBILEE—ORATIONS, ADDRESSES, AND POEMS, DELIVERED ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1876, IN THE SEVERAL STATES OF THE UNION.** Edited by FREDERICK SAUNDERS, A. M., of the Astor Library. 8vo, pp. 879. E. B. TREAT. New York, 1877.

This Commemorative Record of our Centennial Anniversary, edited in a careful manner, groups together the best of the Orations, Addresses and Poems elicited by the Centennial Anniversary. As they were all submitted for

revision to their several authors, this is an authoritative record. It will necessarily find its place in the libraries of students and literary men. Mr. Saunders deserves the thanks of the country for this excellent contribution of historic information. The addresses show vividly the variety and extent of literary culture in the different parts of the country, and examined in this light present some curious features. As a whole, they are in a tempered style different from what Americans have been accused of displaying in Fourth of July orations. Our orators have learned the lesson of Pope,

"happily to steer  
From grave to gay, from lively to severe."

**A QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP; AN EXPOSÉ,** by JOHN T. DEXTER. London, 1877.

In this pamphlet Mr. Dexter, a well-known publicist, and author of "The Government of London," sets forth his claim to the authorship of the work published by Mr. Van Campen, entitled "The Dutch in the Arctic Seas," which is now advertised by the former as in press, with other historical papers. According to the testimony of this "Exposé," chiefly documentary, Mr. Dexter seems to lose his case. The publication of the promised work, accompanied by the "Exposé" under consideration, will add to the curiosities of literature, and open the subject for fuller discussion.

**PERU—INCIDENTS OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION IN THE LAND OF THE INCAS,** by E. GEORGE SQUIER, M. A., F. S. A., late U. S. Commissioner to Peru, with illustrations. 8vo, pp. 599. HARPER & BROTHERS, New York, 1877.

Everything is of interest that comes from the pen of Mr. Squier upon Central and South America, where he resided for many years in various official capacities, which gave him peculiar advantages for observation and study. To a natural taste for antiquarian research, he brings an agreeable style of description, which make his books as readable as they are instructive. The present volume is unusually attractive, and illustrated with the profusion for which these liberal publishers are noted.

**PAUL REVERE'S SIGNAL. THE TRUE STORY OF THE SIGNAL LANTERNS IN CHRIST CHURCH, BOSTON,** by Rev. JOHN LEE WATSON, D. D., with remarks on laying Dr. Watson's communication before the Massachusetts Historical Society, by CHARLES DEANE. 8vo, pp. 16. PRESS OF JOHN WILSON & SON, 1877.

This is an exhaustive treatment of a matter of purely local interest. Mr. Deane clearly shows that the lantern hung out on the night when the sturdy Liberty boy and express, Paul Revere, made his midnight ride to Lexington, to warn the patriots of the coming of the British, was displayed from the tower of Christ Church, which was known in 1776 as the North Church. That John Pulting was the man who took the keys from the sexton, and made the signal, we see no reason to doubt, but that it was a feat of any special danger, we do not see. It involved flight rather than personal risk.

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, JANUARY 3, 1877,** with list of members, &c. 8vo, pp. 64. THE SOCIETY'S HOUSE, 18 Somerset street, Boston.

An account of the condition of this excellent Society, and of its transactions during the year 1876. The report of the Librarian, John Ward Dean, Esq., shows a steady increase in the number of volumes and pamphlets, and states the collection to now consist of 13,939 bound volumes, and 43,526 pamphlets—a total of 57,465.

**THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW,** edited by DAVID A. GORTON, M. D. Vol. XXXIV. March, 1877.

The leading article of this number is dedicated to a review of the Life and Services of Edward I. Sears, the well-known founder of the Review, recently deceased; and contains also, a history of the periodical itself, and many graceful tributes from his associates in the enterprise, besides this several reviews of works treating of economic and literary and educational questions, notices of which are beyond the scope of this Magazine.

We call attention, however, to the 6th Article; "the political situation of the United States," where it is stated that "the chief object of the contending political parties in the United States is the possession of the Government, and the control of its patronage." This seems to us rather a narrow view of the great contending principles which are struggling for ascendancy—economic and political. It must never be forgotten that the "outs" are always the growing party in any normal political condition, and it may be stated as a certain axiom, that administrations which seek to repeat themselves by patronage rather than by measures are sure to be overthrown. We take issue with another statement by the reviewer, that, as in ancient Rome, "he who holds office is a patrician; he who does not is a plebeian." Unfortunately the class in this country analogous to the Roman patricians

neither seek nor accept office. Again, although Republics do not always throw the best men to the service, they are sure to choose those whom they best understand, and who are most "en rapport" with themselves.

**TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO; OR LIFE IN NEW SWEDEN.** 16mo, pp. 253. American Sunday-School Union, Philadelphia, 1877.

This little story purports to be the diary of a young Swedish girl who came over in the *Swan* in 1647, and after a six months voyage reached Fort Christina, the site of the Swedish settlement planted by the historic Queen in the year 1637, on the banks of the South River (the Delaware). We join in the words of thankfulness of the gifted authoress that the Delaware Colony was settled by the manly, honest, thrifty Swedes. Nothing is more singular than the tendency which races have manifested from early days to emigrate to points within the climatic zones of their nativity. Other attempts at colonization, as of the French in Canada, or the Moors in Europe, have signally failed; and this of the Swedes to the Delaware country is hardly an exception to the rule, although their influence, particularly religious, fostered by the mother country, is still felt in the manners of the colony which passed at an early period under other domination.

There is no more touching literature than this, which, pervaded by the religious spirit which was the direct result of the great Reformation, recites the self-sacrifice and christian character of the intimate family life of the early colonists who sought to plant free institutions in a distant and strange land. Published by a religious society, to reach the consciences of the young through moral lessons, this natural and life-like diary is full of accurate accounts of historic occurrences worthy the perusal of students.

**ENSAYO HISTORICO SOBRE LAS REVOLUCIONES DE YUCATAN DES DE EL AÑO DE 1840, HASTA 1864, POR SERAFIO BAQUEIRO.** Two volumes. 8vo. Merida, 1871-1873.

These volumes bring down the history of the revolutions, the crop of which is always plentiful in tropical American latitudes, to February, 1850.

The author complains in his introduction that he has not had the advantage of any deposit of archives, but as critics are as numerous as historians, we are not sure that he has not the advantage on his side. We do not propose to review this work, which is voluminous, and evidently the result of research and labor, but simply to call the attention of such of our readers as are engaged in the study of Central American affairs.

**PUBLICATIONS ANNOUNCED**

**RICHARD HAKLUYT'S DISCOURSE ON COLONIZATION.**

The Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., late President of Bowdoin College, while in London in 1867 and 1868, procured from the library of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, at Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, a copy of an early ms. of Richard Hakluyt, the famous collector and publisher of voyages in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was written in the summer of 1584, at the request, and under the direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, after he had sent out to America his two barks, under Amidas and Barlow, in April of that year, and before their return, by the middle of September. The ms. was specially written for the eye of the Queen, to whom it was presented, and in recommendation of an enterprise of planting the English race in the unsettled parts of North America, discovered by Cabot and not yet occupied by any Christian people, of which possession had been taken the previous year by Gilbert, who, on his return voyage, had perished at sea, and, indeed, in advocacy of what was even then known as the voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of which Raleigh's separate enterprise was but a continuation. Since that time, for nearly three hundred years, it has been lost to the public eye.

On the return of Dr. Woods to this country, he was for some time employed in connection with his friend, the late William Willis, in passing through the press the first volume of the *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, the preparation of which, by the learned Dr. Kohl, of Bremen, in Germany, had been successfully brought about by Dr. Woods's intervention. That volume was published in 1869. Dr. Woods then entered seriously upon the work of preparing for the press the *Hakluyt Discourse*, to be issued as volume II of the *Documentary History of the State*. The Introduction was only waiting for final revision for the press, when, on the 8th of August, 1873, a disastrous fire destroyed the library of Dr. Woods, and with it all that he had prepared to illustrate the *Hakluyt Discourse*. Fortunately, the *Discourse* itself had been, some time previously, stereotyped at Cambridge, Mass., and the ms. copy was there, safe in the hands of a friend.

Then followed the serious disarrangement caused by the calamity, and, after Dr. Woods had begun the unwelcome effort of recovering what had been lost, the physical infirmity, which forbade literary labor, and, indeed, threatened the entire loss of the fruits of his diligent and successful research. In this emergency, the Committee of the Maine Historical Society, made an arrangement with Mr. Charles Deane, of Cambridge, to complete the work. It is now all in type, and will soon be issued by the Society.



## OBITUARY

## THOMAS BALCH

Our readers are familiar with the name of this gentleman, to whose personal friendship and warm interest in historical inquiry we owe the charming narrative of the Prince de Broglie of his visit to America in 1782, the concluding pages of which we print in this number. This valuable document, which Mr. Balch received from the Duke de Broglie, the grandson of the Prince, was translated for us by Miss Elise Willing Balch, his daughter, under his supervision. His last literary labor was a revision of the pages of the narrative.

Thomas Balch, son of Lewis P. W. Balch, was born at Leesburg, Loudon county, Virginia, on the 23d July, 1821. He studied at Columbia College, and later read law in the office of Mr. Stephen Cambreleng, of this city. He was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar in 1850, and soon became distinguished for his careful, painstaking thoroughness, a quality which marked his later career. Here, in 1852 he married Emily, daughter of Joseph Swift, of Philadelphia, and from this period attached himself to the interests of his adopted city. He served in the City Councils, and was called to preside over important committees, where he displayed moral courage and firmness in difficult situations.

With a turn of mind which led him to historic investigation, he devoted himself to research among the records of the State to which his matrimonial alliance, connecting him with the distinguished family of Shippen, gave additional zest. At the request of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania he edited "Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania," a work of considerable value, better known as "the Shippen Papers," and added to original documents some interesting sketches of the families and descendants of the writers. This book was privately printed as were also others of the same character, "The Maryland Papers," and "The Examination of Joseph Galloway," both of historic importance, which he edited for the Seventy-Six Society.

In 1859 Mr. Balch went to Europe, where he remained many years, travelling extensively and making the personal acquaintance of many distinguished persons; statesmen, political economists, and literary men. Making his headquarters in Paris, he devoted himself particularly to collecting material for a work he had greatly at heart, and which had engaged his attention for many years. This was the history of the part taken by France in the establishment of American Independence. This study brought him in contact with the descendants of some of those gallant gentlemen who shared with our ancestors the privations and dangers of the field, and by their generous devotion to the cause of the Col-

onies, effaced the animosities and prejudices of a century. To these friendships he owed access to numerous manuscripts. Mr. Balch completed his work in 1870, but owing to the breaking out of the Franco-German war it did not appear until 1872. Entitled "Les Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États Unis, 1777-1783," it contained, in addition to a history of the regular French regiments which served in America and biographical sketches of the officers who volunteered their services to Congress, numerous interesting episodes of American society as it appeared to the European eye. This was only the first part of the work originally contemplated. To the accomplished daughter of Mr. Balch we must look for its continuation.

While thus engaged Mr. Balch still found time for other studies and thought. In 1865 he proposed, in a letter to Mr. Greeley, which was published in the *Tribune*, a Court of International Arbitration, as a measure of averting war, which is believed to have been the first step in this direction. In it was laid down the code of rules later observed by the Geneva Tribunal.

He was the author of many valuable essays both in French and English. To the *Journal de Economistes* he contributed in June, 1870, "Les Dernières crises Financières aux États Unis."

Returning home in 1873, he continued to devote himself to literary labor. He translated for the *Bankers' Magazine* Wolowski's famous article on "the Payment of the French War Fine," with numerous notes. In 1876, he edited Mr. Duane's translation of "the Journal of Claude Blanchard," prefixing to it a preface, which is distinguished by elegance of style. In 1876 he wrote an essay on "Calvinism and American Independence," and in July of the same year, as one of the Congress of Authors, contributed a biographical sketch of Dr. William Shippen, a member of the Continental Congress. During the past year he had given great attention to the study of the monetary question, and on the 23d of February, 1877, read before the Social Science Association a carefully prepared paper on "Free Coinage and a self-adjusting Ratio," in which he advocated the restoration of the bi-metallic standard. This is still a moot question, but no one in America has brought to it more conscientious and thorough examination than Mr. Balch. Mr. Balch was distinguished for untiring research. The processes of his mind were not rapid, but marked by precision and thoroughness. His personal qualities endeared him to all with whom he was brought in contact. He died at his residence in Philadelphia, in the afternoon of Thursday, the 29th day of March last, to the lasting grief of his family and friends.

We trust that his daughter will lift the pen, which dropped from his hand only in death, and continue the work upon which his reputation as an historian chiefly rests.

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## OUR NATIONAL FLAG, THE STARS AND STRIPES

### ITS HISTORY IN A CENTURY

THE United States of America as a nation is the daughter of Great Britain. The National Flag of the United States is, therefore, naturally derived from the National Flag of the Mother country.

Our National Flag is very often called the Star Spangled Banner. This term banner is a very ancient one. It is a derivative from band, a riband or ribbon worn by men of arms, sometimes on the helmet or head-piece, at others on some conspicuous portion of their garments. The color was that of the chief of the band. The word, as Noah Webster, the American Lexicographer, informs us, is substantially the same in the Saxon, the Swedish, the Danish, the Dutch, the German, the French, the English, the Spanish, the Portugese, the Italian, the Irish, the Persian, and the Sanscrit languages.

In the 15th chapter of Numbers, verse 38th, the Israelites were commanded to wear a riband of blue on the borders of their garments, to look upon it, and remember God's commands, and to do them. That is, to remember that God was their leader, and that they were God's band or people.

In the time of Moses there does not appear to have been any National Banner among the Israelites. After the victory over Amalek, Moses set up a stone, engraved: *Jehovah-nissi*. "The Lord is my banner." Ex. xvii, v. 15.

Each tribe of Israel, however, had its peculiar banner, probably of a color according with that of the stone in the breastplate of the high priest, inscribed with the name of the tribe, and emblazoned with devices symbolical of the blessing of Jacob to his sons respectively.

A banner was an ensign, depending from a staff, which could be carried by hand, usually by the chief of the band. Standards, as of the Assyrians, Egyptians, and other ancient peoples, were carried generally, if not always, on cars, or carriages, or ships. The bearer of a banner was usually called a banneret. In some of the Swiss cantons there was formerly a high officer, styled a banneret, who had charge of the banner of the canton. I think these earlier banners had an indent on the edge, opposite to the staff, or else terminated in a point. For bannerets, that is, feudal lords, who led their vassals to battle under their own banner, on the day of battle, and on the field of battle, after a victory, deeming themselves entitled to special commendation, presented their flags to the king or general, who cut off the train or skirt, and made it square. They were then called *knights of the square flag*. These square flags were called banners.

From the time of the first crusade, A. D. 1096, among Christian nations a cross took the place of a riband or band. Thus the Scots were distinguished by the Cross of St. Andrew. The banner of St. Andrew was a square flag of blue, bearing in white the Saltire of St. Andrew. This, the cross upon which St. Andrew was crucified, was represented by a white cross, corresponding to the diagonals of the square. The French were distinguished by a white cross, and the Italians by a blue one. The Spaniards bore a red cross. In the third crusade, A. D. 1188, the red cross of the Spaniards was appropriated by the French. The Flemish used a green cross, and the English a white one. This white cross was used by the English until, having been assumed by the adherents of Simon Montfort, the rebellious Earl of Leicester, who fell in the battle of Eversham, August 4, A. D. 1265, the National Cognizance was made the badge of a faction. After this the Cross of St. George appears to have been adopted. At least it has been the badge of the Kings of England and of the nation since the time of Edward III., A. D. 1327. It still adorns the National Flag of Great Britain. Parker, in his "Terms used in British Heraldry," says: "A banner is a square flag, painted or embroidered with arms, and of a size proportioned to the rank of the bearer." The banner of St. George is white, charged with a red cross. This red cross is not composed of the diagonals of the square, as in the case of the banner of St. Andrew, but of two pieces, crossing each other at right angles; one verticle, the other horizontal, intersecting at the middle of the square.

All the crosses given to the Crusaders were the crosses of the patron Saint of the nation, assigned to them by the head of the Church, the

Pope of Rome. Their particular cross was doubtless worn by the men of each nation on the frock or surcoat, anciently called a jacquit or jacket. In the ordinances of Richard II., on the invasion of Scotland, A. D. 1386, and later by Henry V., it was directed "that every man, of what estate, condition, or nation they be of, so that they be of our party, bear the sign of the Arms of St. George, large, both before and behind, upon peril that if he be slayne or wounded to death, he that hath done so to him shall not be put to death, for default of the cross that he lacketh. And that none enemy do bear the same token or cross of St. George, notwithstanding if he be prisoner, upon pain of death." From this surcoat or jacket, flags, bearing such devices, are called Jacks. The Union of the Crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, since the Union of England and Scotland, 1707; and since 1808, the Union of the Crosses of St. George, St. Andrew and St. Patrick, on the Union of England, Scotland and Ireland, or, more properly speaking, Great Britain and Ireland, are called by the British Union Jacks. Nay, even the *Union* of our flag, the blue with the simple stars in place of the crosses is, by our naval men, called the U. S. Union Jack. So the banner of St. George is called the St. George's Jack, and the banner of St. Andrew the St. Andrew's Jack; and finally, among our Anglo-Saxon speaking nations, especially among naval and seafaring men, sailors themselves are called *Jack* Tars. At the risk of tediousness, I must return once more to the banners of St. George and St. Andrew. When James VI. of Scotland became also James I. of England, A. D. 1603, his subjects of Scotland and England, or of North and South Britain, as they were called, had violent contentions as to which flag, the banner of St. Andrew or the banner of St. George, should take precedence—that is, be saluted by the other. King James issued his royal proclamation on this subject April 12, 1606.

He ordered that both the ships of North Britain and South Britain should "bear in their main-top the red cross, commonly called St. George's cross, and the white cross, commonly called St. Andrew's cross, joined together, according to a form made by his heralds; and in their fore-top our subjects of South Britain shall wear the red cross only as they were wont, and the subjects of North Britain in their fore-top the white cross only as they were accustomed." James was thoroughly a Scot. Therefore, the flag of Scotland was made the basis of this *new* flag, prepared by his heralds. But in accordance with the rules of Heraldry, and doubtless out of deference to the jealousy of his

subjects of England, or South Britain, for their Red Cross Flag, which for centuries had braved the battle and the breeze, the red cross alone was not inserted in the banner of St. Andrew, but the red cross had a distinct margin of white about it, to show the banner from which it came, that of "Saynte George, whych had whyte arms with a red cross. This blessed and holy Martyr St. George is patron of ye realme of England and ye crye of men of warre." This union of the banners of St. Andrew and St. George was called "*the king's colours.*" During the wars of the rival houses of York and Lancaster in England, the Red Cross Flag was for a time superceded by the red and white roses, but was afterwards resumed as the flag of England.

During the struggle between Charles I. and the Parliament of England, Charles set up the Royal Standard, emblazoned with the richest quarterings, the Lion, the Unicorn, the Roses, the Fleur de Luce, and the Thistle, &c.; the Parliament displayed the Red Cross Banner of St. George and Merrie England. During the same struggle the Army of Scotland, under Leslie, the disciple of Gustavus Adolphus, had in their blue bonnets a bunch of blue ribands. Their flag was blue, with the arms of Scotland embroidered in gold upon it, and the motto: "For Christ's Crown and Covenant."

The "blue riband" of the Covenanters, and "the polling of the hair" of the Puritans, were no doubt adopted—the former from Numbers xv, v. 38, and the latter from Ezekiel xlvi, v. 20—as emblems of God's chosen people. Hume mentions, Vol. II, p. 304, that the terms "Round-heads" and "Cavaliers" came into vogue about the end of 1641. The latter gave the rabble the appellation "Round-heads" on account of the short cropped hair which they wore; these called the others "Cavaliers." At what time precisely "the blue riband" was adopted as the emblem of the Protestants, I am not advised. In Miller's continuation of Hume, Vol. IV, p. 254, it is stated, that in 1780, when Lord Gordon presented a petition to Parliament against the extension of certain privileges to the Romanists, the procession was headed by the Protestant Association, and made up of 50,000 men, wearing the blue cockade. They compelled the members of the House of Commons to wear "the blue cockade" in passing to and from the House. There is no doubt Leslie brought the buff and blue, or blue and yellow uniform from the army of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, the Protector of the Protestants of his time, and they became the Whig colors. Hume, Vol. II, p. 575, says the names Whig and Tory were adopted

about 1680, after the battle of Bothwell's Bridge. The former term is of Scottish, and the latter of Irish origin. In Sir Walter Scott's *Legends of Montrose*, Vol. XV, p. 33, ed. 1848, he puts into the mouth of Major Dugald Dalgetty, the soldier of fortune, when made by Montrose a Major of the Irish Brigade: "The Irish are pretty fellows—very pretty fellows. I desire to see none better in the field. I once saw a brigade of Irish at the taking of Frankfort on the Oder stand to it with sword and pike, until they beat off the blue and yellow Swedish brigades, esteemed as stout as any that fought under the immortal Gustavus." In I. F. Hollings' *Life of Gustavus Adolphus*, surnamed the Great, of Sweden, p. 106, it is mentioned Gustavus Adolphus first substituted the buff coat, as it was called, for the cuirass worn by Cavaliers. He made light artillery, carrying a four-pounds ball, of a copper tube, re-inforced at the breach with iron bands, all encased in boiled leather, which, when shrunk and hardened, was handsomely gilded and ornamented. He changed the formation of troops into lines instead of solid columns. He introduced the musket of a light pattern, which could be fired without a rest. He also armed his horsemen with a short musket. He caused different brigades to be distinguished by different colors. The Swedish brigades of blue and yellow were composed of Scots. Colonel Monro, who wrote the *First and Second Expeditions*, was the original of Sir Walter Scott's Major Dugald Dalgetty. In another of his voluminous works, he mentions that the Flag of the Solemn League and Covenant, which England and Scotland entered into, A. D. 1643, was a Red Flag, with a blue border, and the motto, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant." The same statement is made in *Howie's Scotch Worthies*. I am credibly informed by an eminent Presbyterian divine that the Scotch Clergy of the Covenant wore blue garments instead of the ordinary clerical garb of black. In an old song on the battle of Bothwell's Bridge, June 22, 1679, occur the following lines about the Covenanters' flag. *Scottish Ballads and Songs*, James Maedment, Vol. II, p. 301 :

"When he set up the flag o' red  
A' set about wi' bonnie blue,  
' Since ye'll no cease and be at peace,  
See that ye stand by either true. "

The last two lines are a quotation, and doubtless refer to the words of the motto, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant." Sir Walter Scott also mentions that the matchlock men of Leslie's army, who wore buff coats, had the bandoliers or shoulder belts, by which the spanners or wrenches of their matchlocks were suspended, of *blue*.

So the old nursery ballad :—

“ Oh dear, what can the matter be !  
 Dear ! dear ! what can the matter be !  
 O, dear ! what can the matter be,  
 Johnny's so long at the fair.  
 He promised to bring me a bunch of blue ribbons  
 To tie up my bonny brown hair.  
 He promised to bring me a basket of posies,  
 A garland of lilies, a garland of roses;  
 A little straw hat to set off the *blue ribbons*  
 That tie up my bonny brown hair.”

This ancient ballad is of unknown origin, though itself well known. I have been told it took its rise in England at about the same time that the Royalists in Aberdeen tied blue ribands about the necks of their lap-dogs, and called them “Covenanting Dogs.” I mention these trifles, because at the beginning of our Revolutionary struggle there were all sorts of leagues and covenants, called “agreements,” &c., among the colonists. The first Continental Congress, 1774, adopted a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement for all the Colonies. The “Quebec Act,” giving extensive privileges to the Romanists in Canada, called forth essays, and the display of a Union flag on the Liberty Pole in this city, bearing the mottoes, “George Rex and the Liberties of America” on one side; on the reverse, “No Popery;” this in 1775. At the same time, in the un-uniformed army before Boston, General Washington published a General Order, that as General-in-Chief he would be distinguished by a broad blue riband, which, so soon as the army was uniformed, was replaced by a uniform of blue and buff—the uniform of our General and General Staff officers to the present day. I am no bigot; but the nation is and has been, tho' tolerant of all religions, always Protestant, and has never lost sight of Luther's early advocacy of universal education. D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, Vol. III, pp. 174-5.

After Charles I. was beheaded, January 30, 1649, the Red Cross Flag, or St. George's Banner, continued to be the National Flag of England. Under Cromwell, as Macaulay says, it became so respected that Rome halted in her persecutions of the “Shepherds in the hamlets of the Alps, who professed a Protestantism older than that of Augsburg.” Nay, more, at a mere hint from the Lord Protector, the Pope was forced to preach humanity and moderation to Popish Princes. For a voice, which seldom threatened in vain, declared that unless favor was shown to the people of God, the English guns should be heard in the Castle of St. Angelo. Under Charles II., 1660 to 1685, disgrace followed disgrace. The Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames, and burned the ships of war at

Chatham. The roar of foreign guns was heard, for the first and last time, by the citizens of London. Under Anne, however, for a while it again beamed in mid-day splendor; the Duke of Marlborough by land, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Sir George Byng by sea, being the standard bearers: until May 1, 1707, on the Union of England and Scotland, the flag made for King James by his heralds, called "the King's Colours," became the National Flag of Great Britain. From that time to this, flags bearing these devices have been called "Union" Flags. It is generally known that a ship in distress at sea displays her flag Union down.

At this period we find the Colonies of New England in a great commotion about flags. At Salem, Massachusetts, in 1635, John Endicott cut the red cross out of the flag, regarding it as idolatrous. He was removed from the magistracy, and rebuked, among other reasons, because it was feared that the Parliament of England, which used the Red Cross Flag, should regard this as an act of rebellion. It was proposed to use the Red and White Roses. Finally, in the last month of 1635, it was decided to leave out the Cross in all of the flags. It was appointed the King's Arms should be put into the Flag of Castle Island, where was a King's Fort, and Boston to be the first company. But in the first month of 1636, a ship called the St. Patrick, belonging to Sir Thomas Wentworth, Viceroy of Ireland, arrived, and one Miller, the master's mate, declared they were all rebels and traitors, because they had not "the King's Colours" at the Fort. Miller was induced to subscribe an apology. However, in the fourth month, at the request of the captains of ten vessels then in port, it was decided that as the fort was kept as the King's Fort, it was lawful to spread "*the King's Colours*" at Castle Island when the ships passed by, with the protestation that as they, the Governor and Council, held the Cross in the Ensign idolatrous, they could not set it up in their Ensigns. There was much of political caution displayed in all this matter of the flags.

The death of Charles I. having occurred January 30, 1649, in 1651 the General Court of Massachusetts resolved that the old English colors—that is, the St. George's Banner, used by the Parliament of England—being a necessary distinction between the English and other nations in all places of the world, should be advanced on the Castle upon all necessary occasions, until the Parliament should alter the same, which they much desired. Hazard, Vol. I, p. 554.

In 1652 the Colony of Massachusetts coined silver money, shillings, six-pences and three-pences. Except the very first issue, which was very rude, they bore a *Tree* in the center, with a double ring and the inscrip-



tion Massachusetts, within it, on the one side, and New England, with the year 1652, and the value of the piece, on the reverse. Governor Hutchinson says it *all* bore the year "1652," when "there was no king in Israel." Hutchinson was, no doubt, correct as to the money in current use. There appears to have been a special coinage of silver two penny-pieces in 1662, *after* Charles II. had become king. There is every reason to suppose it was coined for the special purpose of placating King Charles II. The resolution of the General Court, given at length, Vol. VII., Mass. His. Collections, says nothing of shillings, six-pences, or three-pences—it specifies *two-pences*. They did not bear a tree, "but a sort of shrub, spreading like a thistle." The resolution was passed in 1662. In 1663 Sir Thomas Temple, as we learn from Bancroft, appeared as the advocate of the Massachusetts Colony. As Cromwell's Governor of Arcadia, he had resided long in New England during the interregnum. On his arrival in England, 1663, he was sent for by King Charles II., to talk about affairs in Massachusetts. "The King discovered great warmth against that colony." "Among other things, he said they had invaded the royal prerogative in coining money. Sir Thomas, who was a real friend of the colony, told his majesty that the colonists had but little acquaintance with law, and that they thought it no crime to make money for their own use. In the course of the conversation, Sir Thomas took some of the money out of his pocket, and presented it to the King. On one side of the coin was a pine tree, of that kind which is thick and bushy at the top. The King inquired what tree that was. Sir Thomas artfully taking hold of the circumstance, informed his majesty it was the Royal Oak. The Massachusetts people, says he, did not dare to put your majesty's name on their coin, and so put the Oak, which preserved your life." After the battle of Worcester, September 3, 1651, Charles hid himself in a polled oak, which "a sort of shrub, spreading like a thistle," would much resemble. A writer in the Mass. His. Collections, under the signature Σ, says of the two-penny-pieces: "All of them, I presume, have the year 1662," and adds in a note: "It may be the letters N. E. were on some of the pieces, instead of the date. The impression is not to be distinguished clearly, but sometimes it resembles the letters more than the date." "At least, he continues, "of six that have come my knowledge, two only are in this particular legible." Mass. His. Collections, Vol. VII, p. 229.

By this implication of loyalty on the part of the Massachusetts Colony, "the King, who was put into a fit of good humor, said they were a parcel of honest dogs, and was disposed to hear favorable things of

them." There is no doubt in my mind this special coinage of 1662, with its impression, not of a tree, "but of a sort of shrub, spreading like a thistle," with N. E. also apparently on some of them in place of the date, and their being of "two-penny-pieces," the only ones of this small value coined, was by pre-arrangement with Sir Thomas Temple, struck that he might palm off on King Charles the subterfuge that the tree on the coin was the Royal Oak, and that the invasion of the royal prerogative of coining money had been only in the small matter of two-penny-pieces for local circulation.

It has been supposed there was a Flag of New England, with a blue field, a St. George's Cross, and a green Tree in the upper canton of the St. George's cross. I have had a drawing sent to me of such a Flag, said to have been found in some old plate of Flags. I would remark *en passant* these plates of Flags are often quite fanciful. The use of such a Flag by New England would have been flying in the face of Cromwell, and of the Parliament, and the colonists never lost sight of the King's "coming to his own again," as the phrase was. Edmund Randolph, called the "Court Spy," in an able report on the Colony of Massachusetts to the Privy Council, said: "A Tree was put upon their coin as an apt symbol of their progressive vigor." A writer in Mass. His. Collections, already cited, as if there was an unusual, as well as usual, name for the coins bearing the Tree, says, "usually called Pine Trees." Noah Webster says the "Cedar Tree," so often used in Scripture as an emblem of God's people, was a species of "Pinus;" may not this have been the Tree on the Pine Tree coins. The first seal of Plymouth Colony, the colony founded on Plymouth Rock, bearing date 1620, bore on its shield a cross, subdividing the shield into four parts, in each of which a man is represented, kneeling in a wilderness and offering a burning heart to God. See frontispiece Plymouth Records. Again, as emblems of being God's chosen people, the colonists of Connecticut put upon their seal a *Vine* for each town or church; at least there are fifteen separate grapevines, bearing fruit, and a hand of Providence extended out of the clouds, bearing a scroll or riband, on which is the motto, "Sustinet qui Transtulit." Conn. His. Coll., Vol. I, p. 251. This colony seal was subsequently changed to one of three vines and the above motto, and is now in part retained in the Arms of the State of Connecticut by three vines, with the motto modified into "Qui Transtulit Sustinet." Of the Colony of New Haven, all record of its seal is lost. But the officers were styled the "Seven Pillars," referring to the seven pillars of the House of Wisdom, as described by Solomon.

In Ezekiel, Chap. XLVI, v. 20, "Zadoc and his sons," having been faithful to the Lord, were directed to distinguish them as chosen. "They shall only poll their heads." From this the Round-heads or Puritans drew the Scriptural authority for cutting off "Love Locks," as they were called. These "love locks" were worn by the Cavaliers, and were quite distinct from the locks sometimes worn by the fair sex, and called "Suivez moi jeune homme," or, as the sailors translate it, "follow me, Johnny." By the same Prophet Ezekiel, a special favorite with the Puritans, as the sermons of those times very plainly show, the vine is constantly used as the emblem of God's people. But the *Cedar Tree*. In the close of Chapter XVII does it not say, "The Lord God would take of the highest branch of the high cedar, a tender one, and will plant it in a high mountain and eminent. In the mountain of the height of Israel will I plant it, and it shall bring forth boughs and bear fruit, and be a goodly cedar; and under it shall dwell all fowl of every wing." Governor Hutchinson says of the date "1652" on the coin, bearing a tree, "when there was no king in Israel." Could the *Tree* on the coin of Massachusetts have been the Goodly Cedar Tree? It is true, the first seal of the Colony of Massachusetts bore "an Indian erect, with an arrow in his right hand," but the motto was the words in the vision of St. Paul "Come over and help us" (Bancroft, Vol. II, p. 347) to propagate God's kingdom among the heathen. There is one other remarkable coincidence. I mention it merely as such, and then I shall return from these flights of fancy to the dry facts about the flag. In Ezekiel the emblems of supreme authority are Great Eagles. Is it not a remarkable coincidence that the chief bearing of the arms of our country is a Great Eagle? Strong winged, but not full of feathers, for it is a "Bald Eagle," to represent America. In his right talon he holds an olive branch, and in his left a bundle of arrows. The seal of the little "Democracie," planted on Rhode Island, was "a sheafe of arrows," with the motto, "Amor Vincet Omnia." Bancroft, Vol. I, p. 393.

The Flag in New England which next challenges attention was the Flag of Sir William Pepperell, under which Louisburg, Cape Breton, was captured on the 17th of June, 1745. For this expedition "George Whitefield," the great field preacher of those times, gave a motto for the Flag; under the proclamation of Queen Anne, 1707, necessarily a "Union" Flag. The motto was "Nil desperandum Christo Duce." This gave to the expedition the character of a crusade, and many of Whitefield's followers enlisted. One of them, a chaplain, carried on his shoulders a hatchet, with which he intended to destroy the

images in the French churches. Belknap's New Hampshire, Vol. II, p. 204, 1791. We learn from Frothingham's Siege of Boston that "Union" Flags with mottoes were constantly displayed, at the time of the Colonies taking up arms, on Liberty Poles and Liberty Trees. At Concord and Lexington, as also at the battle of Bunker's Hill (I use the name by which it is commonly designated), fought June 17, 1775, just thirty years after the capture of Louisburg, Cape Breton, under Sir William Pepperell and Admiral Warren of the British Navy, I am satisfied there were no flags used except such as belonged to regiments or the companies of minute men. July 18, 1775, evidently to supply such a want, General Putnam displayed on Prospect Hill, before Boston, a red flag, with the mottoes, "Qui Transtulit Sustinet" and "Appeal to Heaven" in letters of gold. It is described by the master of an English transport to his owners as entirely red. The most authentic account gives the mottoes recited above. No doubt this Flag was sent to General Putnam from Connecticut. As in April, 1775, they fixed upon their standards and drums, the Colony Arms, and the motto "Qui Transtulit Sustinet;" and as Massachusetts at the same time used a Flag, bearing a tree, with the motto, "Appeal to Heaven," it is more than probable this Flag bore those devices as well as the mottoes in gold. At a short distance Red and Gold or Orange would appear entirely red. Red and Orange are contiguous colors in the solar spectrum. The Red predominates over the Orange in the ratio of 45 to 27° measurement on the circumference of a circle. Hooker's Nat. Philosophy, p. 281.

September 13, 1775, when Colonel Moultrie received an order from the South Carolina Council of Safety for the taking of Fort Johnston, on James' Island, he had a large blue Flag made, with a crescent in one corner, to be in uniform with the troops. When the Turks took Constantinople, they found the crescent every where displayed on the churches and other buildings; and regarding it as a good omen, they adopted it as their cognizance. October 20, 1775, we are informed the Flag of the floating batteries, before Boston, was a Flag with a white ground, a tree in the middle, and the motto, "Appeal to Heaven."

In 1775, without organization, without uniforms, without any National Ensign, in fact, before there was a Union of all the Colonies, much was done. April 19, the first blood was shed at Lexington, and on the same day Captain Isaac Davis and others at Concord gave up their lives for the liberties of their country. May 10, 1775, Ethan Allen took by surprise Ticonderoga, and Seth Warner did the same as to Crown Point; thus the command of Lake Champlain was secured, as

well as cannon and ammunition for the army before Boston. General Washington was chosen, June 15, General to command all the Continental forces. June 17, the battle of Bunker's Hill was fought, and General Warren fell. July 2, General Washington arrived at Cambridge. In General Orders, issued by him July 14, 23, and 24, badges were ordered, as the first step in discipline in the un-uniformed army. His own badge, as I have already stated, was a broad blue riband, worn upon his breast, between his coat and waistcoat. This has often been imagined to be the baldric of a Marshal of France. He never was a Marshal of France. This army was in want of everything. August 12, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts agreed upon recommending it to the inhabitants, the scarcity of ammunition being so alarming, not to fire a gun at beast, bird, or mark, without real necessity. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks, an expedition was fitted out under Arnold, by the way of Kennebec, against Quebec, while another under Montgomery moved down Lake Champlain with the same object. A similar spirit was manifested everywhere. October 18, Chamblay surrendered to Majors Brown and Livingston. Among the trophies were the colors of the 7th Regiment, doubtless Royal Fusileers; these were the first captured colors ever presented to Congress. Gordon Amer. Rev., Vol. I, p. 426. The attack on Quebec failed, and Montgomery fell, December 31, 1775.

January 2, 1776, the Great Union Flag of the Colonies, a "Union" Flag of 1707, already described, with thirteen stripes, alternate red and white for the field, was substituted for the Flag displayed by General Putnam; July 18, 1775, on Prospect Hill. This Great Union Flag was displayed on the day the new army about Boston was formed, in compliment to the thirteen United Colonies. The King's proclamation had been sent out of Boston by a flag of truce, January 1, 1776. General Washington wrote the display of this Flag, January 2, 1776, "far-cically enough," was taken as a signal of surrender. Lieut. Carter, a British officer, explains "the reason why" by stating that it was taken for two distinct flags—"the British Union" above the "Continental Union of thirteen stripes." Whereas, being the Flag of British Colonies in arms to secure the rights and liberties of British subjects, it was a British Union Flag, with a field of thirteen stripes, alternate red and white. In plate vii. of Preble's History of the American Flag, a *fac simile* of the Flag of the schooner Royal Savage, a Continental Union Flag, as described above, is given. The drawing was made in 1776. It was found by Benson J. Lossing, a most diligent and pains-taking collector

of invaluable details connected with our country's history, among the papers of Major-General Philip Schuyler. This Continental Union Flag, on the evacuation of Boston by the British, and its occupation by the troops of the United Colonies, was carried by Ensign Richards, General Putnam being in command of the forces which took possession of the forts, &c., from which the British retreated, March 18, 1776. This was *the American Flag* saluted at St. Eustatius by the Dutch, by order of the Governor, Johannes De Graef, November 16, 1776,<sup>1</sup> as it was displayed from the peak of the brigantine Andrew Doria, commanded by Captain Nicholas Biddle, one of the first vessels procured for the Navy of the United Colonies. It was what was called the *Continental Union Flag*. The stars and stripes did not become the Flag of the United States until June 14, 1777; consequently could not have been saluted as such November 16, 1776.

In the meantime, Admiral Hopkins sailed from the Capes of the Delaware, February 17, 1776. Paul Jones was senior First Lieutenant of the fleet, and raised the Continental Union Flag, displayed by the army before Boston, January 2, 1776, and "the Standard of the Commander-in-Chief of the American Navy," as described in the records of the South Carolina Provincial Congress, February 9th, 1776, to whom Colonel Gadsden, Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, presented it, "being a yellow field, with a lively representation of a rattlesnake in the middle, in the attitude of striking, with the words underneath, 'Don't tread on me,'" (American Archives, 4th Series, Vol. V, p. 568) on the Alfred, Captain Dudley Saltonstall, on which ship Admiral Hopkins spread his broad pennant. The colors of his fleet were thus described in a letter, dated New Providence (West Indies), May 13, 1776: "The colours of the American fleet were striped under the *Union* with thirteen strokes, called the United Colonies, and their standard, a rattlesnake; motto, 'Don't tread on me.'" J. Carson Brevoort, who is in possession of the Log of Paul Jones when he commanded the squadron composed of his flagship, the "Bonne Homme Richard," the Alliance, Captain Landais, &c., has kindly furnished me with a drawing of the flag of Commodore Paul Jones, as he is called by the Dutch Admiral at the Texel. It had no rattlesnake on it. It was, however, somewhat curious, as was that of Captain Landais. After capturing the Serapis, September 23d, 1779, Paul Jones was obliged to pass on board his prize. The Dutch authorities at the Texel were at a loss as to his nationality. By the usage of Great Britain, the first flag is

<sup>1</sup> See article, *New York Times*, Sunday, January 21, 1877.

the Royal Standard; the second; the Anchor of Hope, Flag of the Lord High Admiral; third, the Great Union throughout, Flag of the Admiral of the fleet; fourth, Great Union with a red field, Admiral's flag; fifth, Great Union, with a white field, Vice-Admiral's flag; sixth, Great Union, with a blue field, Rear Admiral's flag. Hence the names Admiral of the Red, Admiral of the White, and Admiral of the Blue.

Jones and Landais had a quarrel about precedence. Jones undoubtedly regarded himself as an Admiral of the Blue, for his commission, by especial provision, was that of Commander-in-Chief of the fleet; for his flag was a blue Union, with thirteen stars of eight points each, four stars in the topmost row, five stars in the middle row, and four in the bottom row. The topmost stripe of the field was blue, the second red, the third white, the fourth red, the fifth white, the sixth blue, the seventh red, the eighth white, the ninth red, the tenth blue, the eleventh white, the twelfth blue, the thirteenth red. In the official records of Texel this Flag is thus described: "Noord Americaansche Vlag, Van d'Serapis en genomme Engels Oor logs Fregatt thaus gecommandeerd door den Noord Americaansche Commandant Paul Jones, sord Texel binnen gekomen den 5 October, 1779." While at the Texel "Commodore Paul Jones" was invited in writing, by Vice-Admiral Réyun of the Dutch Navy, to admit that, though he sailed under a commission from the United States, it was no less true he also had a commission from France. Paul Jones' reply is so characteristic. I give it from the original in possession of Mr. Brevoort. It was endorsed, or rather written below the communication from Vice Admiral Réyun. It is in the following words, viz.: "N. B. The above is the Proposition that was given me in writing, the 13th of December, 1779, on board the Alliance, at Texel, by M. le Chev<sup>r</sup> de Lironcourt, to induce me to say and sign a Falsehood. (Signed) PAUL JONES."

Landais' flag, as recorded by the same authorities at the Texel, may be thus described: possibly he modified his flag to be that of an Admiral of the White, the next grade above the Admiral of the Blue; or else desired to compliment France, the flag of which had a white ground. Union blue—thirteen stars of eight points. 1st row of stars, three stars; 2d, two stars; 3d, three stars; 4th, two stars; 5th, three stars. Field of Flag—Topmost row, white; 2d, red; 3d, white; 4th, red; 5th, white; 6th, red; 7th, white; 8th, red; 9th, white; 10th, red; 11th, white; 12th, red; 13th, white. Noord Americaansche Vlag. Van d' L'Alliance ge commandeerd door Captain Landais In Texel binnen gekomen den 4th October, 1779.

It is possible Paul Jones used the Rattlesnake Standard, already described, but I find no evidence of the fact. The only public instrument in use retaining some record of the part the "rattlesnake" bore in our flag, and on the drums of the Marine Corps, is the seal in the War Department. It bears the rattlesnake, with its rattles, as the emblem of union, and a liberty cap in contiguity with the rattles; the liberty cap enveloped by the body, so that the opened mouth may defend the rattles and liberty cap, or union and liberty, with the motto, "This we'll defend."

June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee introduced the resolution, "that the United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent States." It was unanimously adopted July 2, 1776. July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence, penned by Thomas Jefferson, was adopted. On the same day Dr. Franklin, Mr. J. Adams and Mr. Jefferson were appointed a committee to prepare a device for a Great Seal for the United States of America.

August 10, 1776, this committee reported as follows: "The Great Seal should on one side have the Arms of the United States of America, which arms should be as follows: The Shield has six quarters, parts one, *Coupe* two. The 1st or, a rose, enamelled gules and argent for England; the 2d, argent, a thistle proper, for Scotland; the 3d verd, a harp or, for Ireland; the 4th azure, a *flower de luce* or, for France; the 5th or, the imperial eagle, sable for Germany; and 6th or, the Belgic lion, gules for Holland, pointing out the countries from which the States have been peopled. The shield within a border gules entwined of thirteen Scutcheons argent, linked together by a chain or, each charged with initial letters sable as follows: 1st, N. H.; 2d, M. B.; 3d, R. I.; 4th, C.; 5th, N. Y.; 6th, N. J.; 7th, P.; 8th, D. E.; 9th, M.; 10th, V.; 11th, N. C.; 12th, S. C.; 13th, G.; for each of the thirteen independent States of America. Supporters; dexter, the Goddess Liberty, in a corselet of armor, alluding to the present times; holding in her right hand the spear and cap, and with her left supporting the shield of the States; sinister, the Goddess Justice, bearing a sword in her right hand, and in her left a balance. Crest. The eye of Providence in a radiant triangle; whose glory extends over the shield and beyond the figures. Motto: *E Pluribus Unum*. Legend round the whole achievement—Seal of the United States of America, MDCCLXXVI. On the other side of the said Great Seal should be the following device: Pharoah sitting in an open chariot, a crown on his head and a sword in his hand, passing through the divided waters of the Red Sea



in pursuit of the Israelites. Rays from a pillar of fire in the cloud, expressive of the Divine presence and command, beaming on Moses, who stands on the shore, and, extending his hand over the sea, causes it to overthrow Pharoah. Motto: 'Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God.'

It was ordered to lay on the table.

The closing words, "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God," are from the epitaph of John Bradshaw, chief of the regicides. They are written over what is called the Regicides' Cave, West Rock, New Haven, Conn. Mr. Hollis, in his memoirs, mentions that he found the epitaphs at length, pasted up on the windows of inns in New England, in the early days of our Revolutionary struggle, and states the fact as an evidence of the spirit which actuated our forefathers.

The original of the following is engraven upon a cannon, at the summit of a steep hill, near Martha Bray, in Jamaica (see *Memoirs of Mr. Hollis*, Vol. II, p. 789), reprinted in *Gentleman's Magazine*, XIV, 834:

"Stranger,  
Ere thou pass, contemplate this cannon.  
Nor regardless be told  
That near its base lies deposited the dust  
Of JOHN BRADSHAW;  
Who, nobly superior to selfish regards,  
Despising alike the pageantry of courtly  
splendour,  
The blast of calumny,  
And the terrors of royal vengeance,  
Presided in the illustrious band  
of Heroes and Patriots,  
Who fairly and openly adjudged  
CHARLES STUARD,  
Tyrant of England,

To a public and exemplary death;  
Thereby presenting to the amazed world,  
And transmitting down through applauding ages,  
The most glorious example  
Of unshaken Virtue,  
Love of Freedom,  
And impartial Justice,  
Ever exhibited on the blood-stained theatre  
Of human actions.  
Oh, Reader, pass not on,  
Till thou hast blest his memory,  
And never, never forget,  
That REBELLION TO TYRANTS  
IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD."

Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, Va., October 19, 1781. The country remained without any Great Seal until June 20, 1782.

The "Continental Union Flag," displayed January 2d, 1776, as before stated, continued to be used until June 14, 1777, just one hundred years ago, when the Congress "Resolved, That the Flag of the Thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white. That the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." Paul Jones, in command of the *Ranger*, demanded and received from the French Admiral in Quiberon Bay, coast of Brittany, the first salute to the Stars and Stripes, as adopted June 14 1777, *Gun for Gun*.

It had been before that event the usage of Europe to salute the Flag of a Republic with four guns less than were fired to salute the Flag of a crowned potentate.

It will be observed no form for the presentation of the stars, in any particular shape, was defined by the resolution; consequently various forms were adopted. Because the circle is the simplest of all figures, and for the reasons following, I suppose them at first to have been arranged in a circle.

John Adams—the father of J. Q. Adams—was Chairman of the Board of War when the resolution of June 14, 1777, was passed, and also, as has been stated, one of the Committee appointed July 4, 1776, to prepare a Great Seal for the United States. When eleven years of age, J. Q. Adams crossed the Atlantic with his father under this flag. After having been Secretary of Legation to the United States Minister to Russia, at the age of fifteen, Mr. J. Q. Adams came from England, where he had represented the United States at the Court of St. James, to become Secretary of State of the United States, under the administration of President Monroe. This in 1817. All citizens, especially youthful ones in a foreign land, look to the flag of their country with feelings and an interest quite different from citizens at home. Mr. J. Q. Adams must have been curious about it when he sailed under its folds at the age of eleven. As Secretary of Legation, at the age of fifteen, he could not readily have lost sight of it. As Minister, it was the ensign of his country among a proud and supercilious people. When he returned, to become Secretary of State, a change in it was being discussed in Congress. In the annals of Congress, 2d Session 1816–1817, the discussion will be found at large. It was deemed inexpedient to alter the flag. Many thought it should have been always retained as resolved upon June 14, 1777. However, December 11, 1817, Mr. Wendover, of New York, an owner of many ships, moved the following:

“Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of altering the Flag of the United States, and that they have leave to report by bill or otherwise.” Mr. Wendover remarked: “Had the flag of the United States never have undergone an alteration, he certainly should not, he said, propose to make a further alteration. It was his impression, and he thought it was generally believed, that the flag would be essentially injured by an alteration, on the same principles as that which had been made by increasing the stripes and stars. He stated the incongruity of the flag in general use, and instanced the flag flying over the building in which Congress sat, and that of the navy yard, one of which contained *nine* stripes, and the other *eighteen*; neither of them conformable to law. It was of some importance, he conceived, that the flag of the nation should

be designated with precision, and that the practice under the law should be conformed to its requirements." The motion was agreed to without opposition. *Annals of Congress*, 1st Session, Vol. I, 1817-1818, p. 463.

When the Committee reported, there was a protracted discussion, which may be found in the same volume, page 567, and volume ii, page 1463. Finally, the resolution, approved April 4, 1818, was passed March 25, 1818. Mr. Wendover suggested that at the rate the Union was growing, if a stripe was added for every new State admitted, it would soon be impracticable to find a mast tall enough on which to hoist the flag. This practical suggestion determined the action of Congress.

During the time of this discussion, Mr. J. Q. Adams was Secretary of State. The original flag, so far as the stripes were concerned, was reverted to by the resolution of April 4, 1818. The only departure from it was that, instead of *thirteen* stars in the Union of the flag, a star was to be introduced into that Union for each new State on the 4th of July succeeding the admission of such State to the Union of the United States. But in 1819 the angry discussion about the bill authorizing the people of the territory of Missouri to form a Constitution and State Government for admission into the Union began. Hon. Henry Clay, by his compromise measures, brought relief to the country. The Enabling Act was passed and approved by President Monroe, March 6, 1820. August 25, 1820, Mr. J. Q. Adams, Secretary of State when the alteration of the flag to suit the growth of the nation was discussed, Secretary of State also when the Union was threatened, on account of the Enabling Act for Missouri, struck from the United States Passport the National Arms, as declared by Act of Congress, and substituted the figure and device of an Eagle, holding in his beak the constellation Lyra, of thirteen stars, a glory radiating from Lyra into a circle of thirteen stars, and the motto, "Nunc Sidera Ducit." This seal Mr. J. Q. Adams had caused to be engraved in England before 1817. It is now in the possession of his son, Hon. Charles Francis Adams. The last named gentleman is of opinion Mr. John Adams had nothing to do with suggesting the constellation Lyra. Perhaps it never was suggested for the Union of the Flag. If it was not, what could have warranted so great a departure from the universal practice of nations as the substitution of a fanciful device for the arms of the nation on a document intended everywhere to establish the nationality of the citizen provided with it, and this substitution with the consent and approval of the President of the United States, were it not the desire to make some enduring record of the origin of the thirteen stars in the Union of the first Flag of the

United States in the constellation of the Lyre of Orpheus? In this device the thirteen stars are in a *circle*. In the same form they are represented on the copper coins of 1783, and on some of the Continental paper money, with the words, "Nova Constellatio," "A new Constellation;" and, finally, on a representation of the first Flag of the United States, in a drawing to accompany a project for the Arms of the United States, now on file in the Department of State, the thirteen stars are arranged in a *circle*. This, however, is merely an hypothesis, more curious perhaps than important.

I revert now to the struggles in the Colonies. While these were going on there was as yet only a silent growth, no marked fruit of intellectual development, if I except Jonathan Edwards' renowned work on Free Will. He died President of the College of New Jersey, now Princeton College, 1758.

I cannot attempt, for space will not admit of it, and they may be found in almost any school history, all the victories by sea and land won under this Flag of Thirteen Stars and Thirteen Stripes. I may not omit the names of Washington; Schuyler; Stärk, whose Mary was to be a widow if they did not beat the Hessians by set of sun at Bennington; of stout old General Herkimer, who gave his life for the cause; Marion; Sumpter; Huger; Light Horse Harry Lee; Benjamin Lincoln, who replied to Washington, on the latter expressing his surprise that the Northern people, with nothing but their rocks and brains, should be willing to fight for liberty, "We fight for liberty to use our brains," and to another, who expressed some fear, "Fear nothing, sir," said this brave old soldier, "Fear nothing but sin;" Morgan and his famous riflemen; Green, whose Fabian caution redeemed the disasters of Gates; Knox; Pickering; Hamilton; Hugh Mercer, who fell, covered with wounds, at Princeton, January 3, 1777, of which he died January 19, 1777; Wayne, called Mad Anthony, the hero of the storming of Stony Point on the Hudson; De Kalb; Steuben; Kosciusko; Pulaski, mortally wounded before Savannah, October 6, 1779; Lafayette, and a host of others; and last, but not least, the determined Colonel Peter Gansevoort, who, when beleagured by St. Leger at Fort Stanwix, since Fort Schuyler, now the city of Rome, Oneida county, New York, replied to St. Leger's demand for the surrender of the fort, August 9, 1777: "It is my determined resolution, with the force under my command, to defend this fort to the last extremity, in behalf of the United States, who have placed me here to defend it against all their enemies." Here no doubt was first displayed in battle the stars and stripes. Colonel Marinus Willett, Lieut. Colonel Mellon, and Captain

Abraham Swartwout, of Dutchess county, were the brave official coadjutors of Colonel, afterwards General, Gansevoort. The blue of the Union of the flag was made out of Captain Swartwout's cloak, the white stars and stripes out of pieces of shirt, sewed together, and bits of scarlet cloth for the red. Lossing, Vol. I, p. 242. My aged grandmother, a daughter of Major-General Philip Schuyler, informed me the red stripes were furnished by the scarlet cloak of one of the women of the beleaguered garrison. Such cloaks were much worn at that time in this country. Benedict Arnold here, as at other times, rendered brilliant services to his country. One is almost tempted to drop a tear over the noble beginning, which had the fateful ending of an exiled traitor's grave. On the ocean, Manly, the father of the American Navy, began his career in the Lee. The names of Nicholson, Saltonstall, Biddle, Thompson, Barry, Reade, Jones, Wickes, &c., come before us. In 1776, 342 sail of English vessels were taken by American cruisers. In 1777, 467 sail were taken, and thus matters went on, with many brilliant conflicts of ship with ship. Fennimore Cooper's History of the U. S. Navy. Anthony Wayne, the hero of Stony Point, August 20, 1794, quelled the Indians at the Fallen Timbers, near the Maumee Rapids. The National Flag continued with thirteen stars and thirteen stripes, until the resolution approved January 13, 1794, when Congress enacted "that after May 1, 1795, the Flag of the United States be fifteen stripes, alternate red and white. That the Union be fifteen stars, white in a blue field."

The thirteen original States ratified our present Constitution at the dates set opposite to them, respectively :

New Hampshire,	June 21, 1788	Pennsylvania,	December 12, 1787
Massachusetts,	February 6, 1788	Delaware,	December 7, 1787
Rhode Island,	May 29, 1790	Maryland,	April 28, 1788
Connecticut,	January 9, 1788	Virginia,	June 26, 1788
New York,	July 26, 1788	North Carolina,	Nov. 21, 1789
New Jersey,	December 18, 1787	South Carolina,	May 23, 1788
Georgia, January 2, 1788			

Vermont had been admitted as a State, March 4, 1791. In the same year Benj. West was chosen President of the Royal Academy of Art, London. Kentucky was admitted June 1, 1792. In the meantime how much had been done ! The Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the North West Territory was passed. A government of the people, by the people, and for the people had been framed and ratified. "The Federalist," as remarkable for the vigor, beauty, and purity of its style, as for its invaluable comments on our form of government, had been written

by Madison, Jay and Hamilton. Of the latter Webster said: "He smote the rock of national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of the Public Credit, and it sprung upon its feet. The fabled birth of Minerva, from the brain of Jove, was hardly more sudden or more perfect than the financial system of the United States, as it burst forth from the conceptions of Alexander Hamilton." I trust I may be pardoned for this allusion to my illustrious grand-sire. The History of the Flag of our country would be incomplete without some notice of his eminent services. In 1793 Whitney invented the cotton gin. Tennessee was admitted June 1, 1796. George Washington died December 14, 1799. In 1800 the National Capitol was removed from Philadelphia to Washington. Ohio was admitted November 29, 1802. In 1802 the United States Military Academy at West Point was established. Louisiana was purchased 1803. Between 1803 and 1805 our Navy, under Bainbridge, Morris, Preble, Decatur, Chauncey, Barron, Rodgers, Porter, and the gallant Captain Somers, who was blown up (it was never known how, in the ketch *Intrepid*, off Tripoli), with all his company, rendered brilliant service. Of Captain Somers we are told: Commodore Preble having remarked, while trying a port-fire in the cabin of the *Constitution*, "He thought it burned longer than was necessary." Somers quietly rejoined, "I ask for no port-fire at all." These brave men and their comrades taught the Mahomedans of the Barbary States "that westward the course of Empire takes its way;" that a Christian nation of the West, whose Flag even they did not know, to use Charles Cotesworth Pinckney's words on the occasion of our differences with France, had "Millions for defence, not one cent for tribute;" and the enslaving of Christians by the followers of the Prophet ceased from June 8, 1805. The foreign slave trade was abolished by our Federal Constitution, to take effect 1808. (See history of legislation on the subject of the slave trade, in the charge of Justice Wayne, United States Supreme Court to United States District Court, Savannah, Georgia, November, 1859.) The United States Coast Survey was inaugurated February 10, 1807. In the same year Robert Fulton built the first steamboat in the world for practical purposes. It was called the "North River." In the same year the "Leopard," a British man-of-war, impressed three Americans from the United States man-of-war "Chesapeake," which had gone to sea in an unprepared condition.

James Madison was inaugurated President, March 4, 1809. General William Henry Harrison, November 7, 1811, gained the battle of Tip-

pecanoe. Louisiana was admitted to the Union, April 8, 1812. In this year war was declared against Great Britain. The suicidal policy of an embargo had been foolishly tried by the United States, almost destroying the feeble remains of our commerce and dividing the nation. After many disasters by land, the brilliant affair of Fort George, May 27, 1813, in which Lieutenant-Colonel Winfield Scott led the assault, took place. September 10, 1813, Oliver Hazard Perry, on Lake Erie, reported of his splendid success at Put in Bay: "We have met the enemy and they are ours." General Harrison defeated Proctor, October 5, 1813, at the Moravian Town on the Thames. Captain James Lawrence, of this city, in the "Chesapeake," whose original tombstone stands in the vestibule of the New York Historical Society, engaged the British man-of-war "Shannon," June 6, 1813. He lost his ship and his life—his last words were: "Don't give up the ship." General Andrew Jackson crushed the Creeks at Horse Shoe Bend, on the Tallapoosa river. Our Flag was still of fifteen stars and fifteen stripes. In 1814, July 5, under General Brown, at Chippewa, General Scott led a brilliant bayonet charge against the British, and a great success was achieved. July 25, 1814, the battle of Lundy's Lane was fought—rendered famous by Colonel Miller's laconic reply when asked could he storm a battery with his regiment, the Twenty-first United States Infantry: "I'll Try," and did it. At this time West Point began to tell. Our fellow citizen, Alexander McComb, Major General United States Army, was Inspector of that institution. Joseph G. Swift, the first graduate, born in Massachusetts; Walker P. Armisted, Virginia; William McRee, North Carolina; Joseph G. Totten, Connecticut; Eleazer D. Wood, New York, rendered most distinguished services. On the 15th of August, 1814, under Major General Edmund Pendleton Gaines, of Virginia, the British were repulsed from Fort Erie with great slaughter. Here George Mercer Brook, of Virginia, afterwards Major General, won the sobriquet of the "Jack-a-Lantern of Fort Erie." September 11, 1814, Commodore McDonough won the brilliant and decisive victory of Lake Champlain. In the meantime, however, the British burned all the public buildings at Washington, except the Patent Office and Post Office. They bombarded Baltimore, and inspired the "Star Spangled Banner." January 8, 1815, General Jackson won the Battle of New Orleans. Many brilliant combats were fought on the ocean. These combats wereso numerous, that those interested must consult Cooper's History of the United States Navy. Indiana was admitted December 11, 1816; Mississippi December 10, 1817. In the same year, through

the efforts of De Witt Clinton, the Act authorizing the Erie Canal was passed in this State, and the canal was completed in 1825. April 4, 1818, the following resolution was adopted by Congress: Our National Flag up to this time had, since January 13, 1794, continued to be fifteen stripes, alternate red and white; the Union fifteen stars, white, in a blue field.

Be it enacted, etc., "That from and after the fourth of July next, the flag of the United States be thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be twenty stars, white, in a blue field."

"And, that on the admission of a new State into the Union, one star be added to the union of the flag; and that such addition shall take effect on the fourth of July next succeeding such admission. Approved April 4, 1818."

Illinois was admitted December 3, 1818. Alabama was admitted December 14, 1819. The steamship "Savannah," in this year, sailed from Savannah, Ga., for Liverpool, being twenty six days on the passage. Thence to St. Petersburg, Russia, and arrived at Savannah fifty days from St. Petersburg, December 15, 1819. *Niles' Weekly Register*, September 18, 1819, and *Evening Gazette*, date —, Signature W.

Maine was admitted March 15, 1820. Missouri August 10, 1821. Arkansas, June 15, 1836. In the intervening period, 1831, the first locomotive in America was used on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, under the personal supervision of our venerated fellow-citizen, Peter Cooper. I quote many of my data from Venables' United States History, a valuable epitome. Michigan was admitted January 26, 1837. In 1842, Professor S. F. B. Morse established telegraphic communication between Castle Garden, New York city, and Governor's Island; and in 1844 he set up the first electric telegraph in the world, for practical purposes, between Baltimore and Washington.

Florida was admitted March 3, 1845. In 1845 the U. S. Naval Academy was founded. It was recommended in 1798. We all know the valuable fruit it has already borne to our country and to our naval service. Texas, December 29, 1846. The country went on growing and except the Indian wars, which have been chronic—at peace with all the world. Andrew Jackson, by his firmness, had nipped nullification in the bud. His "By the Eternal, the Union must and shall be preserved," saved the country from civil war. His was a voice like Cromwell's—it seldom threatened in vain. To General Scott he entrusted the execution of his orders at Charleston. Jackson knew him to be a true patriot.

The admission of Texas involved us in a war with Mexico. General Zachariah Taylor, at Resaca de la Palma, Palo Alto, Monterey, and



Buena Vista, sustained the glory of our flag against great odds. Let us pause for a moment, while I rehearse a verse or two of a song composed and sung by our soldiers after the victory of Palo Alto. They found in the caps of the dead Mexicans, who, poor fellows, fell fighting for their native land, a General Order of General Arista, urging his troops, who were poorly subsisted, to victory by the promise of abundance after they had captured the flour of the Americans. Our soldiers also had a notion the Mexicans used copper instead of leaden bullets. The copper supposed to be more deadly. The song was to the tune of "The Rose of Alabama." It had about 500 verses. Of these, I only remember two;

"He said he would the Yankees take  
Their flour into bread he'd bake,  
But we knocked his pancakes into dough  
On the plains of Palo Alto.—CHORUS.

We'll batter down his mudden walls,  
Make cymbals of his copper balls,  
And dance in Don Arista's halls,  
To the tune of Palo Alto."

We did it at Monterey, of which our fellow-citizen, Charles Fenno Hoffman, wrote the following lines; I think them very beautiful:

"We were not many—we who stood  
Before the iron sleet that day;  
Yet many a gallant spirit would  
Give half his years if but he could  
Have been with us at Monterey.

Now here, now there, the shot it hailed  
In deadly drifts of fiery spray,  
Yet not a single soldier quailed  
When wounded comrades round them wailed  
Their dying shout at Monterey.

And on—still on our column kept  
Through walls of flame its withering way;  
Where fell the dead, the living stept,  
Still charging on the guns which swept  
The slippery streets of Monterey.

The foe himself recoiled aghast,  
When, striking where he strongest lay,  
We swooped his flanking batteries past,  
And braving full their murderous blast,  
Stormed home the towers of Monterey.

Our banners on those turrets wave,  
And there our evening bugles play;  
Where orange boughs above their graves  
Keep green the memory of the brave,  
Who fought and fell at Monterey.

We were not many—we who pressed  
Beside the brave who fell that day;  
But who of us has not confessed  
He'd rather share their warrior rest  
Than not have been at Monterey."

Of the operations of General Scott—Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, Chapultepec and the City of Mexico, over which our flag floated in triumph September 14, 1848, with thirty stars in its union (for Iowa had been admitted December 28, 1846), Sir Henry Bulwer, accredited Minister of Great Britain to the United States, November 30, 1850, at the celebration of St. Andrew's day, in New York city, said: "If Waverley and Guy Mannering

had made the name of Scott immortal on one side of the Atlantic, Cerro Gordo and Chapultepec had equally immortalized it on the other. If the novelist had given the garb of truth to fiction, had not the warrior given to truth the air of romance?"—*National Intelligencer*, December 4, 1850.

In his turn, General Scott said, in reference to the United States Military Academy, June 21, 1860: "I give it as my fixed opinion that, but for our graduated cadets, the war between the United States and Mexico might, and probably would, have lasted some four or five years, within its first half more defeats than victories falling to our share; whereas, in less than two campaigns, we conquered a great country and a peace, without the loss of a single battle or skirmish." I quote from Major-General G. W. Cullum's preface to Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy—a most valuable contribution to our Nation's history.

I have mentioned Iowa was admitted as a State, December 28, 1846. In 1841 it was a wilderness. Except a very small southeast corner, the Sacx and Foxes occupied the southern portion, the Sioux the northern portion, and the Winnebagoes a strip, fifty miles wide, called the Neutral Territory between these tribes. From 1861 to 1865 Iowa furnished 100,000 men, bearing arms, to the Union Army. I suppose such a growth to be unparalleled in the history of the world.

Wisconsin was admitted May 29, 1848. California was admitted September 9, 1850. Minnesota was admitted May 11, 1858.

In 1857, Cyrus W. Field, Peter Cooper, and others laid the first Atlantic telegraph cable. The message of the Queen of England, the amiable Victoria, to the President of the United States, was transmitted August 16, 1858.

Oregon was admitted February 14, 1859.

On the succeeding fourth of July our Flag by law bore thirty four stars in its union. A flag bearing these devices is in the possession of the American Geographical Society. It shows how an energetic people can carry out the description Manilius gave of the Lyre of Orpheus: "Nunc Sidera Ducit." As we watch the stars of Heaven, they seem only to pass from East to West; but these stars, representing the new constellation, have wandered from their orbit, but have not yet been lost.

In 1838, they went with Wilkes' Expedition to a higher latitude toward the Southern Pole than the American flag ever went before in the Antartic regions. De Haven, in command of the Grinnell Expedition, in search of Sir John Franklin, took them to a higher latitude in the northern regions than any other flag had ever been, but the stars of that

flag did not grow dim in the polar winter. Dr. Kane took them with another expedition to a still higher northern latitude; they caught there the glow of the Aurora Borealis. With Dr. Hayes, in the same flag, they went 37 miles higher toward the northern Pole than an American flag, or any other flag, had ever been.

Kansas was admitted to the Union January 29, 1861. West Virginia was admitted June 19, 1863. Nevada was admitted October 31, 1864. Nebraska was admitted March 1, 1867. Colorado was admitted August 1, 1876.

In the meantime, our flag was made more brilliant by the light thrown upon it by authors, painters, poets, sculptors, and practical men who have "endowed humanity with new and numerous inventions"—Gordon, Belknap, Bancroft, Hildreth, J. C. Hamilton, Cooper, Irving, Sparks, Ticknor, &c., as to the history of our own country; Prescott, Motley, &c., as to the history of other lands; Story, Curtis, Wheaton, Halleck, &c., in the departments of municipal and international law; Irving, Cooper, Hawthorn, Holmes, Emerson and a host of others in the lighter departments of literature; Willis, Fitz Green Halleck, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, &c., in poetry; West, Weir, Alston, Trumbull, Peale, Church, Bierstadt and Huntington, &c., as artists; Crawford and Powers, &c., as sculptors; Terry and Grey in botany, Audubon in Ornithology; Astor, Lenox, Peter Cooper, Vanderbilt, Vassar, Cornell, and many others who have so munificently endowed colleges, libraries, and hospitals; McCormick in his mower and reaper; Elias Howe in his sewing machine; and Hoe in his wonderful improvements of the printing press, which has enabled us to have our profusion of books, magazines, and newspapers—these last the sentinels on the watch towers of Liberty.

I have purposely refrained from dwelling upon the internecine struggle, which cost us, North and South, 1,000,000 of men, killed and disabled, and probably \$6,000,000,000 of material wealth. You all know the indomitable courage and brilliant soldiership displayed on both sides—the deeds of prowess by land and sea. How many hearts also of mothers and widows and orphans bled, and are still bleeding. How Lincoln fell. How all men in this land, this day, stand, not only before God, but in the Eye of the Law, the perfection of human reason, "free and equal." How though in a century many stars have been added, there is no Pleiad lost from the constellation of our Flag.

Like the little colony planted by a woman on Rhode Island, under the auspices of that great man Roger Williams, we have

still, as set forth in its seal, the sheaf of arrows for enemies if they will, but we have also, in our right hand, the motto, "Amor Vincet Omnia."

Francis Lord Bacon said in his last will and testament: "For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, and to foreign nations and to the next age." We owe him a great debt. The world owes him a great debt. Socrates, Plato, and all the school-men, were impracticables. Bacon's philosophy was practical. I have a profound respect for practical men, wherever found. They have made our country what it is. Bacon's philosophy was "to endow continually the human race with new faculties and powers of employing them." "To suggest new ideas and the application of them." "To work efficaciously to relieve human life from its ills." Lord Macaulay says the key to his doctrine, which was fruit, was Utility and Progress. As a nation, whosoever visited our late Centennial Exhibition, or has seen it as reproduced in print, cannot but admit that though the youngest of the nations, we have not been behind the oldest in doing honor, practically, to the name and memory of Francis Bacon, the Philosopher. As a nation, in introducing Arbitration instead of the Sword, "Ultima ratio Regum," "the last resort of Kings," in international difficulties, we have done honor to his name, Ethically and Politically. It was to General Ulysses S. Grant, a West Point man, a man of the sword, as Executive of the Nation, the world owes this step in Utility and Progress and Peace. There are, this day, the Centennial of its adoption, thirty-six stars in the union of our Flag, to be altered to thirty seven stars July 4, 1877, because of the admission of Colorado. As in the Milky Way in the heavens, other fixed stars, soon to take their place there, are glimmering through the distance.

I close with the words of Joseph Rodman Drake:

"When freedom from her mountain height

Unfurled her standard to the air,  
She tore the azure robe of night,  
And set the stars of glory there!  
She mingled with its gorgeous dyes  
The milky baldric of the skies,  
And striped its pure, celestial white  
With streakings of the morning light;  
Then from his mansion in the sun  
She called her eagle bearer down,  
And gave into his mighty hand  
The symbol of her chosen land!

Majestic monarch of the cloud !

Who rears't aloft thy regal form,  
To hear the tempest-trumpings loud,  
And see the lightning lances driven,  
When strive the warriors of the storm,  
And rolls the thunder-drum of heaven!  
Child of the sun ! to thee 'tis given  
To guard the banner of the free,  
To hover in the sulphur smoke,  
To ward away the battle stroke,  
And bid its blendings shine afar,  
Like rainbows on the cloud of war,  
The harbingers of victory.

Flag of the brave! thy folds shall fly,  
 The sign of hope and triumph high!  
 When speaks the signal trumpet tone,  
 And the long line comes gleaming on:  
 (E'er yet the life-blood, warm and wet,  
 Has dimmed the glistening bayonet,)  
 Each soldier eye shall brightly turn  
 To where thy sky-born glories burn,  
 And as his springing steps advance  
 Catch war and vengeance from the glance,  
 And when the cannon-mouthings loud  
 Heave in wild wreaths the battle shroud,  
 And gory sabres rise and fall,  
 Like shoots of flame on midnight's pall;  
 Then shall the meteor-glances glow,  
 And cowering foes shall sink beneath  
 Each gallant arm that strikes below  
 That lovely messenger of death.

Flag of the seas! on ocean wave  
 Thy stars shall glitter o'er the brave;  
 When death, careering on the gale,  
 Sweeps darkly round the bellied sail,  
 And frightened waves rush wildly back,  
 Before the broadside's reeling rack,  
 Each dying wanderer of the sea  
 Shall look at once to heaven and thee,  
 And smile to see thy splendors fly  
 In triumph o'er his closing eye.  
 Flag of the free hearts' hope and home  
 By angel hands to valor given;  
 Thy stars have lit the welkin dome  
 And all thy hues were born of heaven!  
 Forever float that standard sheet!  
 Where breathes the foe but falls before us?  
 With freedom's soil beneath our feet  
 And freedom's banner streaming o'er us?"

SCHUYLER HAMILTON

NOTE.—In 1853, in compliance with a request of Lieut.-General Winfield Scott, prompted by an inquiry made to him by the Hon. Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, that a satisfactory reply might be made to a Foreign Minister, who desired to be informed of the origin and meaning of the devices combined in the national flag of the United States of America, I prepared and published a monograph on the subject. The late Hon. Charles Sumner quoted from it on the floor of the United States Senate, and the conclusions I then arrived at have, I think, met with general acceptance.

S. H.

## WILLIAM FLOYD

### NEW YORK DELEGATE IN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

"The estimation and value of a man," remarks Montaigne, a judicious observer of the peculiar traits of prominent men, "consist in the heart and the will. There true honor lies. Valor is stability of courage and the soul. He, despite the danger of death, abates nothing of his assurance."

These characteristics are conspicuous in the public life of William Floyd, one of the representatives in the Congress of the United States of America, from the State of New York; and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

He was born at Mastic, Long Island, December 17, 1734. His ancestors emigrated from Wales, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Richard Floyd, the first member of the family in this country, was one of the original proprietors of Brookhaven, Long Island. His son, Richard Floyd, jr., married a daughter of Colonel Matthew Nicoll, Secretary of the Colony of New Jersey. Their son, Nicoll Floyd, married Tabitha, daughter of Jonathan Smith, jr., of Smithtown, Long Island, and was the father of the subject of this sketch.

William Floyd was one of nine children, and the eldest son. Belonging to a family of the highest respectability and social position, he received an education as complete as possible in those early days. Although the advantages which he enjoyed were limited in their character, he made the best use of them by industry and perseverance; and supplemented them by subsequent study through his long life. At a comparatively early period we find William Floyd the commander of the Suffolk county militia. This position gave him the title of General, by which he was usually known. He had no opportunity to obtain distinction in a military career, as his public duties, from this time, were all in civil life. On one occasion, however, during the Revolutionary War, he seems to have repulsed a naval attack of the enemy, in the vicinity of his home.

He was appointed a Delegate to the Congress of 1774, and from the first was called to serve upon very important committees. Re-elected in

1775, he attached his name to the Declaration of Independence. For his services in Congress he received, with his colleagues, the thanks of the Provincial Convention. Floyd suffered severely in consequence of this patriotic action. His home and estate were occupied by the enemy; his family fled to the neighboring State of Connecticut; and he himself was an exile for nearly seven years.

On the 8th of May, 1777, General Floyd was appointed Senator of the State of New York, under the new Constitution. He took his seat the 9th of September and became at once a useful member. On the 15th of October, 1778, he was re-elected to the Continental Congress by joint ballot of the Senate and Assembly, and served on several important committees. On the 24th of August, 1779, he resumed his seat in the Senate.

At this period there was an alarming depreciation of the currency of the State; and a Joint Committee of the two Houses having been appointed to take the subject into consideration, General Floyd prepared and offered their report on the 22d of September, 1779. This report is remarkable for the clearness and soundness of its financial views. General Floyd advocated an equal and adequate system of taxation; opposed the further emission of paper money, and urged the general reduction of that already in circulation. On the 14th of October, 1779, he was appointed by the Legislature, together with Ezra L'hommedieu and John Floss Hobart, a commissioner to a Convention of the Eastern States, in regard to scarcity of provisions, which was then so great as to threaten a famine.

On the 2d of December, 1779, General Floyd appears again in his place in Congress, to which he had been re-elected on October 11th. He was early appointed on the Board of Admiralty, and on the Treasury Board. On May 27, 1780, he was summoned to immediate attendance in the Senate of New York, and accordingly resumed his seat in that body on the 20th of June.

He was appointed on a Joint Committee, to deliberate on resolutions of Congress as to existing relations between the State and General Governments. At this time he strenuously resisted making bills of credit a legal tender. In this, however, he found himself in a minority. He was also on the committee to draft a reply to the Governor's Address upon the inadequate powers of the General Congress. On the 12th of September, 1780, General Floyd was re-elected to Congress. With his colleagues from New York, he was authorized to designate the western limits of the State, cede United States claims, and to ad-

judicate upon contested claims in the New York, New Hampshire and Vermont controversy. He remained in Congress until April 26th, 1783.

By successive elections he was a member of the State Senate until 1788; and upon the adoption of the Federal Constitution, he was elected a member of the first Congress in New York, March 4th, 1789. During his long service in the Senate, he maintained a pre-eminent position, and was usually called upon to preside in the absence of the Lieutenant Governor. Under the Administration of Governor Clinton, in connection with Lewis Morris, Ezra L'hommedieu, Zephaniah Platt, David Gelston, Samuel Jones, and others, he procured the adoption of a Code of Laws, which have been an honor to the State of New York.

In 1784 he purchased a tract of land on the Mohawk river, which he laid out in farms. Some years after, in 1803, he removed his family to his new estate, where he resided in the town of Western, Oneida county, until his death, in vigorous old age, on the 4th of August, 1721.

Only three of the signers of the Declaration survived him.

He was twice married. His first wife was Isabella, daughter of William Jones of Southampton; his second wife, Joanna, daughter of Benjamin Strong of Setauket. He left a widow and five children. General Floyd was of middle stature, with a manner of such dignity as to repress familiarity. He seems to have had a naturally strong understanding, with unusual powers of observation. He had immense perseverance, great accuracy in judgment, and was remarkably cool and self-possessed under trying and embarrassing circumstances. He seldom participated in debate; but he commanded confidence by his integrity, independence, and fearlessness. His long public life is a sufficient indication of the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries, and during the dark days which witnessed the founding of the institutions which we now enjoy. His constancy, disinterestedness and fidelity, entitle him to the gratitude of his country.

We may well apply to him these words of Dryden:

“ No ! there is a necessity in fate,  
While still the brave, bold man is fortunate:  
He keeps his object ever full in sight,  
And that *assurance* holds him firm and right.”

FREDERIC DE PEYSTER

NOTE.—A sketch prepared for the Congress of Authors, which met at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Saturday, July 2d, 1876.



DIARY OF  
MAJOR ERKURIES BEATTY  
PAYMASTER IN THE WESTERN ARMY  
MAY 15, 1786, TO JUNE 5, 1787  
Part V

*April 19*—In the morning, at daylight passed the 18 mile Islands, passed the other two, and arrived at Fort Finney, at the Rapids, 7 o'clock, making one of the quickest passages that was ever known, when the water was so low; only 93 hours from Fort Harman here, which is upwards of 500 miles. Saw no Indian or any thing to interrupt our passage—found Major Wylls here; commands with Capt Finneys and Zieglers Companies, on a beautiful bank about half a mile above the beginning of the Rapids, on the Indian shore— A very strong defensible fort, built of Block houses and pickets about 90 yards from the margin of the river; beautiful gardens between the fort and the river on the sloping bank, which has afforded salad this some time passed, and pears in blossom; very easily perceive the vegetation much more forward than at Muskingham— The officers appear to be exceeding happy here, having the company frequently of a genteel circle of Ladies, who come over, dance of an evening and stay all night, as the officers have very neat rooms; the men in this country are as in all other new settled countries, no great things, excepting a few characters— Saw Genl Clark, who is still more of a sot than ever, not company scarcely for a beast; his character, which once was so great, is now entirely gone with the people in this country; failed in his expedition

last fall against the Wabash Indians; raised some troops for three years, which he left to Garrison post Vincent, robbed a boat worth a great deal of money to clothe them, and now the troops have all deserted the Post, and he sued for the robbery of the boat. People here say that the goods he took out of the boat amount to upwards of £10,000, and those people who now exclaim against his conduct, converted great part of his property to their own private use. I think the man ruined as well in character as in property—The fort built much in this manner—(*Here follows a blank in ms.*) It is about 3 miles to Clarksville, across the woods, which is a trifling place. Indians killing some few people and stealing a number of horses thro the Kentucke country frequently; exceeding busy all the time I am here, in regulating the accounts. The troops mustered by Major Wylls to January, 1787. Men looked exceeding well on parade, and very healthy. The Colonel intends hiring horses to ride thro the Kentucky country, and meet the barge at Limestone, which Mr Pratt goes in accordingly.

*April 25*—In the morning we started in a great hurry, the Colonel and myself, over to Louisville, and Mr Pratt and the Barge up the river; as our horses were not quite ready detained here some time; saw the genteeler sort of people in numbers coming in from the country, each with a young girl behind them or woman on the same horse (the way of riding in this country), to a great Barbecue on the Island opposite Louisville, and to conclude with a Dance in town in the evening; we got a very polite invitation to attend it some days before, but Colonel

Harmar would not stay; only two officers of the troops stationed here intended to go, for the people and they do not agree very well. Suppose there will be near 100 men and women at this frolick; saw some of the young ladies in town dressed in all their finery for the honor of the treat; some of them middling handsome, rich enough dressed but tawdry. Saw the barbarous custom of Gougeing, practiced between two of the Lower Class of people here; their unvaried way of fighting. When two men quarrel they never have an idea of striking, but immediately seize each other, and fall and twist each others thumbs or fingers into the eye and push it out from the socket till it falls on the cheeks, as one of those men experienced to-day, and was obliged to acknowledge himself beat, altho he was on the top of the other—but he, in his turn, had bit his adversary almost abominably, and frequently they catch each other by the testicles—It chilled my blood with horror to see the unmanly, cruel condition these two men were left in to-day from this manner of fighting, and no person, altho a number stood by, ever attempted to prevent them from thus butchering each other, but all was acknowledged fair play. Soon after our troops came here, one of the officers being in a public house in Louisville, was grossly insulted by one of these Virginia Gouggers, a perfect bully; all the country round stood in awe of him, for he was so dexterous in these matters that he had, in his time, taken out five eyes, bit off two or three noses and ears and spit them in their faces—this fellow our officer was obliged to encounter without side arms or any weapon but his

hands, and the insult could not be got over. The officer knocked him down 3 or 4 times without receiving a blow or striking him when he was down, and would have beat him to death if he could have kept him at arms length, but the fellow getting near without a catching hold of the officer, made a snap at his nose like a wolf and nearly bit it off, the scar of which he will carry all his life—they were then parted. Several other such fracas have happened with our officers and the people here, which latter took every opportunity of insulting them, and now never cross the river without their swords, pocket pistols, or *durkes* under their coats. I dont speak generally of the people, for certainly there are some very genteel families in this country, and treat the officers very politely—was treated very friendly by Mr Lacasagne, who kept store here. Got a very indifferent Beefsteak at Mr Easton's tavern, all the family going to the Barbecue—nothing but Barbecue from one end of the town to the other. Our horses being ready and our canteens filled, set off at 2 o'clock. Major Wyllys and Capt Doyle accompanying us, glad to get clear of the bustle; stopped at Sullivans old station, 6 miles, where we heard that Col Bullet had returned from pursuing the Indians, who had stole horses and fired on some people 2 or 3 days ago, about 10 miles from the rapids. Col. Bullet pursued them near to the mouth of Kentucky river, and more than probable would have overtook them before they crossed the Ohio, but he had only 22 men, and supposed the Indians was 30 or 40, so returned. Kept the main wagon road and went to one Col Moore's,

sheriff of the county, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile to the right hand of the road and 13 miles from Louisville. Staid here all night; much discouraged by every person, as they considered it extremely dangerous to ride thro this country at present, for they say it is full of Indians. Col Moore had a servant boy taken away by them last Monday, within a mile of his house, and 20 or 30 horses were taken from Bullets Lick, 6 or 8 miles from here, about the same time.

*April 27*—Parted with Major Wyllys and Capt Doyle this morning, who returned; did not keep the main road past Bullets lick to Salt River, but a path to the left hand, as they told us the road was most dangerous; came to Salt river to breakfast, about 10 mile; here we were informed of the excellency of Bullets lick for making salt. It at present belongs to Mrs Christian, widow to Colonel Christian, who was killed by the Indians two or three years ago. She rents it to different people in this manner—There are 5 furnaces of kettles, each furnace boils 20 kettles, every kettle holding about 20 gallons of water; these furnaces she rents for 12 Bushels of salt each a week, which brings her in a year 3120, and that will sell in this country for 2 Dollars a bushel in produce or about a dollar and half cash. It takes between 50 & 60 gallons of water to make a gallon of salt, and each of these furnaces boils between 5 & 6 bushels of salt a day, and can get sufficient sale for the whole of it— Crossed Salt River in a flat just where Floyd's fork empties itself, about 80 yards wide; took the Knob-road to the left of the main road, crossed over a pretty high steep hill, stopped at a Mr.

Overalls, a very pretty improved farm, and got some very good water. Here we were informed that Gen Scott's son was killed, a few days ago, by the Indians, in sight of the Generals house, on Kentucky river, near Leestown; fed our horses at one Hopkins', about eleven miles from Salt River— Got to Bardstown, eleven miles further, about 4 o'clock, eat dinner; saw Mr Cape, and set out about 5 o'clock, and rode to a Mr Parker's, 7 or 8 miles, where we put up for the night. As I have described all this route before, when I travelled it last September, shall say very little of it now, except that there are a great number of houses and well improved farms between Louisville and Bardstown, and a number of streams of water which we now cross, scarcely fordable, had very little water in them when I travelled the road before— Unhappily for us, the house to-night was crowded with travellers; one of the handsome girls, which I mentioned at the house before, is married; the handsomest still single, and took a good many airs with the other travellers.

*April 28*—Slept rather uncomfortable last night; started early in the morning, and breakfasted at Wilson's, about 14 miles. Got to old Mrs. Harbison's, about 13 miles farther, where we prevailed upon the Girls to let us have a fowl, which our boy boiled; 4 or 5 dirty girls live here, and what is still worse, they have the itch. God help them— Staid here near 2 hours, and got to Danville a little before dark, 10 miles further.

*April 29*—Saw a good deal of company here; very much disturbed by a Political Club, who met in the room next where we slept, and kept us awake till 12

or 1 o'clock. This club is very commendable in a new country; it is composed of a number of the most respectable people in and near Danville, who meet every Saturday night to discuss politicks. Some pretty good speakers and some tolerable good arguments made use of last night. The dispute was, one side insisted: "That an Act of Assembly was no Law when it did not perfectly agree with the Constitution of the State." It was opposed by the other party, and a very long debate took place— Eat our breakfast here this morning, and set out about 9 o'clock, accompanied by Maj Quick; a very honest, clever Irishman found him to be. Was Major in the Illinois Regt till its dissolution; owns a good deal of property in this country, but lives in Old Virginia, where, I am informed, keeps a very hospitable house; has good acquaintance and interest in this country, and a jolly companion— As Colonel Harmar intended going to see Genl Wilkinson, went down Licks River to its mouth, about 11 miles, where we crossed Kentucky river; a steep, ugly descent to the river, and amazing perpendicular cliffs of rocks on the East shore, suppose 150 or 160 foot high; ferried over the river, and found our passage among the rocks to the top of the hill, and came to Mr Curds, where we received a very pressing invitation to dine, and paid as well for it; about twenty miles from here to Lexington; about 4 miles from Curds turned off the main road to the right, and six or seven miles farther came to Col Crocket's, a friend and relation of Major Quirk's, where we intend staying all night— Col Crocket was a Major in the Virginia Line last war; treated us extremely

kind indeed, a man very much respected and esteemed here; has a most excellent farm, and very well improved—

*April 30*—Slept very comfortable last night, got our breakfast in the morning and set out, accompanied by our friend, the Major, and Col Crocket, the latter having business 5 or 6 mile of the road we are going. Stopped at a very beautiful improved farm 4 miles from Col Crocket's where one Craig lives in an excellent stone house, (the only one I believe in all the settlement) is a Baptist preacher, and all the family very religious; must here remark that a greater part of the people in all this country are Baptists, and opposed to the other part of the community, which has no religion at all, and am informed that these Baptists are a very superstitious, hypocritical set, leading away all the lower class of people, Negroes, Servants, etc. Soon after leaving here Col Crocket left us, and we went on to Lexington, 10 or 12 miles from Col Crocket's—staid here to dine—did not go to Genl Wilkinson's, for Col Crocket told us that the day before yesterday he had left home on his way to Kaskaskais by water. Saw two Indian Prisoner boys here, who were brought from Danville, I think, for a cruel purpose, which was to be hunted by dogs, to teach them to follow Indians hereafter. There is a number of Indian Women and children at Danville, taken prisoners by Col Logan in the Shawness towns last fall, the men were all killed they could catch. Col Logan is much blamed in the country for suffering King Melunthy, of the Shawness, to be killed, after being prisoner some time; but for the other murdering he got credit, altho'

Congress had treated with them and taken them under protection. Had the pleasure of Major Reese, Capt Pierce Butler, Mr Barr and other company, drank some very bad wine indeed. Set out from here about 4 o'clock, accompanied by Mr Barr, Major Reese, and Major Quirks, all pretty well in for it. Mr Barr took us 3 or 4 miles out of our way to see his plantations, and Major Quirks left us with regret, being obliged to return to Louisville on business; got to Bryants Station, 5 or 6 miles from Lexington, a little before dark, when Major Reese and Mr Barr returned. Got in company with a set of those Baptists, who plagued us intolerably with their religion.

*May 1.*—Sick this morning drinking bad wine yesterday. Set out early in the morning and rode 5 miles to Grants Station to Breakfast; soon after leaving Grants overtook about 30 militia and 8 or 10 waggons going to Limestone for some arms, which old Virginia has sent to them for defence of their country; rode 15 miles to McClellans, where we dined, and 15 more to the Blue Licks or Licking river, where we got about sundown. Unhappily for Col Lyons was not at home, but was treated very well by a young man who kept his house; was much disturbed by the militia arriving about 9 o'clock and making a confounded noise. Still boiling salt here in 30 or 40 kettles.

*May 2.*—The militia all up by daylight, and with their usual noise of drinking drams and firing their rifles left us; we breakfasted and set out at half past 8 o'clock, my horse exceeding tired, which obliged the Colonel and me to take turns

in walking. Halted 10 miles from Blue Licks to feed our horses,—no houses between the Blue Licks and the new town called Washington, 18 miles; had to carry corn for our horses; passed the militia again and got to the new town to dinner about 3 o'clock, where we staid some time to let the militia and their waggons get to Limestone, which is only about 5 miles from here, and arrived at Limestone ourselves about 6 o'clock, where much to our satisfaction we found Mr Pratt and the Barge, having arrived here the evening before last. He made one of the quickest passages from the Rapids here that was ever known. It is counted 240 or 250 miles, and he began his tour April 26th, at 10 o'clock in the morning, and got here on the evening of the 30th, in less than five days without the assistance of a sail for 10 miles. Have a much more favorable opinion of Kentucky now, than when I travelled it before, as I saw it then to every disadvantage, such as sickly people, no herbage, little water; which gave everything an unfavorable appearance; now I see it in its greatest perfection, for the hot sun has not yet dried up the waters, nor stagnated or putrified any pools to increase sickness, but in the full bloom of spring every thing has put forth, and the herbage is a foot high throughout all the country. Natural pastures of the finest clover you will travel thro' for days together, and every once and a while refresh yourself at a cooling spring.

The stout, tall Oak, with the shell Bark Hickory, Poplar, Maple, &c., is but the second rate land, but when you see the mighty Black Walnuts, numberless wild Cherry trees, and honey Locust, &c.,

which is very common near Danville, and from Kentucky river on the waters of Elkhorn to Lexington and so beyond, every once and a while with difficulty peeping thro' large cane Brakes, you would think you had got into a second Paradise, and nature left you nothing to wish for. Stock of all kind increase very fast, and there is no necessity for keeping them up or foddering any part of the winter, for even when the snow is on the ground they feast deliciously on the Cane Brakes. It is undoubtedly one of the finest countries for cultivation that ever I saw, but in dry seasons there is very little water, which naturally leads to sickness. At Limestone a few Shawness Indians have come in with five or six prisoners, to exchange for some of theirs at Danville; this business is transacted by the people themselves, who take prisoners and exchange them at pleasure, and if Mr Wolfe (who is chief of the Indians here) don't look sharp, he and his people will be caught in a trap that they won't soon extricate themselves from, and even if the Wolf should escape the snare, some of our innocent sheep will suffer, before he returns to his town, so I dont know which is the worse the Indians or the people of this country.

*May 3*—Col Harmar went over to see the Indians this morning in the Barge, accompanied by Colonels Boon and Patterson, who is about the exchange of prisoners; fetched several of the Indians over to Limestone with us, and a handsome prisoner girl, I suppose about 16 or 17 years old, who has been prisoner a long time; her father met her on the Bank in the most affectionate manner, but she did not know him, nor could she

speak any English, but seemed a good deal surprised when she was told that was her father, and much more dejected when she found she was to be taken from the Indians, perhaps forever— Left Limestone at 10 o'clock, and lay all night at anchor a few miles above the 3d Island from Limestone; perhaps went to-day 25 miles.

*May 4*—Set off early, rowed easy, and reached the mouth of Sciota a little before sundown, where we lay all night— about 35 miles to-day.

*May 5*—Had a very severe storm last night of thunder, lightning, rain and wind. The Barge rode it out tolerable well; we only got a little wet— These kind of storms are frequent on the Ohio river, but seldom last more than 15 or 20 minutes— Water rising to-day a little, and very strong; went about 30 miles.

*May 6*—Middling strong water; passed Great and Little Sandy rivers; about sundown passed the Guyandot, and lay all night about five miles above it— 35 miles to-day, or more.

*May 7*—Got to Great Kenhawa this evening, about 9 o'clock; a hard days row; suppose 35 miles.

*May 8*—Did not leave Kenhawa till 10 o'clock, but it is very still water to the little Falls— Got within 6 or 7 miles of them this evening— Suppose to go to-day 33 or 34 miles—

*May 9*—River rose again yesterday; hard water over the little Falls and above; lay all night a little below Devil Hole Creek— Went to-day 33 or 34 miles.

*May 10*—Started early; halted a few minutes at Bellville, where the Colonel determined to make the garrison, if possible, to-night— The men pulled exceedingly hard all day, and at 11 o'clock at

night reached Fort Harmar—all well—Major Hamtramck has commanded here in the Colonels absence. Hear that the Indians have killed a family on Fish Creek, about two weeks ago, named Sims; also hear that the troops, raising and raised in the Eastern States, are all discharged. Received orders to collect the accounts of the Regt as soon as possible, and proceed to New York, to obtain a settlement for the troops to January 1st, 1787—

*May 15*—Left Fort Harmar 4 o'clock in the afternoon in the Barge, with Major Hamtramck on my way to New York, and arrived at Fort Steuben the 19th, about 8 o'clock in the morning. Met Capt Strong going to Muskinghum. The Indians about a week ago killed one Purdy and his family, within a mile of Wheelin; all the people on the river moved into stations.

*May 24*—Left Fort Steuben early in the morning with Capt Mercer and Mr Schuyler in a boat. Major Hamtramck has got orders from Colonel Harmar to evacuate his garrison immediately, and take his troops to Fort Harmar. Suppose that some of the Regts are going to the Rapids, and more than probable a position will be taken on the Wabash. Arrived at Fort McIntosh this evening, night rather, as I suppose it was 12 or 1 o'clock.

*May 25*—Stayed with Capt Furguson to day and

*May 26*—Rode to Fort Pitt—from unavoidable accidents was prevented leaving here for New York till

*June 5*—In the morning, when I set out; and God send I may succeed in all my wishes, and have a safe return, says

E. BEATTY

DIARY  
OF GOVERNOR SAMUEL WARD  
DELEGATE FROM RHODE ISLAND  
IN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774-1776  
Part I

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—The halo of glory with which the imagination encircles the heads of our forefathers of the American Revolution, excites a tribute of praise that cannot be exaggerated. Such God-fearing, noble men deserve all the grateful homage that we pay to their memories. The purity of motive, the heroic stainlessness of soul that characterized them, should rouse us to an honorable emulation. It is well that such men lived, to transmit such a record of exalted lives to ennoble our ideal of human nature. The patriots who formed the Continental Congress, who chose George Washington for Commander-in-Chief, and defied the arbitrary tyranny of their hitherto loved mother country, were actuated by the noblest purposes. Among their laurelled ranks we find the name of one whose memory Rhode Island cherishes with profound respect and admiration; Governor Samuel Ward of that Colony. This high-minded statesman was born in Newport, R. I., May 27, 1725. The second son of Governor Richard Ward, of an ancient family settled in that Colony; he also claimed descent from the celebrated Roger Williams. Receiving a very thorough education, and residing in Newport until he was twenty years of age, he then removed to Westerly, R. I., married Anna Ray, and established himself in active agricultural and mercantile pursuits, in which he was very

successful. He rapidly rose to prominence and wealth, and numbered among his friends the distinguished philosopher, Benjamin Franklin, who long maintained a correspondence with Samuel Ward's sister-in-law, Catharine Ray. In 1756, Mr. Ward was elected from Westerly to the General Assembly of Rhode Island, and acquired great distinction in that body during the ensuing three years, speedily winning for himself the commanding influence and respect that his noble character and talents deserved. In 1758, during the French war, he was one of the two delegates representing Rhode Island in the Convention, called at Hartford by the Earl of Loudon, to settle the quotas of New England troops. In 1761, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Colony, and in May, 1762, while holding this office, was elected Governor. In 1764, he became one of the original trustees of Rhode Island College, now Brown University, exerting himself actively in its foundation. His son, Lieut. Colonel Samuel Ward, was graduated with high honors in one of its earliest classes. In 1765, he was re-elected Governor, and immediately took a strong stand against the oppressive Stamp Act, as soon as passed by Parliament. The Governors of all the Colonies but one took the oath to enforce this odious measure: "Samuel Ward, 'the Governor of Rhode Island, stood alone in his patriotic refusal,'" say the historians Bancroft and Arnold. Mr. Ward was re-elected Governor the following year, residing in Newport while in office. After the expiration of his third term, he returned to Westerly, where he remained until 1774, closely watching events, and

addressing the most eloquent and patriotic letters to animate his countrymen in the cause of liberty. On the 15th of June, 1774, Samuel Ward and Stephen Hopkins were elected the first delegates from any Colony to the Continental Congress. That remarkable body of patriots met in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. Governor Ward's diary will relate its own story. It will be seen that he constantly presided over Congress, as chairman when in Committee of the Whole, from May 19, 1775, to March 13, 1776. He was a member of the standing Committee of Claims, chairman of the important secret committee, and, in addition, was appointed on a great number of special committees. As chairman of the Committee of the Whole, he reported in favor of electing a General for the Continental forces, June 15, 1775, the choice of Congress unanimously falling on Colonel George Washington, then, as before, a delegate from Virginia, and with whom Governor Ward had become intimately acquainted. What is preserved of their subsequent correspondence is very interesting.

JOHN WARD

*New York City.*

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DIARY—FIRST CONGRESS.—"Arrived in Philadelphia 30th August, 1774, in the evening.—August 31st. In the forenoon the Delegates from South Carolina and some gentlemen of the City came to see me, soon after the Delegates from Boston, New Hampshire and of the City (save those of the town), and the *Farmer* (Mr. John Dickinson), in the



afternoon several gentlemen of the City; Mr. Hopkins and Lady and the Delegates from Connecticut arrived. September 1st. The Delegates from New Jerseys, and two from the Province of New York arrived; conversed with many Delegates, and at evening had a meeting at the New Tavern, and took a list of those present, in all twenty-five.—2d. Four of the Delegates from Virginia, and one from the lower Counties (Delaware) arrived; met in the evening. Bells rang.—3d. The Delegates from Maryland arrived. (Frequent conversations.)—4th. More Delegates from Virginia.—5th. Met at the New Tavern; went to Carpenter's Hall, and, liking the place, agreed to hold the Congress there; took a list of the Delegates, chose the Honorable Peyton Randolph Esq. President, and Mr. Charles Thompson Secretary; read the appointments of the Delegates; considered of the manner of each Colony's voting and rules for regulating the business; but adjourned until ten o'clock to-morrow.—6th. Met at ten o'clock, each Colony to have one vote. No person to speak twice without leave of the Congress. No question of importance to be determined the same day as proposed, unless by consent; To keep the proceedings secret, until it shall be determined to make them public. A Committee to state the rights of the Colonies, the violations, and the means of redress, etc. A Committee to report the Statutes affecting trade. Mr. Duché desired to open by prayer to-morrow at nine o'clock. Use of the library offered and thanks returned. (About two o'clock an account arrived of the troops and fleets cannonading the town of Boston, etc., which occasioned an

adjournment to five o'clock, P. M.,)—Sept. 7th. Mr. Duché read prayers and lessons, and concluded with one of the most sublime, catholic, well-adapted prayers I ever heard. Thanks for it, and presented by Mr. Cushing and Mr. Ward. A Committee of two from each Colony appointed to prepare a statement of the rights of the Colonists, the infringements of those rights and the means of redress. A committee to report what Acts of Parliament affect the trade of the Colonies. (45 members present.) Door keepers appointed.—8th. The Committees met, entered into the subject, and adjourned. Accounts arrived that the news from Boston was not true.—9th. The Committee met, agreed to found our rights upon the laws of Nature, the principles of the English Constitution, and charters and compacts; ordered a Sub-Committee to draw up a Statement of Rights.—10th. Met, added two to the Sub-Committee; which sat, and considered the subject, and adjourned to nine o'clock on Monday.—12th. The Sub-Committee met, made some progress in stating the Rights and adjourned. (Some North Carolina Delegates arrived.)—13th. The Sub-Committee met and went on with the business, and adjourned.—14th. The Sub-Committee met, and reported to the great Committee, who appointed next morning for the consideration of the report. A Sub-Committee appointed to state the infringements of our rights.—15th. The large Committee met, went on with the report, and adjourned.—16th. The large Committee met, resumed the business and adjourned.—17th. The Congress met, considered the

situation and conduct of the County of Suffolk, approved their conduct, and recommended to them to persevere according to their Resolutions, as formed at a late County meeting; and recommended to the several Colonies to continue donations as long as necessary. (Mr. Hopkins sick.)—19th. The Congress met, and resumed the business, and adjourned. The Committee met, resumed the consideration of Rights, and adjourned. (Mr. Hopkins sick.)—20th. The Committee met, resumed etc., and adjourned. (Mr. Hopkins sick.)—21st. The Committee met, resumed, and adjourned. (Mr. Hopkins sick.) Desired a Congress to be held.—22d. The Congress met, made and ordered public a request to the merchants not to import, and also to direct a delay of orders already sent, until the Congress came to resolutions on that point. The Committee met afterwards.—23d. The Committee met and considered grievances, and adjourned.—24th. Congress met, considered rights, grievances, and ways and means, and adjourned.—26th. The Congress met, agreed upon non-importation, and adjourned.—27th. Congress met and considered non-importation and non-exportation.—28th. The Congress met. A plan of union between Great Britain and the Colonies presented by Mr. Galloway, considered, not committed, but ordered to lie on the table.—29th. The Congress met, considered a non-importation of all dutiable goods, and a non-exportation to Great Britain, and adjourned.—30th. The Congress met, went on with Means, etc. October 1st. The Congress met, went on with Ways and Means. A new member from New

York.—3d. The Congress met, considered the Address to the King, and adjourned.—4th. Met, and gave instructions to the Committees for addressing, etc.—5th. Met, and gave another instruction, considered of non-importation.—6th. Met, considered non-importation of some dutied articles, and prohibited it. Non-exportation of particular articles dropped. Received letters by express from Boston, laying before us the distressed state of the town, and desiring our advice. Referred until to-morrow.—7th. Met, and appointed a Committee to write to General Gage; and the Committee of Correspondence considered the instructions to be given the Committee.—8th. Met. The Committee reported a letter to the General, which was recommitted, and reported again at six o'clock. Not being a Quorum from some Colonies, we adjourned.—10th. Met, and gave instructions to the Committee, and approved a letter to Gage.—11th. Met, finished the resolves relative to the Massachusetts, and dismissed the Express.—12th. Met, considered the Bill of Rights.—(That relative to Statutes, and that mentioning our Fathers having not forfeited by emigration, etc., I did not like.)—13th. Met. considered of the right of Parliament to regulate trade. (Mr. Hopkins for some of the modes proposed. I was for none.)—14th. Met, pursued the subject, adopted a plan founded on consent.—15th. Met, considered grievances.—17th. Met, enumerated grievances. Articles of non-importation considered. Mr. Dickinson joined us.—18th. Met, completed the Association, read the memorial to the People of England.—19th.

Met, and read the memorial to the Americans.—20th. Met, considered the memorial, and signed the Association.—21st. Met, entered into several resolves, re-committed the petition to the King.—22d. Met, dismissed the plan for a union, etc., (Mr. Hopkins for the plan, I against it), read several letters, etc.—24th. Met, read, and recommitted the letter to Canada; read the address to the King; gave directions for printing the proceedings.—25th. Met, appointed letters to be written to Georgia, etc., made some resolves, ordered a piece of plate for the Secretary, £50 sterling.—26th. Met, signed the petition to the King, finished the memorial to Canada, and some other matters and rose.—27th. Settled my accounts, etc.—28th. Rainy.—29th. Set out for home, dined in Bristol, at Wyse's, and lodged in Princetown, at one Mr. Hayes'.—30th. Pursued my journey, dined at Woodbridge, at Dawson's, lodged at Elizabethtown, at Graham's.—31st. Pursued my journey, dined at S—, lodged at Kingsbridge, at Caleb Hyatt's, and left my mare there (sadly foundered).—Nov, 1st. Went on, dined at Dr. Haviland's, in Rye, 31 miles from New York, lodged at Quintard's, in Norwalk,—2d. Pursued my journey, dined at Capt. Benjamin's, in Stratford, and lodged at Burr's, in New Haven. The General Assembly sitting approved the proceedings of the Congress, etc.—3d. Pursued my journey, dined at Stone's, in Guilford, and lodged at Parson's, in Lyme.—4th. Pursued my journey, dined at Thomas Allen's, at New London, and got home (at Westerly) at dark.

## QUINIBEQUY

A CHAPTER FROM CHAMPLAIN'S VOYAGES,  
*Translated from the text of 1632, for the Magazine of  
American History*

Skirting the coast to the westward (from Norumbegue) the mountains of Bedabedec were passed, and we perceived the mouth of the river, which large vessels may enter, but within which there are several reefs which must be avoided—the lead in hand—making about eight leagues; hugging the coast to the westward, we passed a number of islands and rocks which jut out a league into the sea, until we came to an island ten leagues distant from Quinibequy, where at its opening there is an island of considerable elevation, which we called the Tortoise, and between this and the main land there are some scattered rocks which are covered at high tide; nevertheless, the sea is seen breaking over them. The island of the Tortoise and the river are south-west and north-north-west. At the mouth of the river there are two islands of equal size which make the channel, one on one side, and one on the other, and about three hundred feet within there are two rocks upon which there is no wood, but only a little grass. We dropped anchor at three hundred feet from the mouth, where there are five or six fathoms of water. I resolved to go up to see the head of the river, and the Savages who lived upon it. After some leagues, our vessel was nearly lost upon a rock which we scraped in our passage. Further on we found two canoes which had come out in pursuit of birds, most of which moult in this season of the year, and can not fly. We hailed

these Savages, who guided us—and going further on, to visit their captain whom they call Manthoumermer, after making seven or eight leagues, we passed by sundry islands, straits and streams which empty into the river, where I saw some fine meadow land: and coasting along an island about four leagues length they brought us to the place where their chief was with twenty-five or thirty savages, who, as soon as he saw that we had cast anchor, came to us in a canoe, a little apart from five others, in which his companions were. Approaching near to our vessel, he made us a speech in which he made us to understand how delighted he was to see us, and that he desired our alliance, and to make peace with their enemies by our help, and saying that the next day he would send word to two other Savage Captains who were in the interior, one named Marchim, and the other Sazinou, chief of the river of Quinibequy.

The next day they guided us, descending the river by a route different from that we had taken, towards a lake; and passing by the island, they left each one an arrow near a head land by which the savages pass, and they believe that if they omit to do this some disaster will happen to them, to which the devil persuades them, as they live in superstition, and do many other things of this kind.

Beyond this headland we passed a very narrow rapid, but not without great difficulty; for although the wind was favorable and fresh, and we filled our sails to the utmost possible extent, yet we were not able to pass it in this way, and were obliged to fasten a hauser to the trees on shore, and all of us to pull upon it. So

what with hard work, and aided by the wind, which was in our favor, we got over. The savages who were with us carried their canoes over land, not being able to pass with their paddles. After passing this rapid we saw some fine meadow land. I was greatly surprised at these rapids, because descending we had found the tide quite favorable, but at the rapids we found it quite the other way, and having passed them it again descended as before, much to our satisfaction.

Pursuing our route we came to the lake which is three or four leagues long, in which there are some islands, and into which descend two rivers, that of Quinibequy, which comes from the north-northeast, and the other from the north-west, by which Marchim and Sazinou were to come, whom having waited for all day and seeing that they did not come we resolved to employ the time. We accordingly raised anchor, and two of the Savages coming with us as our guides, we dropped anchor at the mouth of the river where we caught a quantity of many kinds of excellent fish; our Savages, however, went hunting, but did not return to us. The course by which we descended the said river is much surer and better than that in which we had been before. The island of the Tortoise, which is before the mouth of the said river, is in 44 degrees of latitude, and 19 degrees 4 minutes declination by the compass. About four leagues distant to seaward there are toward the south-east three little islands where the English fish for cod. By this river the country is traversed as far as Quebec. Some fifty leagues north only a land traverse of two leagues after which another little river is

entered, which flows into the great river Saint Laurent. This river of Quinibequy is quite dangerous for vessels a half league up, because of the shallow water, heavy tides, rocks and bottom inside as well as outside. But there is a very good channel if it were well surveyed. The little of the country that I saw on the banks is very poor; nothing but rocks on every side. There are numbers of small oaks, but very little tillable land. This place abounds with fish as is also reported of the other rivers about here. The people live in the same manner as those of our settlement, and we were told that the Savages, who sowed (*le blé d'Inde*) Indian corn, were far in the interior, and that they abandoned doing so on the coast because of their wars with their neighbors who come to carry it off. This is all that I could learn concerning this place, which I believe to be no better than others.

The savages who inhabit this coast are very limited in number. During the winters, during the heaviest snows, they hunt the Elk and other animals, which are their chief food; when the snows are light, it is by no means to their advantage, the more so because they can take none, except by enormous labors, which is the cause of great hardship and suffering to them. When they do not go to the chase they live upon a shell fish, called (*coque*) cockles. They dress themselves in winter in good furs of Beaver and Elk. The women make all the clothes, but not so neatly that the flesh is not visible under the armpits, not knowing enough to make them any better. When they go to the chase, they carry a sort of racket,

twice as large as those used on our side, which they fasten beneath their feet, and thus travel over the snow without sinking in, and all together, women and children, as well as the men, seek the trail of animals; which, having found, they follow until they catch sight of the animal, when they draw upon it with their bows, or kill it with blows from swords inserted in the end of a half pike, which is easy enough, because these animals can not travel over the snow without sinking in; after which the women and children come up and house it and cure it; after which they return to see if they can not find any more.

Sailing along the coast, we came to anchor to the lee of a little island behind the mainland, where we saw more than eighty Savages, who ran along the coast to see us, dancing and showing by signs the pleasure they had. I went to explore an island, where all that I saw was pleasant to view, there being fine oaks and walnut trees, the land cleared, and abundance of vines, which bear fine grapes in the season; they were the first which I had seen on all these coasts, from the "*Cap de la Héve*." We called it the island of Bacchus. The tide being full, we raised anchor, and entered into a little river, which we could not do before, because of a bar in the harbor, on which at low tide there is only a half fathom of water, at high tide a fathom and a half; when within there are three, four, five and six. As we dropped anchor there a number of Savages came down to us to the river bank, and began to dance. Their Captain, whom they called Honemechin, was not with them. He arrived two or three hours later with

two canoes, and made several times the circuit of our vessel. These people shave the hair from the skull quite high up, and the rest, which they wear quite long, they comb and twist behind in many different ways quite neatly with feathers, which they fasten on their heads. They paint their faces in black and red, like the other Savages I have seen. They are an agile people, and their bodies well formed. Their arms are pikes, clubs, bows and arrows, in the ends of which they fasten the tail of a fish called *Signoc*; others are fitted with bones, and others are all wood. They till and cultivate the earth, a thing which we had not before seen. Instead of ploughs, they use an instrument of hard wood, made in the form of a spade. This river the inhabitants of the country call Chouacoet.

I landed to see their tillage on the river bank, and saw their corn, which is (blé d'Inde) Indian corn; they raise it in gardens, sewing three or four grains in one place, after which they gather around them with the scales of the aforesaid *Signoc* a quantity of earth; then three feet distant they sow as much more, and so consecutively. Among this corn at each tuft they plant three or four Brazil beans, which come up of various colors. When they are large, they twine about the aforesaid corn, which grows to the height of five or six feet, and they keep the ground quite free from weeds. We saw there quantities of pumpkins, squash, and (*petum*) tobacco, which they also cultivate. The Indian corn which I saw was then two feet high; there was some three. They sow in May, and harvest in September. As for the beans,

they were beginning to flower, as also the squash and pumpkins. I saw a great quantity of nuts, which are small in size and divided into many quarters. There were none as yet upon the trees, but we found enough on the ground, which had fallen the previous season. There were also abundance of vines, upon which there were fine grapes, of which we made excellent verjuice, and the like of which we had only seen on the isle of Bacchus, distant from this river nearly two leagues. Their fixed habitations, their tillage and the fine trees led me to the opinion that the air is milder and better than where we wintered or elsewhere on the coast. The woods inland are quite open, although full of oak, beech, ash and elm trees. In the water regions there are quantities of willows. The Savages always remain in this spot, and have a great hut, surrounded by palisades made of quite large trees, set the one against the other, to which they withdraw when their enemies make war upon them; and they cover their huts with the bark of the oak. This spot is very pleasant and agreeable as possible; the river, which abounds in fish, is skirted by meadow land. At its mouth there is a little island, where a good fortress could be built, and one would be in security.

#### DESCRIPTION OF NEW ENGLAND

*From the Merchants Map of Commerce. By Lewis Roberts. Fourth Edition. Folio, London, 1700*

The chief Town of *New England*, for Trade, and every other respects, is *Boston*, of late very much enlarged; it hath two Meeting-houses, about a thousand

Families; the building for the generality with Timber, a few with Brick; but most Brick Chimneys: a State house newly erected in the middle of the great street; *Charlestown* is not much increased in building, and hath but a small Trade; *Salem* much increased in buildings and Trade, by reason of the Fish there, and at *Marblehead*, the next neighbours: *Pescataqua* River affords Timber, Pipe-staves, Boards, Masts, as also Fish from *Isle-shoals*, thrive much, and begin to draw a Trade. These are all the most remarkable places, or Sea-Ports for Traffick at present; *Plimouth* Jurisdiction, *Connectacut* Jurisdiction, and all the Towns upon that River, as also *New-Haven* Jurisdiction, and Towns there, afford little else but Provisions, with which they supply this Town of *Boston*, and the *Dutch* at *Manatos*: as indeed all other Island Plantations and Islands do, as *Martin's* Vineyard, *Road* Island, *Long* Island, *Shelter* Island, &c., and so all other Parts and Islands to the Eastward, which are but so many scattered petty places, where people raise only Provisions; of which all that possibly they can spare, is brought by Trading Boats to *Boston*, which is the Centre.

The Governour, as also all other Magistrates, and subordinate officers, are all chosen by the major part of the Free-men annually; but none is made free until first he is a member of some Congregational Church here; for their Religion is Protestantism, indifferent between Independent and Presbyterian; here is no Toleration for Anabaptists, Papists, nor Quakers; nor any such Sectaries that are apt to sow Sedition, or disturb the Peace. But such as will sit down and attend the ways of God, though they join not with

them, may be quiet. But no Children are permitted Baptism, except either the Father, or Mother, or both, be a member of some Congregation. But now of late, if the Grandfather, &c., do present the child, he being a member though the Father and Mother be none, it is accepted.

The chief places for to Ride, Load and Unload, are *Boston*, *Charlestown*, *Salem*, *Pescataqua*, where any Ship of any burden may come.

Here is a Mint set up a few years since, and coins only Silver, 12 d, 6 d, 3 d. which was occasioned by some, who brought many base new *Peru* pieces of Eight; which being discovered, an Act was made against them that they should not go for current payment: So the people into whose hands they were scattered, were hereby necessitated to have them refined, and so coined, which was according to the Standard; and though there was much loss, yet something was saved. *Mexico* and *Sevil* Rials of Eight, pass for five shillings *per* piece, and so the smaller proportionally; in Coinage they will yield 5 s, 3 d, if good, all charge deducted. Now, to carry out above five pounds at a time for necessary expenses; here is no rising or falling of money; If Bullion were brought in and coined, it would turn to account, and purchase the goods of the Countrey, sooner than Goods, and cheaper.

Accounts are kept by Merchants; such as can do it according to the *Italian* manner, and express their moneys by pounds, shillings, pence.

Interest is set by Law, not to exceed eight *per cent per ann.*

Our Weight is according to the *Eng-*

*lish*, 112 to the Hundred *Averdupois*, sixteen ounces to the pound ; Silk, Silver, *Troy* weight.

The dry measure for Corn, Salt, &c., is by the *Winchester* Bushel strik'd ; Coals, Apples, Onions, &c., heapt ; A Boad and Shoes all one measure : Wine, Oyl, and all liquid measure by the Gallon. The long measure is Ell of 45 Inches, and Yard of 36 Inches, as in *England*.

They are not yet come so high as to transport manufactures of their own, for they cannot supply themselves. The Commodities Exported, are Fish, Beef, Pork, Bisket, Flour, some Corn sometimes, Beaver, Musk-skins, Otter-skins, Pipe-staves, Boards, Masts.

All sorts of Forein Commodities will vend here, if such as the Countrey affords will purchase them with the Commodities above exprest, and they are still cloathed with *English* Drapery ; for the colours, the newest are now best in request ; for the quantity, all sorts of course and fine Linnen and Woollen, Shoes, Stockings, Thread, Buttons, and Pedlery Ware ; Silks, Ribonds, Lace, Pewter, Lead, Shot, Powder, Small Artillery ; Mault, Wines, Strong-waters, Oyls, Fruits, Salt, &c., for take notice, we as other Plantations, want almost everything, but the particulars above express'd ; I think scarce a hundred thousand pounds do suffice *per annum*, the *English* in these parts.

Here is as yet no Society begun to encourage Trade ; and the encouragement to manufacture will be of necessity as people grow numerous. Monopoly here is none, only the Trade with the *Indians* for Poultry is committed to a few. Nothing is prohibited but Provisions, which is forfeited if it be landed without License.

For Custom, &c, here is none upon any Commodity, from any parts brought in by Inhabitant or Stranger, either for Importation or Exportation of ought ; only upon Wines and Strong-waters, which pay Importation, Canary, Malago, and Sherry, ten shillings *per Butt* ; *Madira*, *Lisbon* and *Greek*, six shillings eight pence *per Pipe* ; Fial, five shillings *per Pipe* ; all Strong-Waters, forty shillings *per tun*, to make Entry of them before Landing, or else forfeited.

Consolage none ; Factorage, from five to ten *per cent* for sales and returns. No Rate set, but as the Principal and Factor agree ; other charges are Boat-hire, Wharf age, Porterage and Ware-house room.

For Tret, allowance or overplus, &c, is none allowed here yet ; only Custom hath crept upon us in the sale of Sugar to allow for Tare of the Cask, as it is in *London*.

The most of our Negotiation (for want of money) is in a way of bartering, and do agree in what Commodities to pay, and at what rates and time.

Little shipping here, but small Croft, from twenty to eighty and an hundred Tuns ; and most Catches employed to the Western Islands, *Madara*, *Virginia* and *Carribbe* Islands ; few or no Nation but our own frequent here.

The chief Fishing is made dry, Dry Cod, or Poor Jack, which is taken by hook and line in Shallops ; the seasons the Spring and Fall ; the time for lading the Spring Fish, which is the best, is in *June* ; the Fall Fish in *October*, or thereabouts, a little more or less, sold by the Quintal or hundred weight ; price, ordinarily thirty-two, thirty, and twenty-eight Reals *per Quintal*. It is transported by Ships (that do come to buy it)



to *Bilboa*, when we had peace with *Spain*; the refuse Fish and Maycrils go to the Western and *Carribbe* Islands; here is a beginning to make Barrel Cod and Cor-Fish for *France*.

Freight ordinarily, three pounds from *London*; back, three pounds ten shillings, and some Goods four pounds *per* Tun, and 3 l. to 3-l. 10 s. to *Barbado's* and Western Islands little or no Inland carriage.

Here is no discouragement given to any Foreiner to hinder Trade, but many freely come, and behaving themselves civilly, and have as free liberty to sell and buy as any Inhabitant; the more is the pity, I think.

Here is no Office of Assurance, nor scarce any that make any private Contract in that respect; What is that way done, is done in *England* by advice.

Bank here is none, neither are here men capable of it, but were here those of ability and understood it, and resolved upon it, it would draw all the profit of those poor parts into it.

### NOTES

CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF WESTCHESTER CO., N. Y.—The original enlistment papers of a troop of Col. Emmerick's dragoons, enlisted in Westchester County, in 1778 and 1779, were recently shown me by a gentleman resident in that County, to whom they belonged. They are fifty in number, in perfect preservation, printed on a single page of foolscap size, the blanks filled up by the enlisting officer, and are all signed by the respective men;—a minority only making their marks. Immediately fol-

lowing is the certificate of the Justice of the Peace, before whom the enlistment was signed, and the oath of fidelity taken, who in almost every instance was David Oakley—a well known old Westchester name.

The following is a perfect copy of one of the papers, the italics denoting the blanks in the original filled up in writing. "I *Gilbert Lounsbury*, of the County of *Westchester* in *New York Government*, aged 25 years, by trade a carpenter, declare that I am a true and lawful subject to his Majesty King *George the Third*, and that I have no Rupture, nor ever was troubled with Fits; that I am not disabled by lameness or otherwise, and that I have voluntarily inlisted myself to serve his Majesty King *GEORGE* the Third, as a Private *Dragoon* during the present Rebellion or Disturbance in America, in a corps of Provincial Chasseurs, whereof *ANDREAS EMMERICK Esq., is Lt. Col. Commander*, and that I have received the enlisting moneys I agreed for.

Witness my Hand this 10 Day of May, 1877. *Gilbert Lounsbury.*"

"This is to certify that the above-named *Gilbert Lounsbury* came before me, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of *Westchester*, and declared he had voluntarily inlisted himself to serve his Majesty King *GEORGE* the Third, in the above mentioned *Corps of Provincial Chasseurs*, and doth acknowledge to have heard read unto him the Second and Sixth Sections of the Articles of War, against Mutiny and Desertion, and took the oath of Fidelity mentioned in the Articles of War.

Sworn before me, this *first* Day of *August*, 1778.

David Oakley, Justice."

Of the fifty in the annexed list, thirty-four are those of Westchester men, and they are so familiar at this day, that they read like the jury lists published in the White-plains paper now. There is no county in the Union where the old people have stuck to their old homes more closely than in Westchester, and as every family had members on each side in the Revolution, and in many cases on both sides alternately, this fact is not at all singular. As to their occupations they were "husbandmen" and mechanics, the former slightly the more numerous, and their ages varied from seventeen to forty.

There were in the troop, one New York City man, one Long Islander from Queens County, one man from Fairfield, now Bridgeport, in Connecticut, two Pennsylvanians, two Jerseymen, six natives of "Old England," which term was universally used in, and before the Revolution to distinguish Englishmen born in England, from those born in America, for both were "Englishmen," of course, in fact and in law. And there was also one trooper described as "of the Empire of Germany."

The list of the troop is carefully made from the original documents. It is very interesting, and strikingly illustrative of the famous "Neutral Ground" of history, romance, and song. The commander of the troop was Captain Benjamin Ogden, many of the enlistment papers bearing his name endorsed upon them.

*Natives of Westchester.*—Shubal Kniffin, John Brown, Philip Hunt, Jacob Van Tassel, Anthony Beatleburn, Gilbert Lounsbury, Benjamin Golden, Stephen Smith, William Akerly, John Baisley, James Simmons, Jesse Purdy, David

Lyons, Reuben Akerly, Robert Crooker, Joseph McKeel, Shubal Merrit, Gilbert Deane, Stephen Sherwood, Caleb Griffin, William Davenport, Thomas Bird, Abraham Brundige, Thomas Briggs, John Vail, Joseph Sutton, Nehemiah Marshall, Abraham Akerly, Thomas Green, Samuel Cornell, Benjamin Castin, Gilbert Dickinson, John Anderson, Joshua Taylor. *New York City*, Jacob Chappell. *Queens County, L. I.*, Charles Justice. *Connecticut*, Ephraim Seely of Fairfield. *Pennsylvania*, William McCarley of Chester County. Jasper Leesley of Phil. *New Jersey*, Gershom Hilyard of Somerset, Jeremiah Hemsted of Middlesex. "*Old England*," John Hamilton of Cumberland, Richard Rogers of Chester, John Ambler of Yorkshire, John Foster of Staffordshire, John Ellis of Suffolk. *Germany*, Gotfried Fehr.

GUY OF SCARSDALE.

SLAUGHTER OF GREEKS AND ROMANS. Harrison, who was born in 1773, and elected President in 1840, was in one sense a fair representative of the educated men of that day, who drew their sources of inspiration from classic lore. Mr. Webster was asked by him to revise his inaugural. A few hours later, the great orator returned to his quarters at the hotel, heated and fatigued. "Where have you been, Mr. Webster," a gentleman remarked to him, "that you are so disturbed?" "Ah, my friend," said he, "if you but knew how many Greeks and Romans I have slain this day."

The document still retains abundant allusions to the political forms of Rome and Athens, and the names of Cæsar, Octavius, Antony, the elder Brutus, the

Curtii and Decii still survive the massacre. What names Mr. Webster sacrificed in his hecatomb are matter of curious inquiry which only the draft of the inaugural itself can satisfy.

J. A. S.

UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ILLINOIS IN 1764.—We hear that on the 27th of February last, Major Loftus was ordered with the 22d regiment, consisting of about 300 Men, from Mobile, to proceed up the Mississippi and take possession of the Illenois, 500 leagues distant. That he found the Passage up the River very difficult, owing to the Rapidity of the Current, which retarded their March so much that they could scarce proceed Ten Miles a Day. And that on the 20th of March, having only got 70 Leagues up the River, their foremost Boat was attacked by the Indians, and in a few Minutes had six Men killed, and as many wounded. That the other Boats immediately attempted to land but were also very smartly fired upon. That Major Loftus having a few Days before lost 57 Men by Desertion, not knowing the Number of the Enemy, and being then at a Place called Le Roche Davoine, about 400 Leagues from the Illenois, thought it impracticable to fulfill his Orders, therefore returned to Pensacola.—*N. Y. Gazette, May 28, 1764.*

PETERSFIELD.

THE FIRST BORN. *In Dutchess Co., N. Y.*—Died at Poughkeepsie, Mr. William Lawson, aged near 100 years. He was the first born white person in Dutchess Co.—*N. Y. Magazine, August, 1791.*

W. K.

THE TABLET IN INDEPENDENCE HALL.—Since the publication of our last number we have been shown a corrected page of the "Centenary edition" of Mr. Bancroft's History, (III. 519.) which restores the passage giving credit to New York as the originator of the Non-Importation Agreement, as it originally stood in the previous edition of this standard work. We hope that the Committee in charge of Independence Hall will conform the tablet to the historical truth. EDITOR.

OUR NATIONAL FLAG.—General Hamilton calls attention to two inadvertencies in his paper on "Our National Flag," which is the leading article in this number of the Magazine. On page 425, after "Oregon was admitted February 14, 1859," should follow *Kansas January 29, 1861.* On page 427, instead of "There are this day, the Centennial of its adoption, "thirty-six stars in the union of our Flag to be altered to thirty-seven stars July 4, 1877," the phrase should run *thirty seven stars to be altered to thirty-eight.* EDITOR.

## QUERIES

NEW HAVEN CONVENTION 1778.—In 1778 John Cleves Symmes, then Judge of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, was appointed by the General Assembly of that State a Commissioner to go to New Haven to attend a convention of commissioners from other States, to settle the price of various articles of produce. Judge Symmes attended that Convention. Will some one tell us when it was held, what States were represented, who were the delegates, and what was done by the Convention? C. H. W.

INSCRIPTION AT PORTSMOUTH, N. H.—Early explorers and navigators of the eastern shores N. E. States, its bays, estuaries, rivers and creeks, were in the habit of affixing plates of copper to prominent rocks or faces of bluffs, with the date, etc., engraved thereon, for the purpose of calling the attention of others to the fact that the place had been visited. Portsmouth, N. H., a quaint, historical city of the present and the past, has many such bays and creeks, where rock, islet or bluff was so adorned. I wish to ask if any one can tell what became of the copper plate that was attached to the face of a rocky islet in Sagamore Creek, above the bridge and nearly abreast of what was known as Beck's farm, twenty years ago or more perhaps?

Boys visiting this place tore the plate from its fastenings and sold it to a junk dealer in Portsmouth. CLEW GARNETT.

OBSERVANCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S BIRTH DAY.—The birth day of Washington has become a national holiday, and is likely to remain so as long as the Republic lasts. His successor in office, John Adams, was complimented by the citizens of Massachusetts in 1798 by the celebration of his birth day with Military and Civil honors.

It is a curious circumstance that the birth day of Washington was first celebrated on the 11th of February; the eleven additional days required by New Style were added later. This mistake also occurred in regard to that of John Adams; at Newburyport and other places, the festivities were had on the 19th of October, 1798 (O. S.), and at Boston on the 30th of the same month (N. S.).

Are there instances of the public observance of the birth days of any other Presidents of the United States?

W. K.

THE PASSION FLOWER.—In your January number the naming of this sacramental flower is attributed to a German Jesuit, in 1692. Some years ago I became satisfied that that marvelous creation was carried to Europe as early as 1605—presented to Pope Paul V—and received its name from him. A Latin testimony to this effect was shown me by Bishop Henni, of Milwaukee, but I cannot now recall the authority. Will some one near a large library look into early botanical works and publish what he finds?

J. D. B.

## REPLIES

WASHINGTON'S PORTRAITS.—(I. 55) In a work called "Washington and His Masonic Compeers," by Sydney Hayden, Athens, Pa., occurs a steel engraving of Washington. On p. 160 of same work is an account of the portrait from which the engraving is copied. The portrait was taken from life in 1794, by an artist named Williams, and is now in possession of Masonic Lodge No. 22, Alexandria, Virginia, of which lodge the President was a member. Fifty dollars was paid for the portrait. The engraving is a faithful copy, and both it and the portrait are remarkable for their want of resemblance to any other portrait of Washington in existence. If the name "Washington" was not at the bottom of the picture it would never be recognized as the likeness of one whose features are

so indelibly cut on the heart and memory of every American, that hardly any caricature except this one could disguise them. However, it is a historic picture, and prized very highly by the lodge, as the only masonic portrait of Washington ever painted.

H. E. H.

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PORTRAIT OF GOVERNOR GRISWOLD.—(I. 53) The portrait in oil of Governor Roger Griswold, of Connecticut, was painted by Rembrandt Peale, and was in the gallery of that artist, which was subsequently scattered through the country, a portion of the pictures being carried to Boston. Some twenty years ago a cousin of the family, while wandering about the streets of Boston waiting for his ship to sail, encountered what he believed to be the lost portrait in an out of the way picture gallery. Further information is desired. CRISP.

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YANKEE DOODLE.—(I. 390.) The following extract from the *Gentlemen's Magazine* of March, 1783, may be of interest in connection with the query in your last number. "Your readers and the public must remember an object of compassion who used to sing ballads about the streets, and went by the vulgar appellation of *Yankee Doodle*, alluding to a song he sang about London, at the commencement of the American War; his real name was Thomas Poynton." PETERSFIELD.

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ERKURIES BEATTY.—(I. 372.) The "Official Register" of the officers and non-commissioned officers and private soldiers of New Jersey, either regular or militia, does not contain Beatty's name

as having served in any capacity during the War of the Revolution in any New Jersey regiment.

Lieutenant Beatty's date of appointment as 2d Lieutenant in the Pennsylvania line, as given in the "Biographical Sketch" for the Magazine, is correct.

His subsequent commissions and offices are as follows; viz: I. Promoted to be 1st Lieutenant Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Infantry, 2 June, 1778. II. Appointed "Adjutant" of the same and appointment announced by General Washington in General Orders of 17 May, 1780. III. Transferred to Third Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Infantry, 1 January, 1783. IV. Appointed "Regimental Paymaster," Third Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Infantry, 22 May, 1783. V. Appointed Brevet Captain, U. S. A., 30 September, 1783. VI. Honorably mustered out and discharged, 3 November, 1783. VII. Appointed Lieutenant First U. S. Infantry (now Third U. S. Infantry), 12 August, 1784. VIII. Appointed "Regimental Paymaster" First U. S. Infantry in Regimental Orders, dated Fort Harmar, Ohio, 7 August, 1786. IX. Promoted to be Captain, First U. S. Infantry, 29 September, 1789, but continued to act as Regimental Paymaster until 5 June, 1790. X. Promoted to be Major, First U. S. Infantry, 5 March, 1792. XI. Resigned, 27 November, 1792. A. B. G.

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WILLIAM EUSTIS.—(I. 259, 394.) We thank W. K. for his reply in your last number to our Query in April, respecting the resignation of William Eustis as Secretary of War, though we had prev-

iously obtained the same information from an old file of the *National Intelligencer*, which he says "does not support the suggestion of a removal from office, made by G. W. C. in his query." We asked: "What was the date of Eustis' resignation, or removal, as it might more properly be called," fully understanding at the time all the circumstances of his leaving President Madison's cabinet, which we will now give in the words of the Historian of the War of 1812-15; Charles Jared Ingersoll, himself a prominent Democratic Member of Congress, and personally cognizant of the whole matter. He says: "When General Hull's surrender fell upon the executive at Washington like a thunderbolt, the Secretary of War was of course the person most seriously scathed. \* \* \* His sacrifice to public indignation was deemed indispensable, not by the President, but by Members of Congress of his party, particularly the New England Democrats, of whom a self-created deputation waited on Doctor Eustis, and without the slightest hesitation on his part, prevailed on him forthwith manfully to resign." Technically, this was a *resignation*, but virtually a *removal*, dictated by his democratic friends to save the party from the odium brought upon it by Eustis' utter incompetency to perform the functions of his office. Of course the President, while yielding to the necessity of parting with him, said some soft words, and the *National Intelligencer*, the government organ, felt bound, for the peace of the party, to grind out an amiable and conciliatory editorial on the subject.

W. K. further remarks that we were "in error as to the fate of the public

archives." We anadvertently said *all*, instead of *some*, were destroyed in the burning of the Capitol; but W. K. is equally in error in stating that they "were removed to a place of safety before the enemy took possession of Washington." Late in the night preceding the capture of the city, when the enemy was very near, the Secretary of War, by command of the President, directed the removal of "the records," but the order was only partially carried out, as appears by Ingraham's admirable "Sketch of the Events which preceded the Capture of Washington, Aug. 24, 1814." He says, "It is a matter of history, and of lasting reproach to the British nation, that in violation of all the rules of civilized warfare, General Ross proceeded to destroy and lay waste the public buildings, monuments and property, including a valuable library, and some of the archives, in the most wanton manner, involving in their destruction many private dwellings and a great amount of private property." How many valuable documents were then lost may be inferred from the fact that this very resignation of a Cabinet Minister is not to be found in the State or War Departments. On this subject, a high official in Washington, who is himself in charge of most important government papers, writes to us: "The resignation of Eustis was probably burned with the records destroyed by the British when the city was captured."

As W. K. has attempted to correct us, we will return the compliment. He says that on the *thirteenth* of December, 1812, "the War Department was committed to the charge of the Secretary of State." If so, there must have been, for

at least five days, *two* heads to the War Department, as William Eustis officially signed papers on the *eighteenth* of December, 1812. See his letter to General Dearborn, of the 18th; and also of the same date, a communication to the Speaker of the U. S. House of Representatives (State Papers, Military Affairs, Vol. 1, page 327). G. W. C.

### JUNE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Historical Society held its Regular Monthly Meeting on the evening of Tuesday, June 5th, 1877, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D., in the Chair.

After the regular business the Librarian read a memorial of the late John Lothrop Motley, prepared by the Hon. John Jay, at the request of the Executive Committee, and presented the excuses of Mr. Jay for his absence. At the close of the reading Mr. Stevens moved that the memorial be spread upon the minutes, according to the usual custom. Objection being taken to some part of the paper, as implying a reflection upon the Government of the United States in the account given of the retirement of Mr. Motley from the missions of Vienna and London, on motion of Mr. George H. Moore the memorial was referred to the Executive Committee with power, which was accepted by the mover and acceded to by the Society.

The Paper of the evening was then read by Mr. James Parton; the subject, "The Feasts of our Forefathers." The announcement of a reading by this gentleman, who to humor and learning

unites a happy delivery, had drawn to the rooms of the Society a large and appreciative audience. The title of the paper scarcely expressed its full meaning, which was rather an account of the modes of life of our ancestors and the varieties of their food and its preparation by them, than a recital of their feasts. To quaint statement and occasional admirable declamation the orator added a delivery charming in its serenity and apparent unconsciousness of effect upon the audience.

The Society held a special meeting Thursday evening, the 14th of June, to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the Flag of the United States, when Major-General Schuyler Hamilton, the historian of the flag, delivered an address prepared at the request of the Society. The President of the Society, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D., opened the proceedings in a few appropriate words, after which a large number of new members were admitted. General Hamilton then read his Paper, which was received with applause by the large and fashionable audience.

We do not enter here into any detail of this instructive sketch, as it is to be found printed in full as the leading article of this number of the Magazine.

The thanks of the Society were voted to the orator, and the Society adjourned till the first Tuesday of October.

Thus closed a season memorable in the annals of the Society, in its celebration of three important incidents in the history of the City, State and Nation; the battle of Harlem Plains, the adoption of the Constitution of the State and of the Flag of the Union.

(Publishers of Historical works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE BY THE NORTHMEN TO THE END OF THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE UNION OF THE STATES, by WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT and SYDNEY HOWARD GAY. Fully Illustrated. Vol. I. Royal 8vo, pp. 583. SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG & Co., New York, 1876.

A more promising and satisfactory combination of talent than the names of the two authors of this extensive and important work suggest could not be desired. The well-known judgment and classic taste of the senior and the scholarly, pains-taking fidelity of the junior, long experienced in editorial work, were from the beginning guarantees of original, careful and exhaustive treatment. The want of such a history as this, adapted to general use, has been long felt. Our standard histories, by Graham, Hildreth and Bancroft, are all valuable, and their treatment of the civil and military periods leaves little to be desired by the scholar. This, however, is on a different plan, and has the advantage of all the recent discoveries concerning the pre-historic period, which is happily termed the Pre-Columbian period. This treatment, from a scientific point of view, is entirely novel and of extreme interest and value. The style is admirable in its condensed simplicity and easy grace of narrative. A short preface by Mr. Bryant clearly states the "*raison d'être*" of the work.

The first two chapters present all that is known of the early inhabitants of this continent, and some speculations as to their remote antiquity—precedent perhaps to the geological formation of the Pacific range, and even the existence of man on the European continent—pointing not only to the probability of an Asiatic origin of the North American Indian, but further back to a race displaced by their migration. As an introduction to this, there is an excellent summary of European discoveries, and an account of the probable habits of the Lake and Cave dwellers, with illustrations. We may here remark for the information of any of our readers about to visit the Continent of Europe, that there are in the museum at Mayence excellent reproductions in model of the Lacustrine villages of Switzerland, and at Mentona, on the Mediterranean, a huge cave is now in process of excavation, which has contributed numerous proofs of the climatic changes of Southern Europe, and somewhat modified theories as to the habits of its early inhabitants.

The second chapter on the mound builders assumes the entire extinction of this race, and that they were wholly disconnected from the In-

dians of the North American Continent. This account of the mound builders, whose shadowy forms appear behind the Indian of the last three centuries, ascribes to them not only settled agricultural habits, but a high state of knowledge in the arts of construction. It includes descriptions of the copper implements recently discovered in Wisconsin.

Accounts follow of the western migrations of the Northmen and the doubtful traditions of the Welsh bards. The first volume carries the reader through the French, Spanish and English discoveries, closing with the murder of Oldham and the outbreak of the Pequot War. We call special attention to the description of the landing of the Puritans, in which some pretty traditions are discredited, and some new views advanced.

The work is admirably printed, and its illustrations leave nothing to be desired in their profusion and variety. We commend the work without reserve as indispensable to every gentleman's library.

AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, CIVIL, POLITICAL AND MILITARY, FROM ITS EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME, including Historical descriptions of each County in the State, their Towns and Industrial Resources, by WILLIAM H. EGLE, M. D. Royal 8vo, pp. 1180. DEWITT C. GOODRICH & Co., Harrisburg, 1876.

This realizes what the author claims to have been his aim in the preparation of this work—a fair representation of the history, resources, progress and development of the Colonies on the Delaware, of the Province and of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The chapters of general history are admirable in their succinctness and general grasp of the important events from the advent of the Moravian and Jesuit missionaries to the inauguration of Governor Hartranft in January, 1876, when, the author informs us, Pennsylvania had become "the Empire State of the Union—first in population, first in wealth, first in industrial resources, and first in political influence." This is a statement that may find acceptance in Pennsylvania, but probably no where else in the Union. New York has no intention of abdicating as yet. The sceptre of influence and of capital is still in the one cosmopolitan city of the Union, and in no uncertain grasp. That of political power is for the time shared by the Eastern States in combination with Pennsylvania, which have received for



their interests an amount of Government protection, which neither the Western agricultural States nor the commercial seaboard will long endure. The census of 1870 reported the population of New York at 4,382,759, that of Pennsylvania at 3,521,951, a difference not made up assuredly by Pennsylvania increase. In addition, within a radius of fifty miles of New York, there are at least a half million persons whose interests depend directly upon the Metropolis. More than one-half of all the commerce of all the States, as shown by the tables of exports and imports, passes through the city of New York. Time may change these ratios, but there is no evidence of any approaching change at present.

This work is historical in its form. The histories of the counties are fully and well presented. Thorough statistics of the towns are not to be found, nor should they be looked for in a volume of this scope. It is not a Gazetteer. For instance, turning to Milford, in Pike county, we find no record of the French colony, which is a distinctive and interesting feature in this town. The author asks that the volume be considered an "entirety," and we add cheerful testimony to the harmony of its proportions and its value as a book of reference.

OUTLINES OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF MICHIGAN, by JAMES V. CAMPBELL. 8vo, pp. 606. SCHÖBER & Co., Detroit, 1876.

This, originally intended as a sketch for the purposes of the Centennial Committee of Michigan, is a rapid summary of the history of Michigan, and although announced by the author to be imperfect and in no manner exhaustive, is a praiseworthy contribution to the history of the State, which, originally a part of New France, received its popular government in 1826 and 1827, and its chief increase since that period. The poetic period of our history is that of the rivalry between the French and English Colonies for the control of the interior of the Continent; Detroit is the very centre of this region of romance. It was the centre of Indian affairs, and the key of the Lakes. The struggle later for the command of this port was between the Americans and the English, and involved the control of the Northwest. The author recites the efforts at settlement by the Americans and the attempts of the British to check an increase of population, by incitement of the Indians to massacre. The work shows diligent research, good taste in selection, is well written, well printed, and in every way a creditable production.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY. No. 1 of Volume I. 8vo, pp. 116. Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1877.

We extend a cordial welcome to this first issue of a publication by our Pennsylvania friends, to which we wish long life and prosperity. It is admirably printed on excellent paper, and is promised quarterly. The present number contains an interesting diary kept by Robert Morton while Philadelphia was in British occupation; a paper upon Whalley the Regicide, claiming to identify him with Edward Middleton of Virginia, later the Edward Whalley of Maryland, on the faith of a document of the year 1769, which if authenticated beyond question, makes a strong case of presumptive evidence. Among the biographical sketches are seven of those prepared for the Committee on the Restoration of Independence Hall, which were unfortunately so limited by the rules of the Committee as to be of little value, though here and there a new fact of interest may be gleaned. This limitation is the only excuse we can find for such an incomplete statement of the position of New York regarding independence, as we find in the sketch of Henry Wisner, delegate from New York, by Rev. Dr. Bellows. The New York Congress did not give its delegates instructions to vote because *it had no power* to give such instructions, but called the people together to choose a Congress with *that very power*. The first day the new Congress met it adopted the Declaration of Independence, and adopted it while the British fleet, with the largest army ever sent to these shores, lay in the bay. If, as Dr. Bellows says, "the trembling tree of national liberty was in danger from breezes of selfish cowardice or calculating distrust," those breezes did not blow from this quarter.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY, FROM ITS INSTITUTION, JANUARY 24, 1875, TO THE REORGANIZATION UNDER THE GENERAL LAWS OF THE COMMONWEALTH, MARCH 6TH, 1877, together with the Constitution and By-Laws and Certificate of Incorporation. No. I, pp. 89. Published by the Society, Worcester, Mass., 1877.

This admirably printed pamphlet is the first of the publications of this Society, which, though weak in numbers, is strong in purpose. From the seal, in the device of which the Pyramids, the Sphinx, Cleopatra's Needle and other oriental relics find place, we presume that the field of operation is world-wide. The Treasurer's report is a model of conciseness as a financial exhibit.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF MAINE, VOL. II., CONTAINING A DISCOURSE ON WESTERN PLANTING, WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1584, by RICHARD HAKLUYT, with a Preface and an Introduction by LEON-

ARD WOODS, LL. D., late President of Bowdoin College, edited, with Notes in the Appendix, by CHARLES DEANE. Published by the Maine Historical Society, aided by appropriations from the State. 8vo, pp. lxi and 241. JOHN WILSON & SON, Cambridge, 1877.

Our last number contained a prospective review of this discourse of the famous voyager so thorough that no further reference is needed. The Ms. was purchased by Mr. Henry Stevens of London at the sale of Lord Valentia, an Irish peer, from whose possession it passed into the hands of Sir Thomas Phillips. It had been lost sight of for two centuries. The introduction and notes are the most valuable part of this volume, prepared with the scholarly thoroughness and care for which the distinguished gentlemen who edited the volume in friendly association are alike distinguished.

A LIST OF THE COLLECTIONS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. With an account of the organization of the Society and an explanation of its objects. 8vo, pp. 18. Commonwealth Steam Printing House, Topeka, Kansas.

"And still they come." This last addition to the Historical Societies of the country was organized December 13, 1875, at Topeka, and has now its home in the State House. We extend our congratulations, and shall be always glad to hear from our Kansas friends.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LUTHERAN CHURCH IN NEW YORK, by GEORGE P. OCKERSHAUSEN. 8vo, pp. 16. Gettysburg, 1877.

This is a reprint from the Quarterly Review of the Evangelic Lutheran Church, of a paper read the 20th February last, at the Semi-Centennial of the English Lutheran Church of St. James, on East Fifteenth street, near Third Avenue, New York. It is modestly written, and contains some biographical details of the earlier pastors, among whom was the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the "patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America." Why it was printed at Gettysburg does not appear.

COMMEMORATION OF THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK (APRIL 20, 1777). Address by CHARLES O'CONOR, delivered before the New York His-

torical Society at the Academy of Music. May 8, 1877. 8vo, pp. 40. A. D. F. RANDOLPH & Co., New York, 1877.

Of the many addresses called forth by Centennial reminiscences none is more original and striking than that of this veteran legist. Appearing in a scene far different from the forum in which he has won such triumphs and distinction, Mr. O'Connor surprised not only his opponents, but his friends by the independence of his judgment and the novelty of his views. With great simplicity and directness of arrangement and style, he traces in broad, clear lines the political progress of this State. Beginning with the observation that the thirteen colonies were all settled by a monogamous race, he finds in that fact the neglect of any permanent guarantee for the preservation of the pure marital relation in the organic law. To this and the universal assertion of the abstract equality of all men, he traced the basis of our politics and our civilization. He claims that voting is not a private right, but a public duty. He applauds the liberality and comprehensiveness of the then new doctrine of freedom of religious profession and worship—a free church in a free State, as Cavour later formalised the doctrine—and giving honor to whom honor is due, he credits John Jay and George Mason of Virginia for the first recognition of this great principle, in the general acceptance of which we have now special reason to be thankful, when we find all Europe divided into hostile camps, with religious belief as the motive antagonism. Mr. O'Connor advocates the open ballot. This was the custom of our English forefathers, but it is open to the objection that it places the employed under the eye and influence of his employers, and by this destroys independence, which is quite as necessary as intelligence in the exercise of the franchise. He laughs at the idea of a "civil service" which means schools for breeding office-holders. He asks for a restriction of the sessions of legislative bodies; although the legislature is the only check upon executive power; and most radical of all changes, he calls for a single chamber and an abolishment of the Executive, which he would replace with an election by lot monthly of a presiding officer by the single chamber. This is pure democracy, nearly as we find it in the Constitution of old Greece or the French Convention. It is Utopian in its excellent simplicity. That we are tending in that direction is undoubted. The people are gradually but surely sweeping away every obstacle in the way of unrestricted government by themselves—directly by themselves. In another half century Mr. O'Connor's views may find acceptance, and instead of being considered, as now, a theoretic radical, he may be held as a political prophet; but none of this generation will live to see the day.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT GROTON, MASS., JULY 4, 1876, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TOWN, MARCH, 1676, and the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, with an Oration by SAMUEL ABBOT GREEN, M. D. 8vo, pp. 89. Groton, 1876.

A thorough account, full of interest and antiquarian research, of this ancient town, which, founded in 1655, received its name from its first selectman, Mr. Deane Winthrop, son of Governor John Winthrop, in honor of his birth-place in Old England. Groton was burned by the Indians during King Philip's war, and the church, where the celebrated Parson Willard made his first beginnings in the ministry, shared the fortune of the rest of the village, and even its site is now unknown. The settlers did not sleep on a bed of roses in those days. In 1694 Groton was again attacked, and sundry scalps were taken by the savage Abénaquis under Taxons, who was, according to Charlevoix, the Sitting Bull of that period; and there was many another inroad which the learned orator carefully relates from contemporaneous documents.

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE CITY OF NEWTON, ON THE SEVENTEENTH JUNE AND THE FOURTH OF JULY, BY AND UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CITY OF NEWTON. Published by order of the City Council. 8vo, pp. 167. 1876.

After careful examination, we have ascertained that the city of Newton lies in the State of Massachusetts, although we find nothing in the title page, or, for that matter, in the body of the work, to support this assertion. In fact, we doubt whether the word Massachusetts, which even Boston editors occasionally use for information of outsiders, appears in the volume, to indicate the location of Newton within the borders of the old Commonwealth. Indistinct memories of *Nonantum* and college days at Harvard were, however, called up by the sight of the ambitious seal which adorns the title-page, and we found that we were on familiar ground.

The volume is full of interest, including: I. An account of the exercises on the seventeenth of June, of which the chief feature was an address by the graceful orator, Governor Alexander H. Rice, "a Newton boy," who, after a long term of service in the National Congress, now worthily fills the Chair of State in Massachusetts. II. An account of the exercises on the Fourth of July, with the oration by Hon. John C. Park, and III, an appendix, containing a History of the Early Settlement of Newton.

The volume is well printed and full of well-executed photo-lithographic illustrations.

## OBITUARY

### JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY

If an estimate of future fame may be safely drawn from present reputation, that of John Lothrop Motley may be held to be secure. There is no name in the ranks of historic literature which to-day commands more respect and sympathy than his.

Mr. Motley was born at Dorchester, Massachusetts, on the 15th April, 1814. He was descended on both sides from good English stock. He received the rudiments of education at the Boston Latin school, and his preparation for college at the hands of Mr. George Bancroft and the late Dr. Cogswell, then managing the Round Hill Academy at Northampton. Here he no doubt acquired those habits of thorough and original investigation which are indispensable to historic accuracy, and are well-known characteristics of both of these eminent gentlemen. Entering Harvard University at the early age of thirteen, he was graduated in 1831, after which he was sent abroad and pursued his studies at Göttingen and Berlin; after a journey through Southern Europe, he returned to the United States in 1835, and began the study of the law. He was admitted to the Suffolk bar, but finding the practice of the profession too uncongenial to his tastes or temperament, he made some ventures in literary work. We gather from the recent notices published in our press that his first work was a romance, "Morton's Hope, or the Memoirs of a Young Provincial." This work, published at New York, was a mortifying failure, attracting no attention. In 1841 he was appointed Secretary of Legation to St. Petersburg, a post which he relinquished a few months later. His first essay in historical literature was a paper on Peter the Great, which appeared in the *North American Review* for October, 1845. The success of this admirable monograph must have satisfied the young author that history was his true field. In it we find a sample of the qualities which distinguished his later work. The same evidences of exhaustive research; the same clear, compact and often striking style; the same fondness for dramatic scenes and person-drawing (we may so translate the expressive German word *charakterbild*), which is the marked feature of the modern school of history, and in which Motley found examples in Macaulay and Prescott. It is curious to observe how closely the arts and literature sympathize with each other in what may be termed their parallax, vibrating from narrow outline-drawing with meagre detail to the glowing fullness of the realistic school.

In 1849, Mr. Motley published a second novel, "Merry Mount: a Romance of the Massachusetts Colony," which met with no better success than the first. Fortunately for him, he at

this time appears to have come into the favorable notice of Mr. Prescott, who opened to the eager and delighted student the magnificent collections of his own unrivalled library. Here Mr. Motley found not only the material, but the subject; not only the inspiration, but the form for his labor. The story of the pertinacious and successful resistance of the Hollanders to the oppression of Spain, in its dramatic and picturesque incident, was one eminently calculated to impress the fancy of an ardent and ambitious mind. He was now at the age also when history may be best undertaken. Travel and observation and a varied culture added to that fine precision of training, which is the peculiar merit of the Harvard school of education, had fitted him for his vast undertaking. Personally gifted and admired, warmly welcomed as an ornament to any society he sought to enter, and unusually exposed to the allurements of fashionable life, he yet clung pertinaciously to his work, "scorning delights and living laborious days." Governed by the true spirit of historic research, he passed several years abroad on the very spot where the scenes he was to depict had transpired. In the streets of Antwerp and Ghent, of Amsterdam and the Hague, still rich in quaint splendor, he evoked the shades of the actors who were to tread the stage of his historic page. In 1856 the "Rise of the Dutch Republic" made its appearance simultaneously in England and America. It placed him at once in the very front rank of historians. The most important contemporaneous testimony to the value of this work is to be found in a review which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1857. Written by the venerable Guizot, it is certainly an invaluable criticism. Taking for his text Prescott's *History of the Reign of Philip the Second*, published the previous year, and Motley's work, he institutes a comparison between the veteran historian and his youthful emulator treading the same path, which is itself eminently flattering to the younger author. No one will claim for Prescott's latter work, published in his days of infirmity, the matchless grace and mosaic imagery of his earlier histories; but we cannot recognize the justice of a criticism which ascribes to him "an easy, unaffected, though somewhat frigid power of narration," or accord with the judgment which places him "in the historical school of Robertson: judicious rather than profound in its general views, and more remarkable for simplicity than for descriptive power." In contrast with the serenity and tranquility of Prescott, the reviewer says of Motley, that he "has more vehemence—that of a Republican, a Protestant, an honest man, who hates, as though he saw them before his eyes, the outrages inflicted on civil and religious liberty centuries ago in a far country, and lashes with all his heart the authors of these crimes." He considers Mr.

Motley somewhat as we look upon Carlyle or Macaulay, as a hero worshiper—as rather a special pleader and advocate of his hero, William of Orange, than an impartial judge. He does not accord to him the "perfect fairness of Prescott, nor his power of searching the hearts of his enemies for their true motives." Yet he closes with this high praise, that "with their merits and imperfections, the two histories are important works, the result of profound researches, sincere convictions, sound principles and manly sentiments, and do honor to American literature as they would do honor to the literature of any country in the world." Reprinted in English at Amsterdam, it was also translated into Dutch and published there, with an introduction by Van den Brink. German translations were made at Leipsic and Dresden, and a French translation, by Guizot, appeared in Paris in 1859. A Russian translation has since been published. In the pursuit of this labor, Mr. Motley had more than usual good fortune in the cordial welcome and assistance rendered him by the Court at the Hague, the most refined as well as the most hospitable in Europe. The Queen herself took the greatest interest in the progress of the history, which she recognized to be a noble monument to the House of Orange, and gave him apartments in one of the palaces.

In 1860, the second part of the work, entitled the "History of the United Netherlands, from the Death of William the Silent to the Twelve Years Truce, 1609, appeared." The world received this addition with more composure. There was not the same scope for broad handling as in the volumes which displayed the origin and causes from which were welded that iron band which had such tenacity and resistance, but its pages are as glowing and luminous, while the author shows a more serene and even mind and a chaster style.

In the American mind there seems to have always been some vague connection between history and diplomacy as cognate subjects. American diplomacy does not admit of many precedents, and is fortunately confined both here and abroad within very narrow limits; [the greatest feat of American diplomacy that we have read of being the declaration by Congress of its views concerning the French occupation of Mexico, which had so rapid and happy a result.] Nor is this enjoyment of dignified ease by our ambassadors to be regretted, if they will continue to occupy their intervals of leisure creditably and profitably as Irving, Bancroft, Motley and Schuyler have done in their several fields.

Mr. Motley was a life-long friend of Mr. Charles Sumner, who had been graduated from Harvard a year before himself, and with whom his relations were always of a most intimate character. When the occasion came in the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, Mr. Sumner used his personal influence to obtain for his

friend the mission to Vienna, to which he was accredited in November, 1861. Here he passed six years with credit to himself and honor to his country, easily winning by his attractive manners and rare accomplishments the esteem and friendship of the most distinguished men in the literary, diplomatic and social circles of this old aristocratic capital.

In 1867, in consequence of some personal differences with his Government, Mr. Motley resigned his position and returned to the United States. This year also appeared the last two volumes of his *History of the Netherlands*.

On the 16th December, 1868, Mr. Motley delivered the Anniversary Address before the New York Historical Society, his subject being "*Historic Progress and American Democracy*." It was a memorable occasion, the enormous building, the Academy of Music, being literally packed from floor to ceiling by the crowd which thronged to hear him in spite of the severely inclement weather; an evidence of his popularity, and the more striking, as his was a purely literary fame. This address was masterly, chaste and in almost classic chiselling, new in philosophic deduction, and warmed with passages of philanthropic tenderness. It was in this speech that he said that "in England the First Lord of the Treasury is Prime Minister for Her Majesty the Queen. Here the President is Prime Minister for His Majesty the People." In introducing him to the audience, Mr. Hamilton Fish, the President of the Society, said of him "that his name belongs to no single country, and to no single age. As a statesman and diplomatist and patriot, he belongs to America; as a scholar, to the world of letters; as a historian, all ages will claim him as her own." Mr. Verplanck, on moving the vote of thanks, warmly commended the skill with which different periods of history had been contrasted and compared, and the genial and hopeful philosophy which pervaded the sketch; and Mr. Bryant, who seconded the motion, said that "he had made the story of the earlier days of the Dutch Republic as interesting as that of Athens and Sparta, and as having infused into his narrative the generous glow of his own genius."

After the inauguration of General Grant, Mr. Motley was again called upon to represent the country abroad, and was appointed to the Court of St. James. Here his own independence of character, or, as is claimed by others, his strong friendship for Mr. Sumner, brought him into an antagonism with the State Department, which led to his recall in 1870.

Relieved from public service, he again took up his history, accepting an invitation from the Queen of Holland to visit her at the Hague. In 1874 he sent to press "*The Life and Death of John of Barneveld, Advocate of Holland; with a View of the Primary Causes of the Thirty Years' War*."

This work is complete in itself, though the natural sequel of the earlier histories. The Netherlands were the scene of hot turbulence and angry strife during the long period of service of the great statesman, whom the historian claims to have been second to none of his contemporaries; of John of Barneveld, Advocate and Seal Keeper of the Province of Holland. Mr. Motley says that, "if William the Silent was the founder of the United Provinces, Barneveld was the founder of the Commonwealth itself." In the character and trial of the stern Advocate, who had governed Holland for nearly a generation, and now cut off from friends and advisors, awaited judgment and certain execution, Mr. Motley found a theme as capable of strong dramatic effects as he could desire. We know of nothing more striking than the description of the Advocate's confinement in the Binnenhof, or of the manner in which the 'terrible old man' appeared before his judges, leaning upon his staff, his sense of right leading him to dwell with more astonishment upon the possibility that justice could be so perverted than on his own danger. The partiality of the historian of the House of Orange leads him here into no defence or apology for the cruel vindictiveness of the Stadholder. The author holds that even balance which should be the aim of every historian.

It is understood that at the time of his death Mr. Motley was engaged upon a history of the Thirty Years War, which he had selected for the crowning effort of his historic labor. He leaves a field open, with all the benefit to be derived from his own published works, if any be found bold enough to snatch the pen from his fallen hand, and bear it on to fame. Whither shall we turn for his successor? Parkman, fortunate as Prescott or Motley in the choice of an untrodden field, has a life-long labor before him in the romantic story of French colonization.

Mr. Motley died of paralysis at Kingston Russell House, Dorsetshire, the residence of his son-in-law, Mr. Algernon Sheridan, Tuesday, May 29. Another son-in-law, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, M. P., well-known as "*Historicus*" of the *London Times*, is announced as soon to visit America, to collect materials for a life of the distinguished historian. Mr. Motley himself married a sister of Mr. Park Benjamin of New York. Mr. Motley was made Doctor of Laws by Harvard University and the University of the City of New York, and Doctor of Civil Law by Oxford, and was an honorary member of numerous literary and scientific societies, in America, England and on the Continent. In his disappointments, Mr. Motley appealed to the verdict of history for a vindication of his fame. His own histories will be read when ministers and ambassadors shall have passed away, at least from this hemisphere, as unnecessary appendages of the executive system.

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## THE UNIFORMS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY

SEVERAL years since I had occasion to assist Major Francis Duncan, of Her Britannic Majesty's Royal Regiment of Artillery, in preparing his history of that distinguished Corps. Subsequently I undertook to write for the Institute of Officers, at the United States Military Academy, a sketch of the regular American Artillery, in which I had served for several years as an officer. Incidentally, during these researches, I made notes as to "uniforms," and, in response to a request from the N. Y. Historical Society, read to them in November last a paper on the "Uniforms of the American Army," upon which little had been written.

In 1859, the Hon. Charles H. Warren read a short paper before the Massachusetts Historical Society on the origin of the historic "blue and buff" uniform of the Revolutionary Army, in which he said, "many inquiries have been made, with very partial success, as to the time when it was first adopted as a military dress." (Mass. Hist. Proc., 1859, p. 149.) He also remarked that it did not appear this dress had ever been worn by any portion of the British Army, but in this he was mistaken. We know that during the Colonial wars the thirteen British North American provinces raised a large number of volunteer regiments, which were employed against the public enemy.

In 1755, Massachusetts alone had raised 8,000 soldiers, about one-fifth of her able-bodied population. (Patton's History U. S., p. 243.) Baron Dieskau's defeat in that year (September 8, 1755) was wholly due to the Provincials. (IV Bancroft, p. 211.) In the campaign of 1758 Massachusetts raised 6,800 men. Of these, 2,500 served in garrison at Louisburg, and 300 joined Wolfe before Quebec. There were fourteen Provincial regiments, under Maj. Gen. Abercrombie, at Lake George and at Ticonderoga in 1758; the Provincials lost 422 killed, wounded and missing. (6 and 8 July, 1758; *vide* Jour. Prov. Officer, vol. x Hist. Mag. n.

s., p. 113.) In 1759, Massachusetts, says Mr. Bancroft, "sent into the field, to the frontiers and to garrisons, more than 7,000 men, or nearly one-sixth of all who were able to bear arms. Connecticut, which distinguished itself by disproportionate exertions, raised, as in the previous year, 5,000 men. New Jersey, in which the fencible men in time of peace would have been about 15,000, had already lost 1,000 men, and yet voted to raise 1,000 more." General Prideaux's command in taking Fort Niagara consisted of two New York regiments, besides a detachment of royal artillery, and other regulars; and Lord Amherst's command at Ticonderoga had 5,743 regulars and an equal number of Provincials (Bancroft, vol iv, pp. 319, 321, 323.)

The inquiry suggests itself, how were all these Provincial troops uniformed? Many of them, it is believed, were in plain clothes. Others, we know, wore the red coats of the British Army, furnished by the British Government, and in this garb some, if not all the Massachusetts troops, were clothed; particularly those at Louisburg. (Preble's Hist. Flag U. S., p. 132.) Still others were in Provincial uniforms, selected by the Provincial authorities, the prevailing color being blue, except where the troops acted as riflemen or rangers. Thus in the campaign of 1755 the New Jersey regiment of infantry, under Colonel Peter Schuyler, which formed part of Brigadier-General William Shirley's command in the operations against Fort Niagara, was denominated "the Jersey Blues." (Mante's Hist. Late War in America, pp. 29, 30.) We find also the following chronicle made as to the New Jersey troops: "New York City, 15 May, 1758. The New Jersey forces of between eleven and twelve hundred of the likeliest, well set men for the purpose, passed this place for Albany. They were under Col. Johnson, their uniform blue, faced with red, grey stockings and buckskin breeches." (Dunlap's Hist. N. Y., App. W., vol. ii, p. lxvi.) From this undoubtedly came the expression "Jersey blues." The uniform of the Virginia regiment of foot, commanded by Colonel George Washington, in the wars 1756-63, was blue and buff, and this was also the uniform of the first armed associators at Alexandria, of which he acted as Colonel ex-officio, in 1775. (J. F. D. Smyth's Tour in America, ed. 1784; 3d Sparks' Writings of Washington, p. 4.)

In New York we have still earlier record of the "blue uniform." Thus the New York militia artillery company of 1738, commanded by Captain John Waldron, and aggregating 85 officers and men, was called the "blue artillery company." (4 vol. Doc. Hist. N. Y., p. 138.) In 1724, according to Dr. O'Callaghan, a New York City trooper's coat was

scarlet, trimmed with silver lace, but by Act of 3d October, 1739, the color of the coat was changed to blue, and in 1744, and subsequently, the coats and breeches were blue, with gilt or brass buttons, scarlet waistcoats and hats, laced with silver or gold lace. (3d vol. Hist. Mag. n. s., p. 176.) In 1772-3, the uniforms of the battalion of independent foot companies of militia, under Colonel John Lasher, in New York City, were as follows (viii vol. Doc. Relating to Col. Hist. N. Y., p. 601): "Grenadier Co.—Uniform: blue, with red facings. Fusileers—blue, with red facings, bearskin caps. A brass plate on their caps, with the words, "Fusileers" and "*salus populi suprema lex.*" *The German Fusileers*, under Captain Sebastian Bauman, who subsequently commanded the battalion of artillery retained in service at the close of the Revolution, had a blue uniform, with red facings, silver lace, bearskin caps, and white plates, with the words, "German Fusileers." "*The Union*" was another company whose uniform was blue, with red facings, as also the "Light Infantry Company" and "Oswego Rangers"—the latter having small round hats, with brass plate against the crown, inscribed with the words, "Oswego Rangers." All had white underclothes, black half-gaiters and black garters. In addition to these, were the "Bold Forresters," whose uniform was a short green coat, small round hat, looped up at the side, and the word "Freedom" on a brass plate in front. The "Sportsman's Company," "Corsicans" and "Rangers" also had green coats with crimson or buff facings. Colonel Lasher's Battalion, as the "1st New York regiment of militia," fought gallantly at the battle of Long Island, 27th August, 1776. The 1st Company New York Militia Artillery had in 1772 (December 5) a uniform, which subsequently became the uniform of the regular American Artillery, viz.: "Dark blue, with red facings and red linings, white underclothes, black half-gaiters and garters."

Other provinces also had military organizations. Thus in Boston, Mass., were the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Co. of 1638, the "Governor's Corps of Cadets" of 1741, of which John Hancock was at one time the Colonel; the "Boston Train of Artillery," or Paddock's Artillery Company of 1763, whence subsequently came Colonels John Crane, Ebenezer Stevens, Henry Burbeck, and many other skillful artillery officers, and the "Boston Grenadier Company" of 1772, of which Maj.-Gen. Henry Knox was the Lieutenant. Rhode Island had its "Newport Artillery Company" of 1741, and its "United Train of Artillery" of 1774. Connecticut had its "First Company of Governor's Foot Guards" of 1771, uniformed in scarlet coats, turned up with black, buff cassimere waistcoats and breeches, and bearskin hats, and the "Second Company



Governor's Foot Guards" of 1774, uniformed in scarlet coats, with buff lappels, cuffs and collars, plain silver-washed buttons, white vests, breeches and stockings, black half-leggings and ruffled shirts. In Pennsylvania was the "First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry or Light Horse" of 1774 (still in existence), which participated in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and wore dark brown short coats, faced and lined with white, white vests and breeches, high top boots, round black hats, bound with silver cord and a buck's tail; housings brown edged with white, and the letters L. H. worked on them; white belts, sword and carbine. (*vide*. Hist. Mass. Soc. Cincinnati. xiv vol. Army and Navy Jour. pp. 284, 316, 332, 348, 364, 380.) On 20 June, 1775, Washington reviewed in Philadelphia the three battalions of that city, together with the Artillery Company and City Troop. The Light Infantry Company of the first battalion, Colonel John Dickinson, is reported to have been uniformed in light blue and buff. (Potter's Amer. Monthly Mag., vol. vi, p. 32.)

Eventually, after the Revolutionary war had progressed for several years, *blue* became the prescribed color for the coats of the American Army. That it became the distinctive color of the American Army was undoubtedly due to the fact that it had always been the insignia of the Whigs, the Covenanters having adopted that color from the history of the ancient Israelites, who were enjoined to put upon the fringe of their garments a ribbon of blue. (Numbers xv, v. 8. 2d Laing, p. 105. Highmore's Hist. London Artillery Company, p. 108.)

According to Lord Macaulay, the appellation "Whig" is of Scotch origin, and was fastened on the Presbyterian zealots of Scotland, and transferred to those English politicians who showed a disposition to oppose the Court and treat Protestant non-conformists with indulgence. (I Macauley's Hist. Eng., p. 202.) During the English Civil War, the field of the "Long Parliament" flag was blue. Under the "Protectorate," says Commodore Preble, "we find a blue flag in use, bearing in the field the two shields of England and Ireland." Early in the Revolutionary War a flag, nearly resembling the "Long Parliament" flag, appears to have been used. In the battle of Long Island, however, the flag captured by the Hessian regiment Rall was of red damask, with the word "Liberty" upon it. This may have been a regimental color. (Hessian Narrative, ii vol. L. I. Hist. Soc. Mem., p. 437.) During the English Civil War the colors or flags were principally red for the Royalists, orange for the Parliamentarians, and blue for the Scotch. (Com. George H. Preble's Hist. U. S. Flag, pp. 118-133.) Orange or buff was also a Holland or Netherland insignia, and also dark blue. The

third regiment of foot in the British Army, commonly termed the "Bufs," or Holland Regiment, was raised in 1572 for service in that country, and had a red coat, with buff facings, buff waistcoats, buff breeches, and buff colored stockings. The particular shade of dark blue prescribed as the "Regulation" color for the coats of the American Army, had, towards the close of the last century, the distinctive appellation of "Dutch blue," as appears from a number of bills in my possession, rendered to regular artillery officers by fashionable Philadelphia tailors of the period. The regiment of Royal Horse Guards or "blues," raised by Charles II., wore a blue uniform with red facings, yellow bindings on their hats and buff belts. (Capt. Packe's Hist. Royal Horse Guards, pp. 32-37. Royal Warrant, 26 Jan., 1661.)

When King William III.'s Master General of the Ordnance, the Duke de Schomberg, was about to set sail from Chester for Ireland to meet the Irish forces of King James II., he issued a warrant in 1689, prescribing that the Royal Regiment of Artillery should have "blue coats, lined with orange. and brass buttons, and that their hats should be bound with the same color. Also that the drivers or carters in the regiment should wear grey coats, faced with orange." (I Duncan's Hist. Royal Artillery, p. 59.) Blue and buff, therefore, being the insignia of the Whigs in Great Britain, and typical of the British struggles for constitutional liberty, naturally became the colors of the Whig party in America. (Albemarle's Memoirs of Rockingham, ii, 276.)

It is not to be supposed, however, that these became at once the prevailing or principal colors in the American service. On the contrary, we know, either from the narrations of our ancestors, who were there, or from contemporary report, that at the affairs of Lexington and Concord the Provincials were without uniform. As to "Bunker Hill," Maj. General Henry Dearborn, subsequently Secretary of War, and General-in-Chief, who commanded the right company in Colonel John Stark's New Hampshire regiment, as captain, has said that, "Not an officer or soldier of the Continental troops *engaged* was in uniform, but were in the plain and ordinary dress of citizens." (VIII Hist. Mag., p. 272.)

(No statute or regulation can be found in Virginia, or New Jersey, or Massachusetts, prescribing the dress of their troops. (Mr. Warren in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1859, p. 150; Adj. Gen. Stryker, N. J., 31 Oct., 1876.) The enlisted men of the 1st Virginia Regiment of Infantry were, however, in the year 1775 uniformed at their own expense in hunting shirts, leggings, and with bindings on their hats. (Lt. Col. Christian to Va. Convention, 19 Dec., 1775, IV Amer. Arch., 4th series, p. 92.) The

5th Regiment South Carolina Riflemen was similarly uniformed. (S. C. Prov. Cong., 22 February, 1776).

On this subject, a curious fact was related, before the Massachusetts Historical Society, by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, relative to Washington, when a delegate to the 2d Continental Congress, which organized in Philadelphia, 10th May, 1775. Immediately after that body met, the official accounts of the affairs of Lexington and Concord were laid before it (Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., June, 1858, p. 70): "The next thing we know of Washington," said Mr. Adams, "is that he is attending the meetings, dressed in a military uniform, and giving useful advice on all military questions. This fact, which only comes down to us incidentally through an allusion to it in a letter of John Adams to his wife, had ever struck the speaker (Mr. C. F. Adams) with great force, as developing the state of feeling of Washington at this period; for, it should be remembered, that he was not at the time acting in any military capacity; neither does it appear what was the uniform he wore—probably that of a Colonel of Virginia Militia. Certainly, the attendance of any member of a deliberative body, dressed in uniform, would be regarded as startling at this day. Mr. Adams said he had always construed this as Washington's way of announcing that his mind was made up, and that he was ready to take his place in the ranks in any capacity to which his country should call him." A few days later he was elected General and Commander-in-Chief of the American Army, and arrived at Cambridge 2d July, 1775.

Dr. Thatcher, in his Military Journal for the 20th of that month, says that Washington's dress was a blue coat, with buff-colored facings, buff underdress, &c. Twelve days after his arrival at Headquarters, Cambridge, he issued the following order on the subject of uniforms: "To prevent mistakes, the General officers and their aides-de-camp will be distinguished in the following manner: The Commander-in-Chief by a light blue ribband, worn across his breast, between his coat and waistcoat. The Majors and Brigadiers General, by a pink ribband, worn in like manner. The aides-de-camp, by a green ribband." (General Orders Hdqrs., Cambridge, 14th July, 1775.) A few days later, this General Order was followed by another, which was as follows: "As the Continental Army have unfortunately no uniforms, and consequently many inconveniences must arise from not being able always to distinguish the commissioned officers from the non-commissioned, and the non-commissioned from the privates, it is desired that some badges of distinction may be immediately provided; for instance, that the field officers may have red or pink

colored cockades in their hats; the captains, yellow or buff, and the subalterns, green. They are to furnish themselves accordingly. The sergeants may be distinguished by an epaulette or stripe of red cloth sewed upon their right shoulder; the corporals by one of green." \* \* \*

(General Orders Hdqrs., Cambridge, 23 July, 1775.) On the next day he issued an additional General Order, as follows; "It being thought proper to distinguish the Majors from the Brigadiers General by some particular mark, for the future the Majors General will wear a broad *purple* ribband." (General Orders Hdqrs., Cambridge, 24 July, 1775.) He also urged the officers "to put themselves in proper uniform." (General Orders Hdqrs., Cambridge, 11 Dec., 1775, and 5 Jan., 1776.)

Two portraits of Washington represent him with this light blue ribband, viz.: the one intended for the Stadtholder of Holland, and captured en route by Captain Keppel of the British Navy in 1780, and the other, which was painted for Louis XVI. of France.

From these arose the statement, even very recently repeated, that Washington was a Marshal of France, because he commanded the French forces in this country under the Count de Rochambeau. To this it is sufficient to say; 1st, that a garter blue ribbon was *not* the badge of a Marshal of France; 2d, that Washington commanded the French according to the pre-arranged understanding; and 3d, because he held the commission of "General and Commander-in-Chief," while Rochambeau was only a Lieutenant-General.] His Aids-de-Camp, certainly as early as the winter of 1777-8, wore the same blue and buff as their Chief. (Correspondence of Col. John Laurens, A. D. C., 9 February, 1778, p. 120.) 7

In November, 1775, Congress, after having obtained the views of the New England Governors and of Washington, resolved, 4th November, that the clothing for the army be paid for by stoppages out of the men's pay; "that it be dyed brown, and the distinctions of regiments made in the facings." "Brown," therefore, for the time being, became the regulation color, and Washington ordered the Colonels upon the new establishment "to settle as soon as possible with the Quartermaster-General the uniform of their respective regiments, that the buttons may be properly marked, and the work finished without delay." (General Orders Hdqrs., Cambridge, 13 Nov., 1775; I. J. Greenwood, p. 32, VI Vol. Potter's Amer. Monthly.)

Connecticut in the following year undertook to uniform her regiments in brown, instead of the scarlet formerly worn by the troops of that province. (I Amer. Arch., 5th series, p. 455.) In June, 1775, the

New York Provincial Congress (28 June) directed the State Commissary (Col. Peter T. Curtenius) to purchase for the four New York infantry regiments, then raising, sufficient cloth to make 712 short coats; for each, as follows: "1st. Coarse blue broad cloth with crimson cuffs and facings. 2d. Light brown coarse broad cloth with blue cuffs and facings. 3d. Grey coarse broad cloth with green cuffs and facings. 4th. Dark brown coarse broad cloth with scarlet cuffs and facings."

As New York raised other regiments, the Provincial Congress directed that the coats of each regiment be made with different facings, as in the British Army. (Res. 4 July, 1775; II Vol. 4th series Amer. Arch., pp. 1329, 1334, 1338.) General Washington had been in New York, on his way to Cambridge, on 25 June, 1775, and undoubtedly then wore his uniform of blue and buff. In the Journals of the New York Committee of Safety for 16th July, 1775, appears a letter from Captain John Lamb, commanding the New York Artillery Company, Continental Army, in which he requests that their clothing may be "blue with buff cuffs and facings." The Committee accordingly ordered "that their clothing be blue, faced with buff." (II Vol., 4th series, Amer. Arch., p. 1791.) This is the first instance of any "Revolutionary" troops being uniformed in the old Whig Royal Artillery uniform of William and Mary's reign. Captain Lamb's company did gallant service, and suffered severely, at Quebec, under Brigadier-General Montgomery.

We have now arrived at the year 1776. In the month of January (6th January, 1776) a second artillery company was ordered to be raised by the New York Provincial Congress, to which Alexander Hamilton was subsequently appointed Captain. This company, with many vicissitudes of consolidation and incorporation, still exists as a foot battery [F] in the 4th U. S. Artillery, being the oldest living unit of organization in the regular army. In March (4th March, 1776), the New York Provincial Congress ordered it to be furnished with sufficient coarse blue cloth to make a coat for each man, the expense to be deducted from his pay. Whether the facings were red or buff, the record does not indicate, but it is quite probable they were red, as being the color heretofore of the Provincial Artillery companies. Alexander Hamilton was not appointed its captain until ten days later.

As other regiments were raising in New York than the first four, and as there was a great scarcity of the proper cloth to make the uniforms of, the State Commissary was directed by the New York Committee of Safety (26 March, 1776) to provide frocks of the most proper cloth he may be able to procure; and as a firm in Albany had just imported from

Canada a sufficient quantity of woolen cloth, blue, grey and brown, to clothe two regiments, he was enabled (by the Albany Com., 11th April, 1776) to procure enough for that purpose. (V Amer. Arch., 4 series, p. 857; Res. N. Y. Prov. Cong., 24 June, 1776; I Amer. Arch., 5 series, p. 203.) It is, therefore, evident that in the years 1775 and 1776 the regiments of the New York Line were respectively clothed in blue, brown or grey broad-cloth.

At this time Colonel Anthony Wayne was in New York City, with three companies of his regiment, the 4th Pennsylvania, aggregating 234 men, the remainder being in Philadelphia. (Res. U. S. Cong., 20 Feb., 1776.) The fear that the British on evacuating Boston would proceed directly to New York had hastened their arrival. The Colonel's letter (of 26 April, 1776) to John Hancock, President of Congress, graphically depicts the condition of his men. Said he: "The three companies that are here were obliged to march without a single waistcoat, and but one shirt per man, and *most of them too small*, although made of the worst linen." Very possibly the efforts of the 200 Pennsylvanians to get into their solitary, but too small, shoddy shirts, gave rise to *some* of that profanity against which Washington soon had to issue such pointed General Orders. (G. O. Army Hdqrs., N. Y., 3d Aug., 1776; "New England troops did not formerly swear." *vide*. Brig. Orders—Parsons,—West Point, 30 July, 1779.)

In July, 1776, from his Head-quarters in New York, Washington issued the following General Orders (G. O. Hdqrs., N. Y., 24 July, 1776):

The General, being sensible of the difficulty and expense of providing clothes, of almost every kind, for the troops, feels an unwillingness to recommend, much more to order, any kind of uniform; but as it is absolutely necessary that men should have clothes, and appear decent and tight, he earnestly encourages the use of hunting shirts with long breeches made of the same cloth, gaiter fashion about the legs, to all those yet unprovided. No dress can be had cheaper or more convenient, as the wearer may be cool in warm weather and warm in cool weather, by putting on under clothes, which will not change the outward dress, winter or summer; besides, it is a dress justly supposed to carry no small terror to the enemy, who think every such person a complete marksman."

This may be set down as the date of introduction of the modern trouser or pantaloon; because the troops from that time forth, with exceptional instances, wore the overall, which came down over the shoe, with a strap underneath, and buttoned at the ankle with four buttons. In a

campaigning country like America, the British soon saw the advantage of this garment and adopted it for that service. They also imitated the Americans in the two rank formation instead of three—a tactical arrangement which subsequently became general. (Tactics by Lt. Col. Wm. Dalrymple, Queen's Royal Regiment, Ed. 1782, pp. 9-11.)

In the battles of Long Island and White Plains, and the affair of Harlem Heights, the Americans were almost wholly without uniforms, except the New York and Maryland troops, the Delaware regiment, and some of Pennsylvania—the officers being alone distinguished from their men by the colored cockades of their grades, and the riflemen by a white band on the arm. (General Orders, Harlem Heights, 8 Oct., 1776) As the Hessian uniform was dark blue, with red facings, and as the Delaware regiment of Continental infantry, under Colonel John Haslet, was in the same uniform, a small British detachment was captured in the action of the 27th August, in consequence of mistaking the Delawares for the Hessians. (II Vol. Memoirs Long Island Hist. Society, p. 180.; Captain Robert Johnson's [Recruiting Officer, 1 N. Y. Regt.] advertisements in Gaines' N. Y. *Gazette*, 26 Sep., 1776: "N. Y. soldiers in dark or light blue, grey or brown, faced with green;" John Sullivan Martin's statement in II Vol. L. I. Hist. Memoirs, p. 509; Memoirs of Capt. Alex. Graydon, 5th Pa., p. 147; Capt. Sam'l Gilbert's [Col. Prescott's 7th Mass.] advertisement in *Continental Gazette*, 12 July, 1776; Capt. Andrew Peters, of Col. Jos. Read's 13th Foot, in *Continental Gazette*, 1 June, 1776; Capt. Benjamin Gates, in Col. Jonathan Hotman's Mass. Infantry, *Continental Gazette*, 21 August, 1776; Capt. Jan. L. DeWitt's, of Colonel Johannes Hardenberg's N. Y. Regiment, at Greenwich, *Continental Gazette*, 24 July, 1776; Capt. Jas. Robison, of Col. Johannes Hardenberg's Regiment, at Greenwich, *Continental Gazette*, 21 August, 1776; IV Vol. Hist. Mag., p. 344: Mass. advertisement for supply of clothing.

Captain Graydon, in his Memoirs, has left us a sketch of the Connecticut Light Horse, who came to New York City for a tour of service in July, 1776. He says they consisted of a considerable number of old-fashioned men, probably farmers and heads of families, as they were generally middle-aged, and many of them apparently beyond the meridian of life. \* \* \* Instead of carbines, they generally carried fowling-pieces, some of them very long, and such as in Pennsylvania are used for shooting ducks. Here and there one, "his youthful garments, well saved," appeared in a dingy regimental of scarlet, with a triangular, tarnished, laced hat (p. 155). The newspaper of the day said: "Some of these worthy soldiers assisted in their present uniforms at the first

reduction of Louisburg, and their 'lank, lean cheeks, and war worn coats,' are viewed with more veneration by their honest countrymen than if they were glittering Nabobs from India, or Bashaws with nine tails." (*N. Y. Packet*, 11 July, 1776.)

It appears that the State of Connecticut early in 1776 sent to Colonel Jedediah Huntington's regiment red coats which had been on hand and belonged to the Colony. Whether they were worn at the battle of Long Island, it is impossible to determine. The 1st, 2d and 3d New Jersey Continental regiments of infantry, respectively commanded by Lieut.-Colonel William Winds, and Colonels William Maxwell and Elias Dayton, were this year in the Northern Army, under Major-General Horatio Gates, and wore the New Jersey Provincial dark blue uniforms, although not the only troops in that command thus uniformed. (G. O. Hdqrs., Ticonderoga, 21 August, 1776.)

In the court-martial records of the period, we find that an infantry Lieutenant was tried "for assuming the rank of a Captain—wearing a yellow cockade, and mounting guard in that capacity." (G. O. Hdqrs., N. Y., 15 August, 1776, Lieut. Jacob Holcomb's case, Col. Philip Johnson's New Jersey Regiment Militia.)

Captain Graydon, 5th Pennsylvania, in his memoirs, says that the officers of Smallwood's gallant Maryland battalion "exhibited a martial appearance by a uniform of scarlet and buff, which, by the bye," says he, "savored somewhat of a servility of imitation, not fully according with the independence we had assumed" (p. 180). At the capture of Fort Washington Captain Graydon was taken prisoner, and confined in the barn of Colonel Morris' house, more recently known as the late Madame Jumel's. "Here," says he, "were men and officers of all descriptions, regulars and militia troops, Continental and State, some in uniforms, some without them, and some in hunting shirts, the mortal aversion of a red coat." (p. 207. See also Deposition Priv. Wm. Darlington of Captain Wallace's Company, Pa. Flying Camp, 15 December, 1776, III Amer. Arch., 5 series, p. 1234.)

The uniform of Washington's Guard, commanded by Captain Caleb Gibbs, was in June, 1776 (it having been formed 12th March, 1776—G. O. Hdqrs., Cambridge, 11 March, 1776), a blue coat, faced with buff, red waistcoat, buckskin breeches, and black felt hat, bound with white tape. The bayonet and body belts were also white. (Gaines' *N. Y. Gazette*, 17 June, 1776.)

A deserter from Capt. William Kelly's company, riflemen, at Bergen, had on a short red coat and striped trousers. (Gaines' *N. Y. Gazette*



and *Weekly Mercury*, 17 June, 1776.) Another deserter from the 5th Regiment New Jersey Militia (Capt. George Anderson's company, Colonel Silas Newcombe's Regiment) had on an old wool hat, bound with yellow binding, a coarse, blue short coat, no under jacket, old leather breeches, light blue stockings, and, according to the advertisement, pretty good shoes and brass buckles. (Hugh Gaines' *N. Y. Gazette*, 29 July, 1776.)

Captain Moses Rawling's company of Maryland riflemen wore green hunting shirts, and leggings to match. (*Constitutional Gazette*, 12 June, 1776.) These riflemen, like Colonel Daniel Morgan's 11th Virginia, whose uniform was white, had long smock-frocks or shirts of thick linen cloth or woolen, with furbelows, or ruffled strips of the same material around the neck, on the shoulders, at the elbows, and about the wrists; a broad, white belt over the left shoulder for the cartridge box; a black stock; hair in a cue; and a broad brimmed, round topped, black hat; leggings reaching to the shoe.

In 1776, New York appears to have had some of the best uniformed regular troops. (II Amer. Arch., 5 series, p. 1135.)

There was no uniformity, however, in colors or facings. In the Pennsylvania regiments of the Continental line, the 1st Pennsylvania Infantry had brown coats, faced with buff (Col. John Philip De Haas); 2d Pennsylvania, blue coats, faced with red; round black hats, black ferreting or binding (Col. Arthur St. Clair); 3d Pennsylvania, brown regimental coats, white facings, pewter buttons with No. 3 upon them; black cocked hats, with white tape binding, and buckskin breeches (Col. John Shee); 4th Pennsylvania, blue regimental coats, white facings (Col. Anthony Wayne); 5th Pennsylvania, blue regimental coats, with white facings (Col. Robt. Magaw); 6th Pennsylvania, blue regimental coats, with red facings (Col. Wm. Irvine).

Some of the militia riflemen who fought at Long Island and White Plains had black hunting shirts; others white, and still others, yellow, green or blue. (IV Hist. Mag., p. 352.)

According to an official return rendered in December, 1776, the first Continental regiment Light Dragoons, which had been raised in different parts of Virginia, marched to join General Washington, having some of its companies uniformed in blue coats, faced with red, and others in brown coats, faced with green. All, however, had leather breeches. (III Vol. Amer. Arch., 5 series, p. 1270.)

During the war this regiment was successively commanded by Colonels Theodoric Bland and Anthony Walton White.

So great became the need of clothing, during the retreat across the Jerseys in December, 1776, that the *charitably* disposed citizens of Philadelphia were appealed to to furnish their *old and cast-off* clothing for the American Army, which was duly distributed by General Washington before the battle of Trenton. (III Amer. Arch., 5 series, pp. 1245-1271.)

The regiment of artillery commanded by Colonel Henry Knox had at this time no uniform, each enlisted man being in the garb which he probably wore on enlistment. (*vide*. advertisements of deserters, Gaines' *N. Y. Gazette*, 17 June, 1776.)

In 1777, and subsequently, the uniform for the four regular regiments constituting the Corps of Artillery was a blue or black coat, reaching to the knee, and full trimmed, lappels fastened back, with ten open-worked button holes in yellow silk on the breast of each lappel, and ten large regimental yellow buttons, at equal distances, on each side; three large yellow regimental buttons on each cuff, and a like number on each pocket flap. The skirts to hook back, showing the red lining; bottom of coat cut square, red lappels, cuff linings, and standing capes; single-breasted white waistcoat, with twelve small yellow regimental buttons, white breeches, black half gaiters, white stock, ruffled shirt, and at the wrists, and black cocked hat bound with yellow; red plume, and black cockade, gilt handled small sword, and gilt epaulettes.

In the Navy, Massachusetts in 1776 prescribed green coats and white facings for her officers. (Res. Mass. Council, 29 April, 1776.) The United States prescribed for its Navy officers blue coats, with red facings, red waistcoats, blue breeches, and yellow buttons; and for its marine officers a green coat, with white facings, white breeches, edged with green, white waistcoat, white buttons, silver epaulettes, and black gaiters. (Res. Marine Com., Philadelphia, 5 Sept., 1776.) The uniform of the marines of the Pennsylvania Navy was a brown coat, faced with green, letters I. P. B. on the buttons, and a cocked hat (I Pa. Arch., 2 series, p. 234); and in this uniform, under Captain William Brown, they joined General Washington, and fought at Trenton and Princeton.

As uniform clothing soon became scarce, Congress and the States respectively undertook to provide for the officers as well as the men (XII Vol. Penn. Col. Rec., pp. 241, 278, 358, 417; Lt. Isaac Guion, 2d U. S. Arty., to Col. John Lamb, Arty. Park, Totoway, 15 Oct., 1780); regulating the price to be charged. (Res. Cong., 25 Nov., 1779.) Thus each officer was entitled to one watch coat; one body coat; four vests, one for winter and three for summer; four pair breeches, two for winter and two for summer; four shirts; four stocks; six pair stockings, three

pair worsted and three pair thread ; and four pair shoes. (*vide*. Receipts of Arty. Officers in Lt. Col. Ebenezer Stevens' Papers.)

Captain Graydon, having been paroled by the British, proceeded from New York to Washington's Headquarters at Morristown, in July, 1777. In his diary from this place, he says (p. 278): "The period for

\* \* unity of color, however, had not yet arrived ; though, from the motley, shabby covering of the men, it was to be inferred that it was rapidly approaching. Even in General Wayne himself there was in this particular a considerable falling off. His quondam regimental, as Colonel of the 4th Battalion, was \* \* blue and white, in which he had been accustomed to appear with exemplary neatness ; whereas he was now dressed in character for McHeath or Captain Gibbet, in a dingy red coat, with a black rusty cravat, and tarnished laced hat." In a colored engraving, published 2d January, 1778, in London (by John Morris), Major-General Gates is represented as dressed in a red coat with buff facings. (Preble's Hist. U. S. Flag, p. 164.)

During the Revolutionary War, Congress passed many resolutions with a view to obtain, principally abroad, uniform suits of green, blue and brown colors, with suitable facings. (Res. 3 Jany., 1776, as to brown and blue cloths and different colors for facings ; 19 June, 1776, as to buckskin breeches and waistcoats ; 8 Oct., 1776, as to annual allowance, including linen hunting shirts ; 23 Oct., 1776 ; 3 Dec., 1776 ; 31 Dec., 1776 ; 5 Feb., 1777 ; 6 Sept., 1777, price of articles for soldiers ; 14 Sept., 1777 ; 10 June, 1778, as to purchasing different kinds of buckles, red cadis for lining of uniforms—serge, both scarlet, sky-blue, brown and white for linings, spatterdashes for soldiers, cloth for officers and soldiers ; 18 Jan. 1781, prescribing soldier's allowances.)

At the battles of Stillwater and Saratoga, in 1777, the greater portion of the infantry of the army under Major General Gates, were without uniforms. The Hessian officer, Briefevchsel, in corroborating this statement, says that a "few of the officers wore regimentals, and those fashioned to their own notions, according to cut and color. Brown coats with sea-green facings, white linings, silver trimmings, and grey coats in abundance, with buff facings and cuffs and gilt buttons ; in short, every variety of pattern." (I. Vol. Rittenber's History Newburgh, p. 280.) Trumbull, in his painting of Burgoyne's surrender, now in the Rotunda at the Capitol, faithfully depicts the clothing worn on that memorable occasion by the American troops. From buttons and other articles found on those battle fields, and now in the possession of C. I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York city, it is evident that nearly, if not quite all the militia fought in their ordinary farmer's dress.

The sufferings of the troops for the want of clothing culminated in the years 1777-8, prior to assistance from France. Col. John Bayard, in writing to President Wharton, of Penn., thus referred to Brig.-Gen. Wayne's Division of the Pennsylvania Line: "*Plymouth, Dec. 4, 1777.*— \* \* \* \* The New England men well clothed. \* \* \* \* \* General Wayne assures us if he had not sent out officers to buy clothing of every kind through the country his troops must have been naked, and now there are above one third that have neither breeches, shoes, stockings, blankets, and are by that means rendered unable to do duty, or, indeed, keeping the field. It is truly distressing to see these poor naked fellows encamped on bleak hills, and yet when any prospect of an action with the enemy, these brave men appear full of spirits and eager for engaging. Yesterday it was expected Gen. Howe would come out. Our Army was drawn out to receive him, and continued under arms until 10 o'clock. (VI. Pa. Archives, p. 61.) In the Rhode Island Contingent of Continentals or regulars, consisting of the 1st and 2d regiments of infantry, respectively, under Colonels Christopher Greene and Israel Angell, the distress for proper uniforms was so great that Brigadier-General J. M. Varnum, who inspected them on the 27th August, 1777, wrote as follows: "The naked situation of the troops, when observed parading for duty, is sufficient to extort the tears of compassion from every human being. There are not two in five who have a shoe, stocking, or so much as breeches to render them decent." Despite what they had thus suffered, these regiments, a few days later, highly distinguished themselves at "Germantown" and "Red Bank." (Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc., 1860-2, p. 220; II Vol. Arnold's History R. I., pp. 405-8.)

Referring to the uniform of the American Army at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777-8, Inspector-General Baron de Steuben wrote as follows: "The description of the dress is most easily given. The men were literally naked—some of them in the fullest extent of the word. The officers who had coats, had them of every color and make. I saw officers, at a grand parade at Valley Forge, mounting guard in a sort of dressing gown, made of an old blanket or woolen bed cover." (Steuben's Ms. papers, Vol. XI., quoted in Kapp's Steuben, p. 117.) Captain Peter S. Duponceau, an aide-de-camp to Steuben, says: "Once, with the Baron's permission, his aids invited a number of young officers to dine at our quarters, on condition that none should be admitted that had on a whole pair of breeches. This was, of course, understood as *pars pro toto*; but torn clothes were an indispensable requisite for admis-

sion, and in this the guests were *very* sure not to fail. The dinner took place. The guests clubbed their rations and we feasted sumptuously on tough beefsteaks and potatoes, with hickory nuts for our desert. Instead of wine we had some kind of spirits, with which we made 'salamanders;' that is to say, after filling our glasses, we set the liquor on fire and drank it up, flame and all. Such a set of ragged, and at the same time merry fellows, were never brought together. The Baron loved to speak of that dinner, and of his '*sans culottes*,' as he called us. Thus this denomination was first invented in America, and applied to brave officers and soldiers of our revolutionary army." (Kapp's Steuben, p. 119.) In 1780 Steuben recommended to Washington for all the infantry linen hunting shirts and overalls, with small round hats cocked up on one side, and good shoes, as the most convenient uniform of the season. (West Point, 22 July, 1780—Kapp's Life Steuben, p. 282.)

When Sir Henry Clinton stormed Forts Montgomery and Clinton, on the Hudson, in October, 1777, he sent one Daniel Taylor with a message to Burgoyne, in a silver bullet, announcing the fact. At New Britain, back of West Point, he fell in with a picket guard of Colonel Samuel B. Webb's Third Connecticut Continental infantry, under Lieutenant Howe, who were clothed in *red coats*, captured in a British transport, and which, for need of clothing, there had not been time to dye blue. Deceived by their appearance, and being informed they belonged to "Clinton's forces," he made known his character. He was sent before a General Court Martial as a spy, duly convicted, sentenced and executed under the orders of Brigadier-General George Clinton, of the American Army. (Notes in Vaughan's 2d Expedition, by G. W. Pratt, Ulster Co. Soc.: G. O. Hdqrs, Marbletown, 16 Oct., 1777.)

Major General Charles Lee, in his defense before the General Court Martial for his conduct at "Monmouth," made the point that the regiments of his division had "no uniforms or distinguishing colors." (*vide* official record, published by Congress, Lord Stirling, Pres. Gen'l Court-Martial, 9 Aug., 1778.)

In the year 1779 Congress (Res. 23 Mar. 1779,) "authorized and directed the Commander-in-Chief, according to circumstances of supplies of clothing, to fix and prescribe the uniform, as well with regard to color and facings as the cut or fashion of the clothes to be worn by the troops of the respective States and regiments—woolen overalls for winter and linen for summer, to be substituted for the breeches." Accordingly General Washington issued the following specially noteworthy and rare order, by which dark blue became for the first time the "national color:"

"The following are the uniforms that have been determined for the troops of these States respectively, so soon as the state of the public supplies will permit of their being furnished accordingly; and, in the meantime, it is recommended to the officers to endeavor to accommodate their uniforms to the standard, that when the men come to be supplied, there may be a proportionate uniformity.

New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut.	{ Blue, faced with white; buttons and linings white.
New York and New Jersey.	{ Blue, faced with buff; buttons and linings white.
Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia.	{ Blue, faced with red; buttons and linings white.
North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.	{ Blue, faced with blue; button-holes edged with narrow white lace or tape; buttons and linings white.
Artillery and Artillery Artificers.	{ Blue, faced with scarlet; scarlet linings; yel- low buttons, yellow bound hats. Coats edged with narrow lace or tape, and button holes bound with same.
Light Dragoons.	{ The whole blue, faced with white; white but- tons and linings."

(G. O. Hdqrs. New Windsor, 2 Oct., 1779.)

The Continental Army, prior to this historic order, certainly had variegated uniforms, beyond those already mentioned. Thus the 9th Virginia, 5th Maryland, 9th Pennsylvania, U. S. Invalid Regiment and 13th Pennsylvania, and 2d Canadian of the Line, had brown coats, faced respectively with red, green, buff and white.

The 13th Virginia, 2d and 3d New Jersey, 3d and 11th Pennsylvania, and 7th Maryland of the Line had blue coats, faced respectively with yellow, red, and white. The 6th Maryland Regiment of the Line wore grey coats, faced with green, grey waistcoats and grey breeches. The 1st and 3d South Carolina Regiments and 6th Virginia had black coats, faced with red, while the 5th South Carolina, Colonel Thomas Sumpter, had for the officers red coats, faced with black. Lt. Colonel H. Lee's Cavalry of the Legion had blue short coats, faced with white, white waistcoats and black breeches. (IV Vol. Hist. Mag., p. 354.) The 4th Regiment Light Dragoons, Colonel Stephen Moylan's, green short coats, turned up with red, red waistcoats, buckskin breeches, and leather cap, turned up with bearskin. The previous year the regimental coat had been red. (*N. Y. Gazette*, 13 May, 1778.) The 3d Virginia Continental Infantry, under

Colonel Thomas Marshall; Colonel Nathan Hale's New Hampshire Regiment, and Lieut. Colonel Levi Pawlings' New York Regiment of new levies of infantry each had *sky blue* coats, with pale blue and red facings, respectively. (Res. Cont. Cong. to Gov. Henry, Va., 10 June, 1778; Holt's N. Y. Jour., 1 March, 1779; Lt.-Col. Eb. Stevens' Papers, Albany, 14 Nov., 1777.)

In 1846, the 2d New York Volunteers, and other troops in the war with Mexico, wore pale or sky blue jackets and pantaloons; and again in 1863 Government prescribed the same martial uniform for the Veteran Reserve Corps of wounded and disabled officers. Lieutenant N. White, 10th Pennsylvania Regiment, in 1779, having advertised a deserter, who had escaped from the guard, refers to the patriot's attire, and says: "*N. B.* Said Cline was graced with handcuffs when he made his escape." (*N. Y. Gazette*, 18 Aug., 1779.) History does not inform us whether the article mentioned was charged to the prisoner or lieutenant.

The American Army owed much at this period (1780), in the way of obtaining uniforms, to the exertions of the amiable Marquis de Lafayette, who even "bargained with French merchants to supply the officers of his Light Division with superfine blue regimental coats and trimmings, and blue waistcoats and breeches, for four guineas each." He also presented each of his officers with a handsome small sword. (Capt. George Fleming, 2d Art., commanding Light Battery, to Col. John Lamb, 2d Art., Dobb's Ferry, 23 Sept., 1780, Lamb Papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc.)

"Many of the troops were still (1780) almost naked, both officers and men." (Marquis de Lafayette to Gov. Jas. Bowdoin, Hdqrs., Morristown, 30 May, 1780, in Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 1860, p. 348.)

On the Sabbath day, from his Headquarters, Short Hills, New Jersey, 18th June, 1780, Washington issued a General Order, prescribing, apparently for the first time, the uniform of general officers, and of the staff generally. The order was as follows: "As it is at all times of great importance, both for the sake of appearance and for the regularity of service, that the different military ranks should be distinguished from each other, and more especially at the present, the Commander-in-Chief has thought proper to establish the following distinctions, and strongly recommends it to all officers to endeavor to conform to them as speedily as possible. The Major Generals to wear blue coats, with buff facings and lining, yellow buttons, white or buff underclothes, two epaulettes, with two stars upon each, and a black and white feather in the hat. The stars will be furnished at Headquarters. The Brigadier Generals, the same uniform as the Major Generals, with the difference of one star

in the place of two, and a *white* feather. The Colonels, Lieut. Colonels and Majors, the uniform of their regiments and two epaulettes. The Captains, the uniform of their regiments and an epaulette on the right shoulder. The Subalterns, the uniform of their regiments and an epaulette on the left shoulder. The Aides-de-Camp, the uniform of their ranks and Corps, or, if they belong to no Corps, of their General officers. Those of the Major Generals and Brigadier Generals to have a green feather in the hat. Those of the Commander-in-Chief, a white and green. The Inspectors, as well Sub. as Brigade, the uniforms of their ranks and Corps, with a *blue* feather in the hat. The Corps of Engineers and that of Sappers and Miners, a blue coat with buff facings, red lining, buff underclothes, and the epaulettes of their respective ranks. Such of the Staff as have military rank to wear the uniform of their ranks, and of the Corps to which they belong in the line. Such as have no military rank to wear plain coats, with a cockade and sword. All officers, as well warrant as commissioned, to wear a cockade and side arms—either a sword or genteel bayonet. The General recommends it to the officers, as far as practicable, to provide themselves with the uniforms prescribed for their respective Corps by the regulations of Congress, published in General Orders, the 2d of October last." (G. O. Hdqrs., Short Hills, 18 June, 1780.)

Soon after, General Washington forbade officers to make any alteration in the prescribed uniform. (G. O., Hdqrs., Pracaness, 19 July, 1780.) He also directed that the feathers to be worn by Major-Generals, should have *white* below and *black* above, and recommended to the officers to have white and black cockades, a black ground with a white relief, emblematic of the expected union of the two armies, American and French. The French uniform for the infantry of the line was then white. (*vide* G. O. Hdqrs., Totoway, 15 Nov., 1780, as to officers paying strict attention to uniforms.)

Cockades were rosettes of leather or silk, worn on the hat by all military men. The chapeaux bras, which are to-day worn by the General and staff officers of the American Army, have the black cockade. When the citizens of New York met, on the evening of 20th November, 1783, to arrange for the celebration of the anticipated evacuation by the British, it was resolved: "That the badge of distinction, to be worn at the reception of the Governor on his entrance into this city, be a *Union* cockade of black and white ribband, worn on the left breast, and a laurel in the hat."

In 1781, according to President Joseph Reed of Pennsylvania, blue



cloth was not then procurable in this country at any rate or price, so the Pennsylvania Line for that time had to receive hunting shirts. (VIII Hist. Mag., pp. 16, 130, 135, 138.) At this time, as throughout all that period, an officers' uniform included ruffled shirts, worsted gloves and red sash; and a soldiers' woolen mitts. (*vide* Maj. Gen. Robert Howe's Orders as to uniform for Mass. Div., New Windsor, 5 Jan., 1781, Whiting's Order Book, p. 164.) Sergeants were distinguished by worsted sashes, and corporals by shoulder knots. Subsequently sergeants had shoulder knots on each shoulder, and corporals on the right only. (G. O. Hdqrs., Newburgh, 14 May, 1782.) In providing for the uniforming of her troops, by purchases in Europe in 1780 (8th July), the State of Pennsylvania ordered "6,000 shoe buckles, 6,000 knee buckles, 6,000 stock buckles, and 10,000 ivory fine-teeth combs." It is presumable that the Commonwealth must have known what was then most needed by its troops. (XII Pa. Col. Rec., p. 418.)

In the field such American regiments as had hunting shirts were required to wear them. (G. O. Hdqrs. Newburgh, 18 and 27 Aug., 1782.) A radical change in the uniform of the infantry was prescribed in the following orders of Washington, but it did not become effective. "The Honorable Secretary at War having been pleased to direct that the uniforms of the American cavalry and infantry shall in future be blue ground, with red facings and white linings and buttoned, the General gives this early notice that provision be made accordingly, before the Army shall receive their clothing for the present year; the Corps of Artillery is to retain its present uniform, and the sappers and miners will have the same." (G. O. Hdqrs. Newburgh, 5 Dec., 1782.) The non-arrival of the clothing, expected from Europe, induced General Washington to order the soldiers to turn and repair their coats, and scarlet cloth was to be furnished by the Secretary of War, on his return to Philadelphia, so that many regiments could have their coats refaced. (G. O. Hdqrs. Newburgh, 23 Feb. and 14 April, 1783.) The Secretary of War did not, however, find any scarlet cloth, and General Washington issued a General Order, in which he said: "Notwithstanding the proposed alterations in the uniforms of the infantry and cavalry, it appears necessary, from inevitable circumstances, that all light infantry companies shall be clothed in blue coats faced white until further orders." No further orders came, and thus the uniform became fixed. (G. O. Hdqrs. Newburgh, 3 Mar., 1783.) A few regiments obtained scarlet cloth for facings.

According to Major General de Chastellux, the Light Infantry under

Lafayette's command in 1782 all wore helmets of hard leather, with a crest of horsehair instead of the usual black felt cocked hats. (*Journal of de Chastellux travels in N. Amer.*, ed. 1827, p. 58.) This Light Infantry organization in the Army was peculiar. Each infantry regiment then had one Light Infantry company, which, upon commencement of field operations, was usually detached, and with enough other Light Infantry companies arranged to form a regiment, whose field officers were specially selected from the field officers of the Army. These regiments were then brigaded, to form a Light Infantry Division, under a general officer, and a sufficient Light Artillery assigned for the campaign.

In the two authentic portraits of Lafayette, respectively in the Massachusetts and New York Historical Societies, he is represented, with exceptions to be noted, in the uniform of the Light Infantry of the Army, which he commanded at different times, viz.: dark blue coat, with white facings, buttoned back, so as to display the white facings and linings; standing collar or cape of red; white waistcoat, with, however, gilt buttons instead of white; white breeches; white cravat instead of black for infantry, and ruffled shirt; the hair powdered and cued, and face clean shaven. He also has the gold epaulettes of his rank, instead of the silver epaulettes of the infantry; but as his Light Division was a mixed corps of artillery and infantry, he possibly felt at liberty to slightly modify his uniform, with sanction of the Commander-in-Chief.

During the Revolution the prescribed dress for chaplains was black. (*XII. Pa. Colonial Rec.*, p. 358.) All regimental company officers had to carry espontoons, or half pikes, six feet two inches long, and this custom was not abolished until some time after 1802. (*G. O. Hdqrs. Newburgh*, 9 Aug., 1782; *De Chastellux's Travels in N. Amer.*, p. 45; *G. O. Hdqrs. Greenville, O.*, 6 Feby., 1796; *G. O. Hdqrs. Loftus Heights*, 7 Mar., 1799; *G. O. Hdqrs. Pittsburgh*, 8 May, 1801.) The knapsacks and haversacks of the soldiers were usually of linen or Russia duck. The canteens were of wood, painted oak being preferred. (*I Amer. Arch.*, 5 series, pp. 288, 384, 616, 832 and 1346; *Qr. Mr. Stores Waste Book*, West Point.)

In 1782 General Washington, apparently at suggestion of Brigadier-General John Patterson, established the practice of rewarding faithful enlistment by authorizing a "service stripe to be worn on the arm, of the same color as the facings of the soldiers' corps in which he served the enlistment, and a like additional stripe for each succeeding period of service." (*Brig. Orders*, West Point, 17 June, 1782; *G. O. Hdqrs.*

Newburgh, 7 and 11 Aug., 1782.) This regulation still prevails in the American Army. (G. O. 92, War Dept., A. G. O. 26 Oct., 1872.)

From what has been said, it is plain that but few troops ever wore the "blue and buff," and after General Washington's "uniform" order of 1779, it was worn only by general officers, unattached aides, the First and Second New York Continental Infantry, First and Second New Jersey Continental Infantry of the Line, Corps of Engineers, Sappers and Miners, and Washington's body guards, who were selected men from the infantry arm (G. O. Hdqrs. Valley Forge, 17 Mar., 1778.)—altogether numerically few.

When the Revolutionary War ended, one regular regiment of infantry, denominated the "First American Regiment," formed from companies selected from the Massachusetts Brigade and First New Hampshire Infantry, and two companies of the Corps of Artillery were retained in service. (G. O. Hdqrs. West Point, 23 Dec., 1783.) The uniform of this infantry regiment was dark blue, with white facings, white linings, black cocked hats, white hat bindings, white worsted shoulder knots, white buttons, silver epaulettes for officers, white cross-belts, black stocks, white under-dress, black gaiters and black plume.

The Artillery uniform remained as heretofore; dark blue faced with scarlet, scarlet linings, yellow buttons, yellow binding for black felt cocked hat, and yellow edging of button holes; white under-dress, gold epaulettes for officers; and yellow worsted shoulder knots for non-commissioned officers, and buff belts, white cravats and black plume with red top.

According to the testimony of competent judges, the American infantry in 1782-3 was equal to the best troops of the time. Even the French officers were struck with admiration at the manœuvres executed in their presence. (Kapp's *Life Steuben*, p. 644; G. O. Hdqrs. Newburgh, 13 and 12 Aug., 1782.) At Stoney Point and Yorktown they had particularly acquitted themselves with credit. (Maj. Gen. de Chastellux's travels, pp. 64-71; G. O. Hdqrs. Verplank's Point, 19 and 24 Oct., 1782.)

It is pertinent to add that the two New York Continental regiments of infantry were particularly noticeable for military merit, they having been originally raised early in 1776 "for the war." (G. O. Hdqrs. Newburgh, 20 May and 5 June, 1782.)

The Corps of Artillery during the revolution became specially distinguished. At Monmouth the British were forced to admit that no artillery could be better served. (G. O. Hdqrs. Freehold, 29 June,

1778; Holt's N. Y. Jour., 13 July, 1778.) In the action at Quaker Hill, Rhode Island, the American artillery "did great execution, and contributed not a little to the honor of the day." (Maj. Gen. John Sullivan to Gen. Washington, 29 Aug. 1778.)

The commanding General, Sullivan, apparently could not say enough on the subject, for in his General Orders, 30 August, 1778, he declared that the corps of artillery truly merited his thanks and applause, and that of his army; and on August 31, 1778, in his report to Congress, "*that the officers of artillery deserve the highest praise.*"

At Yorktown the capacity and instruction of the artillery officers, all native Americans with one exception—Major Sebastian Bauman—and the extraordinary skill and progress exhibited in the science of artillery, and the precision of their fire, surprised the French—who did not hesitate to take future advantage of improvements there manifested. (Leake's Life of Lamb, p. 281; De Chastellux's travels, p. 71; Hist. Mass. Soc. Cincinnati, p. 156; G. O. Hdqrs. Yorktown, 20 Oct. 1781.)

The regular cavalry emulated the example of the other corps, and distinguished themselves at Fort St. George, Rugley's Farm, Cowpens, Eutaw Springs, and in many small affairs. (G. O. Hdqrs. Morristown, 29 Nov., 1780; G. O. Hdqrs. New Windsor, 6 Jan., 1781, as to 3d dragoons; G. O. Hdqrs. New Windsor, 14 Feb. 1781, as to 3d dragoons.)

During the period of the confederation the troops retained substantially the revolutionary uniform. The cavalry had brass helmets with white horse hair. (Secty. War to Saml. Hodgden, 4 Aug., 1792.)

Their swords were "long horseman's swords, steel mounted." Officers of Artillery and Infantry had swords of sabre form, respectively yellow mounted and steel mounted, two feet six inches in length for each company officer, and three feet in length for each field officer.

The distinctive "shoulder strap of dark blue edged with red" now made its first appearance. (G. O. War Dept., N. Y., 30 Jan., 1787.) In 1791 the knapsacks of the 1st (now 3d) U. S. Regiment of Infantry were covered with bearskin, and soon hair knapsacks were generally issued to the troops, instead of painted linen ones. (Gen. St. Clair's Narrative, ed. 1812, p. 205; Qr. Mr. Stores Waste Book, West Point.) Subsequently the soldiers of the four infantry "sub-legions," or regiments, under Major General Anthony Wayne, in 1792, had caps with different plumes, as follows:

1st Sub-legion, white binding with white plumes and black hair. 2d Sub-legion, red binding, red plumes with white hair. 3d Sub-legion, yellow binding, yellow plumes and black hair. 4th Sub-legion, green

binding, green plumes and white hair. (G. O. Hdqrs. Pittsburgh, 7 Sep., 1792.)

In 1796 the infantry had dark blue coats reaching to the knee and full trimmed, scarlet lappels, cuffs and standing capes, retaining white buttons, white trimmings and white underdress, black stocks and cocked hats with white binding. The traditional shoe and black half gaiters (seven inches long) were now replaced, for foot officers, by black top boots. (G. O. Hdqrs. Greenville, 16 Feb. 1796.) In 1794 the artillery received helmets with red plumes. (Sect. War to Qr. Mr. Gen. Sam. Hodgdon, 14 July, 1794; Qr. Mr. waste book—ordnance—West Point.) The coats of the musicians remained red with blue facings, blue waistcoats and breeches, silk epaulettes for chief musician. (G. O., War Dept., N. Y., 30 Jan., 1787.) At a very early period in the British Army this uniform had been that specially reserved for the drummers of the "Royal" regiments, it being the royal livery. (System of Camp Discipline, London, 1757, p. 43.) The red coat continued to be the uniform of drummers in our service to 1st January, 1857. The same uniform is retained for the drummers of the United States Marine Band of the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

During the Revolutionary war the Continental Corps of Artillery which then constituted an elite corps, under Brigadier-General Henry Knox of the Artillery, had a Band of Music. This band was frequently paraded by General Washington's orders for duty at the execution of deserters, &c. (G. O. Hdqrs., Morristown, 18 Feby., 1780; XIV Vol. Pa. Col. Rec., pp. 95, 423, 438.)

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lee's Legion also had a band (XIII Vol. Pa. Col. Rec., p. 758); other regiments also appear to have had bands, noticeably the Second New York Regiment Continental Infantry, under Colonel Philip Cortland. As per bill for musical instruments, rendered Governor George Clinton by First Lieutenant Michael Connolly, Paymaster Second New York Infantry in 1783, the regiment had, besides drums and fifes, two French horns, two bassoons and four clarionets. (Clinton Mss., No. 4,477, State Library, Albany.)

In 1795, the First Regiment Artillery and Engineers, stationed at West Point, had a band of twenty pieces, supported by the officers and men. (Qr. Mr. Waste Clothing Book, West Point.) This band was uniformed in scarlet coats, dark blue facings and linings, yellow silk epaulettes, helmets with scarlet plumes, cockades, dark blue vests and pantaloons, and black gaiters. In 1798, the then General-in-Chief, Wilkinson, organized a band from the enlisted men, and attached it to the Second

United States Infantry, their extra pay being contributed by subscription. (G. O. Hdqrs., Pittsburgh, 7 January, 1798; G. O. Hdqrs., Chickasaw Bluffs, 23 August and 2 September, 1798; G. O. Hdqrs., Loftus Heights, 14 January, 1799.)

Congress, with a policy of economy in this respect not generally imitated by foreign powers, never until 1861 recognized by direct statute regular bands, but left it to the officers and men of each regiment, from their meagre pay, to support them as best they might, under the mere sanction of Army Regulations.

At the present time Congressional legislation has left to the Army but one statutory band, viz., that of the Military Academy, which is but little larger than the band of the First Artillery and Engineers at the same post in 1795.

In 1799 the white plume was again prescribed for the infantry, and after many intermediate changes, it is to-day the one worn by that arm of service. (G. O. Hdqrs., Loftus Heights, 2 Jan., 1799; G. O., Hdqrs., Natchez, 26 Feb., 1800, containing Maj. Gen. Hamilton's approval.)

The infantry officers were now required to wear half-boots, white pantaloons and white vests, double-breasted. (G. O. Hdqrs., Loftus Heights, 19 January, 1799.)

Early in this year, President John Adams prescribed a uniform for the army. Cavalry to have green coats and white facings, and the infantry and artillery blue coats and red facings. Cavalry musicians to wear white coats, and of the other arms, red coats—the chief musician to wear two worsted epaulettes. Sergeants, each to wear one red worsted epaulette on the right shoulder, and corporals on the left. Company officers no longer to wear plumes. Cadets to have a strap on right shoulder. (War Dept., Philadelphia, 9 Jan., 1799.)

In 1800, further changes were ordered, but not having met with favor in the service, the old uniform before 1797 was restored. (G. O. Hdqrs., Fort Adams, 30 March, 1800; Inspector's Office, Washington, 10 September, 1800.)

By this uniform order of 1800, the cavalry coat remained green, but with black facings, white vests and breeches, top-boots, and a helmet of leather, crowned with black horse hair, and having a brass front representing a mounted dragoon in the act of charging; the officers' helmets having green plumes. Black and red plumes, intermingled laterally, were prescribed for the artillery; white for infantry. Pantaloons or overalls of blue, edged with red in winter, and white in summer, were now again prescribed for all the foot troops. Artillery soldiers to have

wings on the shoulders, edged with red. Red silk sashes for commissioned officers, and worsted for non-commissioned officers. Foot officers, instead of half-gaiters, were allowed to wear half-boots, edged at the top with red, peaked in front, and with black tassels. The musicians to wear scarlet coats, with blue facings and white linings. The button-holes of white worsted lace, with frogs. The chief musician to have two blue worsted epaulettes. Cadets to wear a red plume, and have a gold strap with fringe on left shoulder. Sergeants to have a yellow worsted epaulette on the right shoulder, and corporals on the left. (G. O., Hdqrs., Fort Adams, 30 March, 1800.)

In 1802, under President Jefferson, the uniform of the line was a dark blue coat, reaching to the knee, revolutionary cut, with scarlet lappels, cuffs and standing collar, single-breasted white vests, having for the infantry white linings, white buttons and white skirt facings, and for the artillery scarlet linings, scarlet facings and yellow buttons. The enlisted men wore round hats, with brim three inches wide, and with a strip of bearskin, seven inches wide and seven inches high, across the crown (G. O. Hdqrs., Greenville, 26 June, 1795); black cockade, eagle and white plume. Their pantaloons were of dark blue in winter and white in summer, and they wore black half-gaiters, seven inches long, and white cross-belts. The officers of infantry and artillery wore chapeaux bras with cockade, eagle and white plume, white breeches and boots. Artillery officers had gold epaulettes, one or two, according to rank; yellow buttons and hat trimmings, and gold sword mountings. Infantry officers had, in like manner, silver epaulettes, white hat trimmings, and steel sword mountings. Each wore a white belt, three inches wide, across the shoulder, with an oval breast-plate, three inches by two and a half, ornamented with an eagle, and of gold or silver, to correspond with the buttons. (Col. H. Burbeck, 1st U. S. Arty., to Lieut. James R. Hanham, 20 March, 1811.) This remained the uniform of the infantry until 1810, when single-breasted coats, without facings, but with silver lace, extending horizontally from the button-holes, came into fashion, and the present shaped civilian's "silk" hat also came into use. (Regimental Order, Cantonment Washington, 5 Aug., 1810.)

Standing collars of enormous proportions had begun to be prescribed in 1802, when they were to be worn not less than three inches nor more than three and a half inches high, but in 1812 the collar was required "to reach the tip of the ear, and in front as high as the chin would permit in turning the head." In this year (1812) many changes were made in the uniform. All officers of the General Staff had to wear cocked

hats without feathers, single-breasted coats, with ten yellow-gilt bullet buttons, the button-holes worked with blue-twist in herring-bone form, and embroidered. Vests and breeches or pantaloons, white or buff, for General officers, and white for others, with permission to wear blue pantaloons in winter and nankeen in summer. High military boots and gilt spurs; waist-belts of black leather; no sashes. The rank and file were put into coatees or jackets of the fashion worn by the light artillery and cavalry of the American Army in 1872, when the uniform was changed, and leather caps with bell crowns, yellow eagle in front, containing number of the regiment, white pompons, and black leather cockade, were substituted for the traditional felt hat.

As yet company officers still wore the chapeaux bras and white feathers, but their coats had to be of the same general description as of the general staff, and with collars and cuffs uniformly blue. The officers of the Ordnance Department wore the same uniform as the artillery officers, with a distinctive button. The medical officers were now put in lugubrious black, their coats to be of the same fashion as for the general staff, but with a star of embroidery on each side of the collar. From 1787 their uniform had been a double-breasted, dark blue coat, of same shape as that for the infantry, but with yellow buttons and skirt facings, collars, lappels and cuffs of same material as the coat, and white underclothes. In 1809, this uniform had been changed to a single-breasted coat, with collar trimmed around with gold lace, and button-holes laced; chapeaux bras, with black ostrich feather, and cockade and eagle, and small sword or dirk, yellow mounted.

In 1812, the uniform of the first rifle regiment, organized in 1808, was gray cloth for coats, vests and pantaloons, and the three additional regular rifle regiments raised for the war with Great Britain were clad in the same gray uniform, which continued to be the distinguishing color of that arm of the service, until it was dispensed with in 1821. When, however, the regular voltigeur regiment was raised for the war with Mexico, gray as a uniform was prescribed for that corps, as well as for other foot riflemen. (Army Regulations, 1 May, 1847.)

To turn back a little. The embargo of 1807, and commercial Non-intercourse Act of 1810, and subsequent blockade of the American coast, prevented the importation in any quantity of blue cloth, so that when the regular army was largely increased at the commencement of the war with Great Britain, Government had to put its troops in gray, now known as Cadet gray. At the battles of Chippewa Plains and Niagara in 1814, the army under Major-General Jacob Brown was almost wholly



clad in gray. (Prof. D. B. Douglas, LL. D., late Prof. Engr., West Point, in II Vol. Hist. Mag., 3 series, p. 12.) In honor of these victories, the Cadets of the United States Military Academy, who had then by law been wholly separated from any of the artillery regiments, were put in this uniform in 1815. (Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott to Benson J. Lossing in Lossing's Field Book, War 1812, p. 806, note.) They were also required to wear common round hats of the shape of the present civilian silk hat, "with black silk cockade and yellow eagle, and cut and thrust swords, yellow mounted, with a black gripe, in a frog belt of black morocco over the coat."

In President Monroe's Army Regulations for 1821, approved by Congress, "dark blue" was declared to be the "national color," though scarlet coats were still prescribed for company musicians, and gray for the corps of cadets. The company officers of artillery now had to give up their chapeaux bras, and put on the leather caps, but their yellow insignia was restored in the shape of yellow pompons, and white for infantry.

The buttons for the artillery and infantry then received the devices still used. Before that time, the Corps of Artillery had its own design; the light artillery, the initials L. A.; the infantry, a regimental number; and the rifles, a bugle. Captains and lieutenants of artillery and infantry respectively were designated by chevrons of gold or silver lace, one on each arm, above the elbow, for captain, and below for lieutenant, the angle pointing upwards.

In 1832, President Jackson ordered the restoration to the army uniform of the facings, which as a private soldier he had seen worn during the Revolution by American officers, but, from want of information, many mistakes were made. (G. O. Hdqrs., Washington, 11 June, 1832.)

In 1861, the State of New York supplied the 2d New York Infantry, and many others of its volunteer regiments, with gray uniforms, just as it had furnished the 2d New York Infantry in 1776 with a like uniform. As the Confederates adopted the same color for their regulars, and butternut brown for their militia and irregulars, the United States' troops were soon found clothed in the regulation Whig blue or Union color, with yellow buttons, black felt hats and black feathers, and gilt epaulettes for officers. Those volunteer regiments which had received gray uniforms made haste, although at their own expense, to draw the national blue coats, and in this emblematic color they fought in defense of the Union.

At the present day, the infantry coats have the white edging, stripes,

facings, and plume of the Revolution, and the artillery the red plume, red facings and yellow buttons of the same period. Of the "blue and buff," General officers alone retain buff sashes and buff colored body belts, to partially denote their rank.

Probably no portion of the uniform gave so much trouble to the authorities, in attempting to regulate, as the cut of the hair. During the Revolution, as was universally the custom, military men wore their hair clubbed or cued and powdered, and their faces clean shaved. We find numerous orders on this subject. Thus one of Washington's, "that at general inspections and reviews 2 pds. of flower and  $\frac{1}{2}$  pound of rendered tallow per 100 men should be issued for dressing the hair. (Brig. Orders [Patterson's], Steenrapi, 12 Sept., 1780; G. O., Army Hdqrs., Newburgh, 12 Aug., 1782; Regt. Orders, 16 Mass., Lancaster, Penn., 12 Jan., 1778; Regt. Orders, 16 Mass., Cambridge, Mass., 9 Sept., 1777.) Subsequently one-quarter of a pound of flower per man was issued weekly, for the purpose of powdering the hair, and all were to be clean shaven. (G. O., Army Hdqrs., Greenville [Wayne's], 21 Nov., 1794; G. O., Army Hdqrs., Loftus Heights [Wilkinson's], 19 Jan., 1799.) Lieut. Colonel Francis Marion's orders on this subject, when he commanded the 2d South Carolina Regiment, show him to have been a good deal of a martinet. They were as follows: "Sullivan's Island, S. C., January 23, 1778. Parole, Egypt.— \* \* \* \* As long hair gathers much filth, and takes a great deal of time and trouble to comb and keep clean and in good order, the Lieut. Col. recommends to every soldier to have his hair cut short, to reach no further down than the top of the shirt collar, and thinned upwards to the crown of the head, the foretop short, without toupeé, and short at the side. Those who do not have their hair in this mode, must have it plaited and tied up, as they will not be allowed to appear with their hair down their backs and over their foreheads, and down their chins at the sides, which make them appear more like wild savages than soldiers. The Major will please pick out three men to be regimental barbers, who are to be excused from mounting guard, or doing fatigue duty. They are daily to dress the men's heads, and shave them before they mount guard, the men to pay them half a crown a week each man. Any soldier who comes on the parade with beard or hair uncombed, shall be dry-shaved immediately, and have his hair dressed on the parade. The orderly sergeant, or corporal of companies are to call on and see the barbers dress and shave their men that are for duty, and see that they are clean and their clothes put on decently, or must expect to answer for their neglect. The commissioned officers

are desired to pay attention to their men's dress at all times, particularly when for duty. No officer to take charge or march off a guard without the men have complied with the above orders, and are as clean and decent as circumstances of clothing will permit \* \* \* \*"  
*(vide. Gibb's Documentary Hist. S. C., 1776-1782, p. 66.)*

Major-General Alexander Hamilton, when General-in-Chief, prescribed the mode of dressing the hair on a thin piece of wood, and bound with a black silk rosette, 1 1-2 inches in diameter for officers, and of leather for the men. (G. O. Hdqrs., Fort Adams [Wilkinson's], 30 March, 1800.) The cue was not allowed to be more than ten inches long.

The order in 1801 to cut off their hair, issued by Brigadier-General James Wilkinson, then General-in-Chief, caused great indignation among the veteran officers, who looked upon it as a "French innovation." It was as follows: "For the accommodation, comfort and health of the troops, the hair is to be cropped without exception, and the General will give the example." (G. O. Hdqrs., Pittsburg, 30 April, 1801.) This was followed by another, which said: "That whiskers and short hair illy accord; they will not, therefore, be permitted to extend lower than the bottom of the ear. The less hair about a soldier's head, the neater and cleaner will he be." (G. O. Hdqrs., Wilkinsonville, 29 July, 1801.) Of these orders the first, as to cropping the hair, is still in force. The second, as to wearing whiskers in any other manner than thus prescribed, was not rescinded until 1853; and then it was prescribed and still is the regulation that "the beard may be worn at the pleasure of the individual, but must be kept short and neatly trimmed." (G. O. Army Hdqrs., A. G. O., 12 June, 1851; G. O. Army Hdqrs., A. G. O., 6 Jan., 1853: Arty. Battalion Orders, Fort Constitution, N. H., 22 March, 1819.) For the Corps of Cadets there is still the regulation, which is strictly enforced, that, "the hair is to be short, or what is generally termed cropped; whiskers and moustaches shall not be worn." (Par. 168 Academic Regulations.)

In 1801 there was an old and distinguished officer, Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Butler, commanding the Second Regular Infantry, who had entered the Second Pennsylvania Infantry as a First Lieutenant in 1776 (St. Clair's regiment, 5 Jan.), served through that war with honor, been wounded, and again twice wounded in St. Clair's defeat in 1791 (4 Nov.); he solemnly declared he would not cut off his much prized cue. General Wilkinson did not then press the matter, but issued the following order (G. O. Hdqrs. Wilkinsonville, 2 August, 1801): "Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Butler, at his particular request, and in

consideration of his infirm health, has permission to wear his hair. On the subject of this measure the General will briefly observe that it has been sanctioned in America by the first military characters of the British and American armies, that it has been recommended by the ablest generals who have lived, and has been adopted by the best troops in the world, and that the cut of the hair is as essential a part of military uniform as the cut of the coat or color of the facings." Afterwards Wilkinson withdrew the indulgence, and as Colonel Butler persisted in a cue, he sent him, in 1803, before a General Court Martial of his own appointment, on this, for disobedience of orders and other matters. He was acquitted of the other charges but sentenced to be reprimanded, which gave Wilkinson an opportunity to indulge in invective and sarcasm, and to again order Colonel Butler to cut off his hair. The latter, in a personal interview, refused (Wilkinson to Sect. of War, Wash., 25 Oct., 1804, War Dept. files.) and having gone to New Orleans and assumed command, committed anew the breach of orders. At this time an artillery officer, writing home, said: "Colonel Butler wears his hair and is determined not to cut it off." (New Orleans, 10 Nov., 1804, Lt.-Col. Constant Freeman.) For this Wilkinson sent him before another General Court Martial for "wilful, obstinate and continued disobedience of orders, and for mutinous conduct." The Court sentenced him to suspension for one year, but before the order was issued the veteran had been gathered to his fathers, and was buried with his cue. (Obit. 5 Sept., 1805; G. O. Hdqrs. Ft. Adams, 25 May, 1803, appointing Court; G. O. Hdqrs. New Orleans, 1 Feb. 1804, promulgating proceedings; G. O. Hdqrs. Washington, 15 Feb. 1805, appointing the second Court; G. O. Hdqrs. St. Louis, 20 Sept. 1805, promulgating proceedings.)

These proceedings gave rise to discussion, and to a vigorous protest to Congress from Major General Andrew Jackson and other militia officers and citizens in Tennessee. (I. Vol. State Papers Mil. Affairs, p. 172.) Some years later Congress took from the Commanding General the power to appoint a General Court on an officer when he is the accuser. (Act 29 May, 1830.)

In 1801, just after the order had been issued that cues must fall, the Secretary of War, Dearborn, visited Fort Adams, Newport, Rhode Island. Fortunately the commanding officer, Major William McRea, of the Second Regiment Artillery and Engineers, had an intimation of his coming and acted accordingly. In a letter to his chief he thus referred to the event: "We are a pretty set of crops here, agreeable to the late General Order. There is not an hair an inch long on my head. This

order was more reluctantly complied with than any order I have ever yet seen issued this way. I cannot conceive why the greatest ornament to a soldier should be thus lost." (Maj. MacRea to Lt.-Col. H. Burbeck, First Arty. and Engrs., 30 July, 1801.)

The accomplished officer who wrote this letter undoubtedly expressed the sentiments of his brother regular officers; for, although ever keenly alive to and ready to take advantage of progress in military science, nevertheless as to the customs, traditions and precedents of the service, it may be said that no class could be more truly conservative, or opposed to innovations not imperatively demanded for the good of the service.

A description of the uniforms of the American Army after 1825 is easily accessible. For an earlier period the records of the War Department, in consequence of the fire of 8th November, 1800, and invasion of 24th August, 1814, contain but very meagre information on this subject. It has, therefore, been the effort in this paper to indicate the sources of information, and rescue some which have become almost destroyed.

### ASA BIRD GARDNER

NOTE.—UNIFORMS.—In Colonel Trumbull's painting of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, the Colonels on foot, viz.: Colonels Huntington, Hamilton, Stewart, &c., of the infantry, have black round hats and plumes, of which lower part are black and upper part red. Infantry buttons and epaulettes, both white; artillery buttons and epaulettes, both yellow. Cockade; main part of the "rosette" black, with small white rosette on top. Brigadier-General Knox, of the artillery, wore a plume of which lower part was *white* and upper part scarlet, and scarlet facings to his uniform.

In the painting of Burgoyne's surrender by Colonel Trumbull, Colonel William Prescott, of the Massachusetts volunteer infantry, is represented in a brown uniform hunting shirt. Colonel Daniel Morgan, of the Eleventh Virginia regiment rifles, in a white fringed hunting shirt. An infantry officer, Lieut.-Colonel John Brooks, Eighth Massachusetts regiment, in white epaulettes, white buttons, white facings and white under clothes, and blue coat. Major Ebenezer Stevens, Chief of Artillery, in yellow epaulettes, yellow buttons, yellow lace on sleeves and button holes, blue coat with scarlet linings and facings, scarlet sash, buff vest and buff small clothes.

In Trumbull's painting of Washington resigning his commission at Annapolis, also in the Rotunda at the Capitol, General Washington's aids are in blue and buff. (Cols. Walker and Stuart.)

Colonel John Eager Howard, late of the Second Maryland Infantry of the Line, has white epaulettes, white buttons and red facings.

The uniform of general officers was blue and buff.

In the foregoing sketch, the General Orders which are cited, when not otherwise expressed, are to be understood as issued from "Army Headquarters" for the time being, and to be the orders of the General-in-Chief of the Army then exercising the office.

A. B. G.

## WILLIAM SHIPPEN

### PENNSYLVANIA DELEGATE IN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

Amongst those who emigrated from the mother country for the purpose of bettering their fortunes, and not to escape religious persecution, was Edward Shippen (b. 1639), a son of William Shippen of Yorkshire, gentleman. The family occupied a position of importance, for we find the Rev. Dr. Robert Shippen (a nephew of Edward Shippen) principal of Brazen Nose College and Vice Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Another nephew was William Shippen, the famous leader of the Jacobites, the "downright Shippen" of Pope, of whom Sir Robert Walpole repeatedly said, that he was not to be approached by corruption, and whose courage and integrity in Parliament procured for him (Dec. 4, 1717) the glory of a warrant of the House of Commons, committing him to the Tower for "reflecting on His Majesty's person and government."<sup>1</sup>

Edward Shippen emigrated to Boston 1668, where he as a merchant amassed a handsome fortune. He brought with him his notions as a member of the Established Church, for he at once joined the Artillery Company, but in 1671 he married Elizabeth Lybrand, a Quakeress, and became a member of that sect.

The most cruel, the most unsparing persecutions and deeds of blood known in the history of the human race are those which have been done in the name of Christ. The Fathers in New England were not behind their brethren of other sects, and accordingly Edward Shippen shared in the "jailings, whippings and banishments," "the fines and imprisonments" inflicted on the inoffensive Quakers. In 1693, a meteor appeared, and therefore a "fresh persecution of the Baptists and Quakers" was "promoted," and reached such a pitch that Mr. Shippen was either banished or driven to take refuge in Philadelphia.<sup>2</sup> It seems to have taken about a year to dispose of his estate in Boston and transfer the proceeds to his new house (1693-94). He did not quit Boston without erecting a memorial on "a green" near to "a pair of gallows, where several of our friends had suffered death for the truth, and were thrown into a hole." He asked leave of the magistrates "to erect some more lasting memorial there, but they were not willing." His wealth, his fine personal appearance, his mansion styled "a princely palace," his talents and high character at once obtained for him position and influence.

Very soon after his arrival in Philadelphia (July 9, 1695) he was elected Speaker of the Assembly. Penn, who always gave the most anxious consideration to his selection of officers for the province, named him in the Charter, Oct. 25, 1701, the first Mayor of the City of Philadelphia. In 1702-4 he was President of the Governor's Council. In this last year he withdrew from the Society of Friends, and also from public life, although he continued to advise concerning public affairs until his death, October 2, 1712.<sup>3</sup>

His son Joseph Shippen (born at Boston, February 28, 1678-9, died at Germantown, 1741) removed to Philadelphia, 1704, with his father. In 1727 he joined Dr. Franklin in founding the Junto "for mutual information and the public good." It was the forerunner of our now numerous scientific institutions. One of the subjects to which special attention was given was practical anatomy. By his wife, Abigail Gross, of Huguenot descent (Le Gros) he left three children surviving him. The daughter Anne married Charles Willing.<sup>4</sup>

Edward, the elder, born July 9, 1703, generally known as of Lancaster, where he resided during the latter period of his life, was much esteemed and respected throughout the province. Among other claims to consideration, may be mentioned that he "laid out" Shippensburg, and was one of the founders (1746-48) of the College of New Jersey at Newark in that State, removed (1753) to Princeton, of which he was Trustee for twenty years. He was active in Church affairs. Of his two sons, Edward, the elder, became Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, and the younger, Joseph, a graduate of Princeton (1753), rose to the rank of Colonel in the Provincial Army.<sup>5</sup> As such he commanded the advance of General Forbes' expedition for the capture of Fort Duquesne. He was also a poet of considerable merit. After the troops were disbanded, he made a visit to Europe, and on his return was made Secretary to the Province.<sup>6</sup>

The sixth child, and younger surviving son, was William Shippen, generally known as Dr. William Shippen, *the Elder*, more especially the subject of this paper because he was a member of the Continental Congress. He was born at Philadelphia, October 1, 1712, where he died, November 4, 1801. We are told that he applied himself early in life to the study of medicine, for "which he had a remarkable genius, possessing that kind of intuitive knowledge of diseases, which cannot be acquired from books." He seems to have inherited his father's eager desire to explore the domains of physical science, and no doubt that the Junto had its influence in shaping his course in life. An eminent

physician of this city says: "It is most probable that he acquired those ideas of the importance of the study (Practical Anatomy) which induced him to impress upon his son the propriety of making himself master of the science, in order to aid the establishment of those lectures he afterwards so ably delivered." There is no record, so far as I know, as to when and where he received his degree of Doctor of Medicine, but he speedily obtained a large and lucrative practice, which he maintained through a long and respected life. He was especially liberal towards the poor, and, it is said, not only gave his professional aid and medicines without charge, but oftentimes assisted them by donations from his purse. He was very successful in his practice, but was so far from thinking that medicine was much advanced towards perfection, that it is said, that when congratulated by some one on the number of cures he effected, and the few patients he lost, his answer was: "My friend, Nature does a great deal, and the grave covers up our mistakes." Conscious of the deficiencies for medical education in America, and animated by a patriotic desire to remedy them, Dr. Shippen trained his son for that profession; sent him to Europe, where he had every possible opportunity for obtaining a knowledge of the various branches, and on his return (May, 1768) encouraged him to commence a series of lectures on Anatomy in one of the large rooms of this building (the State House), and thus to inaugurate the first Medical School in America.

It has been stated that Dr. Shippen was one of the founders, and for many years a Trustee of Princeton College (Thacher), but that honor is due to his brother Edward, as already mentioned." Dr. Shippen's son, however, was a graduate of the class of 1754, and for many years a Trustee of the College as well as his uncle. Dr. Shippen was by no means given to politics, but the outlook for the Americans at the close of the year 1778 was very dark and dreary. It was at this moment that he was called upon to take part in the Councils of the Nation. On the 20th November, 1778, he was elected to the Continental Congress by the Assembly of Pennsylvania. Daniel Roberdeau was one of his colleagues. The vote cast for Dr. Shippen, the elder, was 27. At the end of the year, November 13, 1779, he was re-elected. His advanced years and his professional duties would have furnished ample excuse to any less patriotic citizen for declining the thankless position; but an examination of the Journals of Congress shows that Dr. Shippen was always steadily at his post, and that his votes and conduct were those of an honest, intelligent, high-minded, patriotic gentleman, who thought only of his country's welfare."



The Junto, in which Dr. Shippen took an earnest part, was, as already mentioned, more or less the origin of the American Philosophical Society. Of this latter institution he was for many years Vice-President. For twenty years he was first physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital. He was one of the founders of the Second Presbyterian Church, and a member of it for nearly sixty years. He was so very abstemious that he never tasted wine or any spirituous liquor until during his last illness. He possessed the powerful frame and vigorous health for which his race was noted. He rode on horseback from Germantown to Philadelphia, in the coldest weather, without an overcoat, and but a short time before his death walked from Germantown to his son's house in Philadelphia, a distance of about six miles." His mode of living was simple and unostentatious. His temper was so serene and forbearing that tradition says it was never ruffled. His benevolence was without stint. He lived beloved, and "at the great age of ninety years he bowed his reverend head to the will of his merciful Creator, regretted and lamented, and was buried in the graveyard of the church to which he had been so useful."

THOMAS BALCH

<sup>1</sup> Debates in Parliament, 1717-21, p. 20. <sup>2</sup> It is quite possible that he was invited by Penn.

<sup>3</sup> Address, etc., by Dr. W. E. Hornor; Hazard's Reg., x, 66; Hazard's Reg., iv, 241; Memoirs of James Logan, by Armistead, 39; Thomas Storey's Journal, London, 1718, 195-6, 223-6; Southey's Com. Place Book, 5, v; Oldmixon, i, 112.

<sup>4</sup> Watson's Annals, i, 83-368 (2d ed.); Gabriel Thomas' Pennsylvania, London, 1698, 43;

<sup>5</sup> There seems to have been as much confusion in regard to these Edwards and Josephs as in regard to the Doctors William Shippen. Mr. Griswold (Republican Court, p. 15) has fallen into a mistake. In the memoir of Chief Justice Shippen (Portfolio, 1810), by Dr. Charles Caldwell, Edward, the emigrant, is confounded with his grandson, Edward of Lancaster. Hazard's Reg., iv, 241, repeats the error. In Hist. Princeton College, by Dr. S. D. Alexander, Secretary Joseph Shippen is represented to be the son of Dr. William Shippen the elder instead of nephew, and brother to Dr. William Shippen the younger instead of cousin.

<sup>6</sup> Records Pres. Ch., 98 et seq.; Catalogue New Jersey College, 1875; Introduction to Poets and Poetry of America, by R. W. Griswold; American Mag., 1757-60.

<sup>7</sup> Contributions to Med. Hist. Penn., by Dr. Caspar Morris, Hazard's Reg., iv, 332.

<sup>8</sup> Am. Med. Biog., by James Thacher, M. D., Boston, 1828, William Shippen.

<sup>9</sup> Journals of Congress with "extract of Gen. Assembly of Penn.," Nov. 20th, 1778.

<sup>10</sup> By some strange perversity which seems to attend the various members of the Shippen family, Dr. William Shippen, *the younger* (the son), has been of late years substituted for Dr. William Shippen, *the elder* (the father), as a member of the Continental Congress. The error, as far as I can trace it, appears to have originated in Lanman's Dict. of Congress, and to have been imported into the Cats. of Princeton and Univ. of Penn., Alexander's Hist. of Princeton College, &c. But besides Journ. of Congress and of Assembly quoted, other authorities are, Thacher citing the Med. Repos., Dr. Wistar's Eulog. on the younger Shippen, 1809, Journ. Med. and Phys. Science, Vol. II. Dr. Joseph Carson's Hist. Med. Dep. Univ. Penn.; Dr. Wood's Address on Cent. Celeb. of Penn. Hospital, &c., &c. <sup>11</sup> Mss. of R. Buchanan, Esq.

NOTE.—A sketch prepared for the Congress of Authors which met at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Saturday, July 2d, 1876.

## KEESE-ANA

A friend the other day made inquiry of me for some particulars respecting the late John Keese, of most excellent bookselling memory. It was a matter of regret with me that I could not refer him at once to any one of the copious American biographical Dictionaries, for Keese was a man who should not pass out of memory with the recollections of his many friends of the present fleeting generation. Perhaps some of your readers may be induced to supply the usual data of family, birth and death. I have only the recollection of him as the wittiest book auctioneer of his day in New York, and it may be said, of any day, for there is no tradition of any predecessor of such powers, and he certainly left no successor in his peculiar vein. This may be said without disparagement to the intellectual cleverness of the Sabins, Leavitts and Mervins of the present day—for Keese was really an extraordinary man, in the humorous handling of books and an audience, enlivening a sales room on the dullest of wet nights and under the most disadvantageous circumstances with the brilliancy of his wit. Few who attended his "Sales" did not carry away with them some recollection of his sparkling genius. It must have been a most impracticable book which did not in its subject, the name or associates of its author furnish some opportunity for his pleasantry; and if these fell short he could eke out his merriment with some innocent play upon his audience. Thus, if as sometimes happened, in default of a bidder he was driven to assign the book to some acquaintance in the company, who would naturally shake his head in refusal—the reply was instantaneous: "you needn't shake your head, there's nothing in it; and with a pause of a second or two, "I mean the book." "Is that binding calf?" asked a discriminating bidder, as if doubtful of the representation which had been made, a hesitation which was promptly allayed by the *argumentum ad hominem* "Come up my good friend, put your hand on it and see if there is any fellow-feeling." An auctioneer is bound to hold his own against all interlocutors. He is liable to all sorts of questioning and interruptions; but much of his success depends upon the maintainance of his powers in his seat of authority, his elevated pulpit. It is his business to control the audience and their purses. To do this he must keep his company in good humor, and least of all suffer any intellectual discomfiture. Keese never lost this superiority. It was dangerous, unless particularly

well armed, to enter into a contest with him. Any interruption of the business of the room was sure to be met by him, when no mischief was intended, in some gentle, playful way; but at the approach of anything like insolence the rebuke was severe. There was a story of a swaggering pretender who, to the annoyance of the receiving clerk, insisted upon offering a hundred dollar bill for some petty purchase, who received from the auctioneer something more than the pecuniary change he was in quest of, in abatement of his pride of purse. A customer, at another time, was disturbing the settled order of proceedings by calling out of season for the delivery of a copy of Watt's Hymns, which had been knocked down to him for a trifle. Learning the cause of the interruption: "Oh," says Keese, "give the gentleman his book. He wishes to learn and sing one of the hymns before he goes to bed to-night." At the sale of another copy of this honored book, he once broke out with the parody:

Blest is the man who shuns the place  
Where other auctions be,  
And has his money in his fist  
And buys his books of me!

The late Mr. Gowans was a constant attendant at the sales, where much of his immense book stock was purchased. He was an admirer of Keese, and even devoted to his memory. He would frequently call the auctioneer out by a question relating to the book in hand, and always received a pertinent witty reply. Keese was offering a book entitled a "History of the Tatars." "Is not that Tartars?" "No!" was the immediate answer, "Their wives were the Tartars."

An author's name suggestive of a pun or of a double meaning, was never lost upon him. A book of the Rev. Dr. Hawks would bring out the quiet elucidation—"a bird of pray." "Going—going—gentleman—ten cents for Caroline Fry—why, it isn't the price of a stew;" a jest which no genuine New York oyster eating audience ever failed to appreciate, any more than they would his interpretation of the letters F. R. S. appended to an author's name on a title page—"Fried, Roasted and Stewed." D.D. he would unceremoniously translate "Dead Dog."

His deprecatory remark on the sacrifice of a copy of Bacon's Essays for twelve and a half cents was pathetic. "Really, that is too much pork for a shilling!" Selling, one evening, a book on German politics by Goetz, he hesitated over the catalogue, as if at the delicacy of the author's name. "What is it?" asked one of the audience. "Oh! something, I suppose, on the internal difficulties of the country." In a similar vein was his introduction of Gutzlaff's China with the observation, "This was the gentleman with a commotion in his bowels."

Sometimes his wit would be more pointed. "This," said he, holding up a volume of verse of a well known type, "is a book, by a poor and pious girl, of poor and pious poems." There was a heavy remainder of a certain volume, the "Lives of the Shoemakers," which required all his ingenuity to dispose of. He would bring out a copy with the unfailing introduction, "This is the *last copy*. The book was *awl* the the author wrote and was *awl* that his widow inherited from him, her *sole* reliance"—a jest which may have been stimulated by Shakespeare's cobbler in Julius Cæsar. Of some heavy folio, dragging at a feeble price, he would end his efforts—"Going—going—cheap for a back-log!" Knocking down a "Hand-book," he added, for the comfort of the purchaser, "You will see that it is pretty well fingered." "Damaged, you say, yes—a little wet on the outside—but you will find it dry enough within." On another occasion he parried this word "damaged" quite happily. A young son of a highly respectable Episcopal clergyman of this city, was a privileged attendant at the auction room. Keese offered a soiled or injured copy of the "Book of Common Prayer." "Isn't it *damaged*," exclaimed the youth; upon which Keese turned round to him slowly, and fixing his attention upon him with great gravity, in a tone of soberness and solemnity, addressed him, "Has your father taught you to regard *that* as a damaged book?"

His applications of familiar quotations from the poets were occasionally very felicitous. Looking in at the large auction room on Broadway, late in the season, we found Keese in a corner of the apartment presiding over a miscellaneous lot of kitchen furniture, which had invaded the more legitimate business of the place. A few second-rate boarding house keepers were bent on securing the pots and kettles at the greatest sacrifice. Keese was voluble and witty as ever. Dwelling with a final appeal over a coveted saucepan, which held the gaze of a hesitating bidder, "going—going—'the woman who deliberates is lost'—gone!" A visitor once interrupted one of his book sales by strumming on a piano, sent for sale among some articles of furniture. "Tom," says he to his man, "tell that gentleman to stop—the piano is not his forte."

On opening the sales room at 159 Broadway, at the beginning, we believe, of his career as an auctioneer, with the new firm of Cooley, Keese & Hill, an entertainment was given to the trade, at which his jests were as inexhaustible as the supply of champagne. "If you have any dealings with us, my friends, it will be pleasant, for we shall take things cooley (Cooley); if you should have any doubt as to the security of property left with us, remember that it is under most excellent keys

(Keese); and as for our stability you may rely upon one of the granite Hills of New Hampshire.' It was toward the close of this entertainment, amidst the compliments and good cheer, that he slipped in an artful reminder of business. "Gentlemen, we are scattering our bread upon the waters, and expect to find it after many days—battered!"

Keese, as we have just seen, had, as well as his partners, a name provocative of a pun, a capability in which he did not spare himself more than he did others. His partner, Cooley, was large in person and of a fine presence; Keese was short, meagre and nervous, a "thin, weasens-faced, black-eyed chap," as his friend Clarke described him in the *Knickerbocker*, for all which, however, he made amends and nobly held his own by his abounding vitality. Selling a print by Landseer, "Dignity and Impudence," one of the artist's contrasts of the great and small in doghood, our auctioneer was called upon for the name of the engraving. "Oh," said he, "I don't know, unless it is Cooley and Keese." So he spoke of the children of his family as "a bunch of Keys."

His wit, of course, was not confined to the auction room. One of his best remembered jests is his toast given at a gathering of mill owners and manufacturers at Saugerties, on the Hudson. "The village of Saugerties: may its furnaces be blasted and its streams be *dammed*." The late Lewis Gaylord Clarke, by the side of this anecdote, in his "Editor's Table" in the *Knickerbocker*, relates another, occurring at the comedian Burton's hospitable home, at a "Mulberry Feast" in honor of Shakespeare. At this festivity the late Mr. Balmano, the kindly devotee to the great dramatist and the whole genial world of literature and art, unwrapped from many foldings of tissue-paper a piece of bark, taken by himself, as he asserted, from Herne's oak in Windsor forest. "You took this from the trunk of the old oak itself, did you, Mr. Balmano?" asked Keese. "I did," was the response. "Ah!" was the reply of his questioner, eyeing the relic with affectionate admiration, but thoughtfully, after a slight pause, "isn't it barely possible, Mr. Balmano, that you may have been *barking up the wrong tree*?"

Poor Keese! he was witty to the last, in sorrow and disappointment. He became consumptive, his ringing voice could no more be heard in the sales room; but he found a congenial refuge in the New York Custom House, where he held the post of appraiser of books. Chief Justice Daly, from whom we have the anecdote, meeting him in this scene one day, not long before his death, inquired respecting his health. Keese replied in feeble tones, "failing, failing—in a place where every thing is *invoiced* except myself."

Had not Keese been closely attached to the book business from his youth—he was brought up with the Collinses and long associated with that publishing house—he would probably have been an author. As it was he might fairly have claimed the title of a man of letters. He was an editor of various publications; one of these, a book of selections of poetry, which we have not seen, was entitled “The Mourner’s Chaplet,” a volume of consolation prepared, we have heard it stated, after the loss of a son. A memoir of Lucy Hooper, his friend, the gentle poetess of Brooklyn, was prefixed by him to a collection of her poems. He also edited a volume of poems by Mrs. E. Oakes Smith, and one or two annuals, “The Wintergreen, a Perennial Gift,” in 1844, and “The Opal, a Pure Gift for the Holidays,” in 1847, the last illustrated by the artist Chapman, with whom he was particularly associated in the preparation of a pair of beautiful volumes published by Colman in 1840 and 1842, entitled “Poets of America, illustrated by one of her Painters.” The selection of poems, an excellent one, was made by Keese, and the books bore his name as editor. We find him also in 1846 superintending the literary department of a series of views in 4to, entitled “North American Scenery, from drawings by Whitefield.”

On one occasion, at least, Keese appeared in public as a lecturer, in a course delivered at the Broadway Tabernacle, in 1852, taking for his theme a rather comprehensive subject, “The Influence of Knowledge.” In a newspaper report of this lecture we find him citing a fine passage from our well remembered Mayor, Philip Hone, whom he justly characterized as “in every particular, a merchant prince, a finished gentleman, and *the best of auctioneers*.” Keese, who was of an esteemed old New York family—on the mother’s side he was descended from the famous divine and author of an early day in the city, William Linn—had much local feeling. A poem which he recited before a certain “Columbian Literary Club” of this city, at Hope Chapel, the year following the lecture, gives abundant evidence of this in its summary of the celebrities of the day. Though a quarter of a century has not yet elapsed since its delivery, there are but few living of the town worthies he described. We may cite it freely as a contribution to our past city history. Here is a passage of the unstudied rhymes, beginning with a tribute to his friend Burton and his unfailing popularity :—

“The drama flourishes, and one thing’s certain,  
Wealth, taste and beauty throng to laugh at Burton.  
There they behold great Shakespeare’s fines<sup>t</sup> scholar,  
A poet and a wit, for half a dollar—

There Shakespeare, Sheridan and Colman meet,  
 And you must early go to get a seat.  
 Bare son of Momus, may your shadow ne'er be less,  
 And we not die from laughing to excess!  
 The Broadway caters, too, for taste refined;  
 There Shakespeare's genius speeds the march of mind;  
 Here our own Forrest treads the mimic scene,  
 And graceful beauty shines in Julia Dean,  
 Here Macbeth, Hamlet, William Tell and Lear  
 Excite our pity, wonder, love and fears;  
 While Constance, Julia, and Bianca's grace  
 Live in the genius of that radiant face.  
 Wallack's Lyceum visit, there you find  
 Vaudeville, farce and comedy combined;  
 The manager, a favorite of thirty years,  
 Stands, as an actor, first among his peers;  
 Here's Rufus Blake, here Lester's genius soars,  
 And Laura Keene elicits loud applause.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Broadway Railroad fills the lawyer's pocket  
 And in one court is always on the docket.  
 The "Bearded Lady," with her whiskers dark,  
 Is seen each day at Barnum's, near the Park.  
 Barnum exhibits, with his usual taste,  
 His only humbug, that is not barefaced.

\* \* \* \* \*

A murmur through our city goes, and hark!  
 All ranks cry out we'll have a Central Park.

Such were some of the musings and solaces of New Yorkers of 1853. Alas! poor Yorick. The laughter is long since wiped from the faces of the Burtonean guests. Forrest's grandeur no more shakes the roof of the Broadway, itself vanished and the old Lyceum with the elder Wallack, and Rufus Blake. The "Bearded Lady" where is she—shaven and shorn perhaps in private life; Barnum survives—his face was seen the other day, a man in his prime on a new placard; Lester maintains the glory of the Wallacks; the Broadway Railroad has been succeeded, to the equal satisfaction of the lawyers, by others as litigious; and best of all, the Central Park is happily more than the dream realized.

EVERT A. DUYCKINCK

DIARY  
OF GOVERNOR SAMUEL WARD

DELEGATE FROM RHODE ISLAND  
IN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774-1776

Part II

SECOND CONGRESS.—FIRST SESSION.—

"May 10, 1775. Set out for Philadelphia. Lodged at Champlin's, in Lyme. —May 11th. Lodged at Beers' (New Haven).—May 12th. Dined at Fairfield, lodged at Knapp's H——.—May 13th. Dined at Kingsbridge. To New York. Over the ferry to Josiah Peirson's, in Newark. — May 14th. Woodbridge, Princeton, Trenton.—May 15th. Bristol, Philadelphia.

May 11, 1775. The Congress opened with prayers by Mr. Duché. Credentials of the gentlemen present opened, etc. Thanks to Mr. Duché by Mr. Bland, Mr. Willing and Mr. Sullivan. Doors to be shut and the members under the ties of secrecy until etc. Circular letter, 5th February last, from the Agents Franklin, Lee and Bollan to the Assemblies read. A letter from the Provincial Congress of Watertown, inclosing an account of the late action at Concord, etc. Congress to be resolved into a Committee of the Whole on Monday, to take into consideration the state of America. Letter from the provincial Congress referred to that Committee. . Adjourned to the next day.—12th. Met and adjourned.—13th. Met. Dr. Lyman Hall, for the parish of St. John's in Georgia, admitted for that parish under such regulations as the Congress should direct. Adjourned to Monday.—15th. A number of members arrived. The Secretary allowed to employ Timothy Matlack as clerk under

an oath of secrecy; a petition from the Murrays; ordered that the Congress be resolved into a Committee to-morrow as above; New York asked advice relative to the troops; the Delegate from St. John's did not insist on a voice, save when the Colonies were not called.

Arrived myself at this time. Advice given to New York. Memorials from Shoemaker and Drinker relative to vessels etc. A Committee appointed to consider what ports in the province of New York ought to be guarded. Colonel Washington etc. the Committee. Then adjourned.—16th. Met. The letter from the Murrays read and ordered to lie on the table. Resolved into a Committee of the Whole to take into consideration the state of America; Mr. Tilghman in the Chair; reported that no resolutions were come into, and desired leave, etc.—17th. Met. Shoemaker and Drinker's petition read. All exportations to Quebec, Nova Scotia, Island of St. John's, Newfoundland, Georgia (except the parish of St. John's), and the two Floridas, and for the British fisheries on the American coasts, to cease, and ordered to be immediately published.—18th. Met. Mr. Hopkins joined us. Rules of the last Congress adopted. News of taking Ticonderoga. Mr. Brown gave much intelligence relative to Canada, etc. Resolution that the stores be removed from Ticonderoga, etc., to the south end of Lake George, etc.; a post to be taken there; an account of the cannon to be taken, etc.—19th. Met. Report of the Committee for New York made and referred to the Committee of the Whole, which went into the consideration of the state of America. After some time Mr.



Ward reported that no resolutions were come into, and desired leave to sit again.—20th. Met, and resolved into a Committee. Mr. Ward reported as above.—22d. Met, and resolved as above, and Mr. Ward reported as above.—23d Met, and resolved into, etc. Mr. Ward reported as above.—24th. Met. Mr. Randolph going to the Assembly, Mr. Middleton was chosen (President); declined on account of his ill state of health, and Mr. Hancock was chosen. Then resolved into a Committee, and Mr. Ward reported as above.—25th. Met, resolved into, etc. Mr. Ward reported the resolutions relative to New York, desired leave to sit again on the other business. Resolved, a post at Kingsbridge, the Highlands, etc., in New York be taken, and the militia kept in readiness, etc.—26th. The Delegates from New Jersey laid before the Congress the resolutions of that Assembly relative to the resolution of the Commons, which was referred to the Committee of the Whole; an addition to the first resolves concerning New York, relative to the uncertainty of the success of conciliatory measures; then resolved into a Committee of the Whole. Mr. Ward reported some resolutions, and desired leave to sit again. The report being read, several resolutions relative to the dangerous situation of the Colonies and the necessity of putting them into a state of defence, etc., were come into.—27th. Account of the state of Canada given us; a Committee appointed for ways and means of getting powder. Power of forgiveness given to each Provincial Congress.—29th. Approved the letter to Canada. No provisions, etc.

to go to Nantucket unless from the Massachussetts. A Committee appointed to consider of a speedy and safe conveyance of letters, etc., throughout the Continent.—30th. Met. Mr. Willing presented the purport of a conversation between Lord North and a gentleman now in this city, reduced to writing by Mr. Cooper, under-Secretary to the Treasury. Resolved into a Committee of the Whole. Mr. Ward reported as before.—31st. Met. Resolved into a Committee. Mr. Ward reported as before. A letter from Colonel Arnold (23d), containing intelligence of four hundred regulars at St. John's (Canada), preparing to cross the lake (Champlain); upon which the Governor of Connecticut was desired to send a strong reinforcement, and New York to supply them with provisions.

June 1st. A report made from the Committee for supplies of powder. Commissioners to be appointed by the Governor of Connecticut to receive the provisions at Albany, and the Convention of New York to give all necessary assistance in transporting them to the places where wanted. Invasions or incursions into Canada forbid.—2d. Dr. Church arrived with a letter of instructions from the Provincial Congress (of Massachusetts) asking advice of the Congress. Resolutions forbidding bills of exchange to be negotiated. No provisions to be supplied the Army and Navy in Massachusetts, or the transports.—3d. A Committee appointed to consider of the state of the Massachusetts, a Committee to borrow six thousand pounds sterling, Committees for a petition to the King, (an) Address to the people of England, ditto to Ireland, (and a)

Letter to Jamaica. A Committee for considering (the) money necessary (to be raised).—5th. Met and adjourned.—6th. Met and adjourned.—7th. Reports of several Committees. A fast recommended (for the) 20th July. Resolved into a Committee (of the Whole), and report made as above.—8th. A Committee appointed (to) examine the papers of Major Skeene. Resolved into a Committee (of the Whole), and reported as above.—9th. Report of the Committee relative to the Massachusetts Bay read and approved. The Provincial Congress to write to the towns to choose Representatives, they to choose Councilors; which Assembly and Councillors (are) to execute the powers of Government until, etc.—10th. Recommended to the New England Colonies to supply the Army before Boston with powder immediately; the Committees in the Colonies to purchase all the saltpetre and sulphur, and have them made into powder. Dismissed Major Skeene upon his parole not to cross the rivers of Schuylkill and Delaware, or go more than eight miles from the city.—12th. The order for a Fast engrossed and approved. The letter to Canada ordered to lie (on the table). Through hurry went no farther with my memorandum.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL OF THE CONGRESS.—Wednesday, June 14, 1775. Met according to adjournment. Agreeable to the standing order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the state of America; and after some time spent thereon, the President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had come

to certain resolutions, which he was ordered to report; but not having come to a conclusion, they desired him to move for leave to sit again. The resolutions being read, they were agreed to.

Thursday, June 15, 1775. Met according to adjournment. \* \* \* \* Agreeable to Order, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, and after some time the President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had come to some farther Resolutions, which he was ordered to report. The Report of the Committee being read and considered, Resolved, That a General be appointed to command all the Continental Forces, raised or to be raised for the defence of American Liberty. That five hundred dollars per month be allowed for the pay and expenses of the General. The Congress then proceeded to the choice of a General by ballot, and George Washington, Esq., was unanimously elected.

Tuesday, June 23, 1775. \* \* \* Agreeable to Order, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into further consideration the state of America, and after some time spent therein, the President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Ward reported certain Resolutions come into by them (on the Continental Currency), and that not having yet finished, they desired leave to sit again. The Report of the Committee being read, was agreed to.

Monday, July 3, 1775. Met according to adjournment. \* \* Agreeable to the Order of the Day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to consider the trade of these Colonies, and after some time the Presi-

dent resumed the Chair, and Mr. Ward reported a Resolution they had come to. The Resolution of the Committee being read, was, at the desire of the Colony of South Carolina, referred for further consideration till to-morrow.

Friday, July 21, 1775. Agreeable to Order, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the state of America, and after some time spent therein, the President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Ward reported that they had come to certain Resolutions, which he read, and then desired leave to sit again.

Tuesday, August 1, 1775. \* \* \*  
Adjourned to Tuesday, the 5th of September next.

NOTE.—GOVERNOR WARD'S OPINION OF JEFFERSON.—On the 22d of June Governor Ward wrote from Philadelphia to his brother Henry Ward, Secretary of Rhode Island, as follows: "Yesterday the famous Mr. Jefferson, a Delegate from Virginia, in the room of Mr. Randolph, arrived. I have not been in company with him yet. He looks like a very sensible, spirited, fine Fellow, and by the pamphlet which he wrote last summer he certainly is one."

### THE DAUPHIN'S BIRTHDAY

*From the Portfolio, Volume IV, 1817*

Account of a French Fête in Philadelphia in honour of The Dauphin's Birthday. In a letter from Dr Rush to a Lady.

PHILADELPHIA, 16 July, 1782.

Dear Madam: For some weeks past our city has been amused with the expectation of a most splendid entertainment to be given by the minister of France, to celebrate the birthday of the Dauphin of France. Great preparations, it was said, were made for

that purpose. Hundreds crowded daily to see a large frame building which he had erected for a dancing room on one side of his house.\* This building, which was sixty feet in front and forty feet deep, was supported by large painted pillars, and was open all round. The ceiling was decorated with several pieces of neat paintings emblematical of the design of the entertainment. The garden contiguous to this shade was cut into beautiful walks, and divided with cedar and pine branches into artificial groves. The whole, both the building and walks, were accommodated with seats. Besides these preparations, we were told that the minister had borrowed thirty cooks from the French army, to assist in providing an entertainment suited to the size and dignity of the company. Eleven hundred tickets were distributed, most of them two or three weeks before the evening of the entertainment.

Forty were sent to the governor of each state, to be distributed by them to the principal officers and gentlemen of their respective governments, and, I believe, the same number to General Washington, to be distributed to the principal officers of the army. For ten days before the entertainment nothing else was talked of in our city. The shops were crowded with customers. Hair dressers were retained; tailors, milliners and mantua-makers were to be seen, covered with sweat and out of breath, in every street. Monday, July 15th, was the long expected evening.

The morning of this day was ushered in by a corps of hair-dressers, occupying the place of the city watchmen. Many

ladies were obliged to have their heads dressed between four and six o'clock in the morning, so great was the demand and so numerous were the engagements this day of the gentlemen of the comb. At half past seven o'clock was the time fixed in the tickets for the meeting of the company. The approach of the hour was proclaimed by the rattling of all the carriages in the city. The doors and windows of the streets which lead to the minister's were lined with people, and near the minister's house was a collection of all the curious and idle men, women and children in the city, who were not invited to the entertainment, amounting, probably, to ten thousand people. The minister was not unmindful of this crowd of spectators. He had previously pulled down a board fence and put up a neat pallisado fence before the dancing room and walks, on purpose to gratify them with a sight of the company and entertainment. He intended further to have distributed two pipes of Madeira wine and \$600 in small change among them; but he was dissuaded from this act of generosity by some gentlemen of the city, who were afraid that it might prove the occasion of a riot or some troublesome proceedings. The money devoted to this purpose was charitably distributed among the prisoners in the jails, and patients in the hospital in the city. About eight o'clock our family, consisting of Mrs. Rush, our cousin Susan Hall, our sister Sukey and myself, with our good neighbors Mrs. and Mr. Henry, entered the apartment provided for this splendid entertainment. We were received through a wide gate by the minister and conducted by one of his

family to the dancing room. The scene now almost exceeds description. The numerous lights distributed through the garden, the splendour of the room we were approaching, the size of the company which was now collected and which consisted of about 700 persons; the brilliancy and variety of their dresses, and the band of music which had just began to play, formed a scene which resembled enchantment. Sukey Stockton said "her mind was carried beyond and out of itself." We entered the room together, and here we saw the world in miniature. All the ranks, parties, and professions in the city, and all the officers of government were fully represented in this assembly. Here were ladies and gentlemen of the most ancient as well as modern families. Here were lawyers, doctors and ministers of the gospel. Here were the learned faculty of the college, and among them many who knew not whether Cicero plead in Latin or in Greek; or whether Horace was a Roman or a Scotchman. Here were painters and musicians, poets and philosophers, and men who were never moved by beauty or harmony, or by rhyme or reason. Here were merchants and gentlemen of independent fortunes, as well as many respectable and opulent tradesmen. Here were whigs and men who formerly bore the character of tories. Here were the president and members of congress, governors of states and generals of armies, ministers of finance and war and foreign affairs; judges of superior and inferior courts, with all their respective suites and assistants, secretaries and clerks. In a word, the assembly was truly republican. The company

was mixed, it is true, but the mixture formed the harmony of the evening. Everybody seemed pleased. Pride and ill-nature for a while forgot their pretensions and offices, and the whole assembly behaved to each other as if they had been members of the same family. It was impossible to partake of the joy of the evening without being struck with the occasion of it. It was to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin of France.

How great the revolution in the mind of an American! to rejoice in the birth of an heir to the crown of France, a country against which he had imbibed prejudices as ancient as the wars between France and England. How strange! for a protestant to rejoice in the birth of a prince, whose religion he has been always taught to consider as unfriendly to humanity. And above all how new the phenomenon for republicans to rejoice in the birth of a prince, who must one day be the support of monarchy and slavery. Human nature in this instance seems to be turned inside outwards. The picture is still agreeable, inasmuch as it shows us in the clearest point of view that there are no prejudices so strong, no opinions so sacred, and no contradictions so palpable, that will not yield to the love of liberty.

The appearance and characters, as well as the employment of the company naturally suggested the idea of Elysium given by the ancient poets. Here were to be seen heroes and patriots in close conversation with each other. Washington and Dickinson held several dialogues together. Here were to be seen men conversing with each other who had appeared in all the different stages of the

American war. Dickinson and Morris frequently reclined together against the same pillar. Here were to be seen statesmen and warriors, from the opposite ends of the continent, talking of the history of the war in their respective states. Rutledge and Walton from the south, here conversed with Lincoln and Duane from the east and north. Here and there, too, appeared a solitary character walking among the artificial bowers in the garden. The celebrated author of "Common Sense" retired frequently from the company to analyze his thoughts and to enjoy the repast of his own original ideas. Here were to be seen men who had opposed each other in the councils and parties of their country, forgetting all former resentments and exchanging civilities with each other. Mifflin and Reed accosted each other with all the kindness of ancient friends. Here were to be seen men of various countries and languages, such as Americans and Frenchmen, Englishmen and Scotchmen, Germans and Irishmen, conversing with each other like children of one father. And lastly, here were to be seen the extremes of the civilized and savage life. An Indian chief, in his savage habits, and the count Rochambeau in his splendid and expensive uniform, talked with each other as if they had been the subjects of the same government, generals in the same army, and partakers of the same blessings of civilized life.

About half an hour after eight o'clock the signal was given for the dance to begin. Each lady was provided with a partner before she came. The heat of the evening deterred above one half of

the company from dancing. Two sets, however, appeared upon the floor during the remaining part of the evening.

On one side of the room were provided two private apartments, where a number of servants attended to help the company to all kinds of cool and agreeable drinks, with sweet cakes, fruits and the like.

Between these apartments, and under the orchestra, there was a private room where several quaker ladies, whose dress would not permit them to join the assembly, were indulged with a sight of the company through a gauze curtain.

This little attention to the curiosity of the ladies marks in the strongest manner the minister's desire to oblige everybody.

At nine o'clock were exhibited a number of rockets from a stage erected in a large open lot before the minister's house. They were uncommonly beautiful, and gave universal satisfaction. At twelve o'clock the company was called to supper. It was laid behind the dancing room under three large tents, so connected together as to make one large canopy. Under this canopy was placed seven tables, each of which was large enough to accommodate fifty people.

The ladies, who composed near one half the whole assembly, took their seats first, with a small number of gentlemen to assist in helping them. The supper was a cold collation; simple, frugal and elegant, and handsomely set off with a dessert consisting of cakes and all the fruits of the season. The Chevalier de la Luzerne now appeared with all the splendour of the minister and all the politeness of a gentleman. He walked along the tables and addressed himself

in particular to every lady. A decent and respectful silence pervaded the whole company. Intemperance did not show its head; levity composed its countenance, and even humour itself forgot for a few moments its usual haunts; and the simple jests, no less than the loud laugh, were unheard at any of the tables. So great and universal was the decorum, and so totally suspended was every species of convivial noise, that several gentlemen remarked that the "company looked and behaved more as if they were *worshipping* than *eating*." In a word, good breeding was acknowledged, by universal consent, to be mistress of the evening, and the conduct of the votaries at supper formed the conclusion of her triumph. Notwithstanding all the agreeable circumstances that have been mentioned, many of the company complained of the want of something else to render the entertainment complete. Everybody felt pleasure, but it was of too tranquil a nature. Many people felt sentiments, but they were produced by themselves, and did not arise from any of the amusements of the evening. The company expected to feel joy, and their feelings were in unison with nothing short of it. An ode on the birth of the Dauphin, sung or repeated, would have answered the expectations and corresponded with the feelings of everybody. The understanding and the taste of the company would have shared with the senses in the pleasures of the evening. The enclosed ode, written by Mr. Wm. Smith, son of the Rev. Dr. Smith, was composed for the occasion, but from what cause I know not, it did not make its appearance. It has great merit, and could

it have been set to music, or spoken publicly, must have formed a most delightful and rational part of the entertainment. About one o'clock the company began to disperse, our family moved with the foremost of them. Before three o'clock the whole company parted, every candle was extinguished, and midnight enjoyed her dark and solitary reign in every part of the minister's house and garden. Thus I have given you a full account of the rejoicing on the birth of the Dauphin of France.

If it serves to divert your thoughts for an hour or two from the train of reflections to which the shades and walks of ———, at this season of the year, too naturally dispose you, I shall be more than satisfied and shall esteem the history which my attendance at the minister's house has enabled me to give you, as the most fortunate and agreeable event (as to myself) of the whole evening.

\*The house was occupied in 1817 by the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

### NOTES

CRISTOBAL COLON.—The tomb of Columbus, as is well known, is in Havana; until 1822 there was no alteration in the humble stone which marked the spot in the cathedral. The flat stone with its Latin inscription was replaced later by a simple monument in white marble, with the effigy of the great discoverer in relief, and an inscription which did not last *a thousand centuries*, according to the wish of its author, but only *two years*. The illustrious Bishop Espada, an enthusiast in the cause of liberty, wishing

to pay in part the debt due to Columbus, proposed to erect to him a suitable monument, substituting for the bars with which it was designed to surround it, *the Constitution of the Spanish monarchy*. I remember that a magnificent model, decorated with green velvet and ornamented with silver, was set up; the liberal government fell in Spain in 1824, and the *sacred code* was removed in accordance with immemorial usage. Now the inscription reads:

*Oh! remains and image of the great Columbus  
Rest a thousand centuries in this urn  
And in the memory of our nation.*

Thus all travellers who have visited Havana have copied it; but they do not know that before 1824 the third line read:

*With the sacred code of our nation*

Could not the reactionary despotism have left in peace the tomb of the great Admiral?

There exists in Cuba another souvenir of Columbus which is little known. The Duke of Veraguas, Marquis of Jamaica, presented to Havana a portrait of his illustrious ancestor. It is preserved in the Consistorial Hall of the Corporation in a conspicuous place. It is a picture on panel in which he appears dressed as a *Familiar of the Holy Inquisition*, with a green hat, the color used by the Familiars, alguazils and attendants in the service of this horrible tribunal.

The bust in the Hall of the New York Historical Society bears no resemblance to him. This is another of the numerous and entirely dissimilar effigies which preserve the memory but not the features of the Genoese. Up to the present time

the special labors of Cardedun concede authenticity to that which is attributed to Rincon, and Senor Banchero, in his recent splendid edition of the "Codice Colombo Americano" has replaced the portrait by Peschiera with that of Rincon.

A. BACHILLER.

NEWS FROM NEWFOUNDLAND.—*London, January 18, 1696.* Some persons arriving from Newfoundland gave an Account, upon Oaths, of the several Barbarities and Horrid Cruelties Exercised by the French on the English there: They Flea'd one Man's Head alive, to terrifie others, to make them Swear Allegiance to the French King, and kept no their Articles with the English, but have detained several of the strongest persons as their Slaves, and use them worse than the Turks, resolving to Extirpate the English, and Ruine that Advantageous Trade we had there. But this is no new thing with that Nation, for in times of Peace, between the Years 1680 and 1688, in Hudsons-Bay, they seized the English Forts, burnt their Houses, took their Ships and Goods, Imprisoned our Men, put many to Sea in a rotten Vessel, where several perished, forc'd some to Renounce their Religion, and others who stood it out were forc'd to Eat the Leather of their Shooes; and at several times in Peace Murdered above a hundred of the English. *The Flying Post; or, the Post-Master, January 26, 1696.*

*Bristol, October 19, 1696.* Yesterday a Ship arriv'd from Newfoundland in 18 days, and says, That a French Squadron had attacked the Southern Ports there, and burnt, as he thinks, about 40 Ships, most of them of Biddiford and Barnstaple;

That in one of the Ports they attack'd the Saphire Frigat, which fought against four of them a long time, but being forc'd to strike, the Men escap'd in their Boats, and blew up 200 of the French Men who Boarded her, by a Match and a Train. That 4 of their Ships design'd to attack another Frigat, but were prevented by Chains put a-cross the Port; whereupon they Landed some Men, and Plundered the Coasts. He adds, That most of the Merchant-Ships have, however, escap'd them; and that the Diamond Frigat which was taken from us was their Com-madore; but we hope for a more favour-able Account. *The Flying Post; or, the Post-Master, October 22, 1696.*

*Falmouth, October 19, 1696.* Yesterday arrived here in 16 days from Petterin in Newfoundland, the Benjamin of Rochel, a Banker of 150 Tuns, with 170 Planters, Seaman, &c. on board. But on the 17th Instant, about 10 Leagues to the Westward of Scilly, she met with 7 Men of War, who took about 100 of the Seamen from on board her. The Passengers say, That on the 11th September 5 French Privateers came to the Bay of Bulls, viz., the Diamond, Nesmond, Harcourt, Philip, and Pelican, carrying between 40 and 50 Guns each, with two Fire ships, and two small Frigats. That they attack'd his Majesty's ship the Saphire, which made a stout resistance for some time; but being overpowered, the Captain burnt the Ship, and carried off his Men; but that the French having landed some Men, they carri'd off 9 ships. That from thence they sailed to several other Ports, as Petty-Harbour, Witless-Harbour, &c. and on the 20th came to Petterin, of which they became Masters on the 21st.



That they carried off from thence 16 Ships, and having landed about 50 or 60 Men, they burnt the Houses of Petterin, Bay of Bulls, &c. and it's computed that they have taken about 33 Ships. That upon the News of their approach to other Ports, the Merchant Ships made off, leaving their Guns and half of their Cargoes behind. That the French came out before St. Jones's under Spanish Colours, where lay his Majesty's Ship the Soldadoes Prize, where upon the Captain went out in his Pinace to meet them, and they took him Prisoner, but the Inhabitants secured the Ship. They add, That the French sent the Captains to France, but gave the Benjamin and two other Ships to transport the Men to England. That there are about 20 Masters of Ships come over: That the French allowed them but a very small quantity of Bread; and for the most part they lived upon Fish and Flower. That several of the Passengers are sick, but that none of them died in the Passage save one. They also say, that St. Jones's is defended by several good Forts; that there are above 2000 Men in Arms for defence of the Country; and that the Wind not serving to enter St. Jones's the French sailed back towards the Bay of Bulls. *The Flying Post: or, the Post-Master, October 24, 1696.* W. K.

ANECDOTE OF THE REVOLUTION.—*Fishkill, January 25.* The publick may rely on the authenticity of the following anecdote:

In the late excursion, which General Parsons made to Morrisania, Major Oliver Lawrence, being detached with a reconnoitering party under the command

of Col. Gray, accidentally met with Col. James De Lancey, who taking the Major for one of his officers, abruptly accosted him with "D—n you, what are you doing there —don't you see the rebels just on your back?" Major Lawrence, in order to decoy him, replied, "My dear Colonel—pray give me your assistance, —my men are in the greatest confusion, and I cannot rally them." Upon which De Lancey innocently rode up, till he came within a few rods of the Major; when unfortunately one of the Major's party, having G. W. on his cap, rising from behind a stone fence, where they were secreted, discovered to the Colonel his mistake. Upon which he immediately wheeled about, put spurs to his horse, and preferring the danger of a broken neck to the fire of his enemy, leapt down a craggy precipice; exclaiming when he first perceived his error: "D—n you, Oliver Lawrence—I know you."—*Massachusetts Spy, February 8th, 1777.*

PETERSFIELD.

THE FIRST PRINTER IN MISSISSIPPI.—Died at Washington, Adams Co., Miss., on the 10th of August, 1838, Col. Andrew Marschalk, a veteran of the Revolution, and the father of the press in Mississippi. He printed a ballad at the Walnut Hills in 1797 or 1798, with a small mahogany press which he had brought from London in 1790. The type used was a font of 30 lbs. This was the first printing executed in that district which now teems with newspapers, and is known by the name of Mississippi. Col. M. was the oldest member of the Society of Odd Fellows in the United States, having joined that over

which the Prince of Wales, since George IV., presided in London, more than 50 years ago.—*N. Y. Express*, August 30, 1838. W. K.

QUERIES

BURR'S SEAL.—There is in the possession of Mr. Henry A. Burr of New York City a seal ring—a cornelian, heavily mounted, said to have been cut at Paris by order of Talleyrand, and by him sent to Aaron Burr. It bears a sharply cut bust in relief, taken in profile. The hair is in cue; behind the head is the device of a comet or star with a trail. What is the significance of this device? J. A. S.

WOOSTERSHIRE, N. Y.—As early as the year 1739, a portion of the oblong lying in the lower part of Dutchess (now Putnam) county, was called Woostershire or Worstershire. Can this locality be identified with any of the present towns of that county? C. W. B.

GEN. HUNTER'S IROQUOIS.—General Hunter, Governor of New York and New Jersey, wrote a letter to a friend, dated March, 1713, which contained the following passage, said to be in the Iroquois language: "*Quonorgh quanian diadadega generoghqua aguegon tchitchendgared.*"

Will some of our Indian scholars please give a translation? W. K.

BLUE ROCK AND CRESAP CASTLE.—Where was the "Blue Rock" of the lower Susquehanna? Where was the "Castle" of Colonel Thomas Cresap? Are there any vestiges of the Castle or of the Blue Rock yet remaining? J. B. B.

DESCRIPTION OF MAINE.—"A Description of the Situation, Climate, Soil, and Productions of Certain Tracts of Land in the District of Maine and Commonwealth of Massachusetts." This is the title of a 4to tract of 44 pages, which I have seen only in the Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I., printed probably in 1793. Who was its author? B.

DUTCH NAMES.—Most of us are so ignorant of Dutch that we learn with as much surprise as pleasure the significance of familiar proper names, as that Batavia means "good meadow;" Zutphen, "south fen;" Zuider Zee, "south sea;" Ostend, "east end," etc. Who will give us the the meaning of Vanderbilt, Brevoort, Hudson and Rembrandt?

An explanation of the Dutch local names in the State of New York would be an important contribution to philology, and to history as well. J. D. B.

CORR-FISH.—The word Cor-fish (I. 448) occurs in Capt. John Smith's, and all the early books. What was the origin of the word, of what language, and what its specific meaning? COD.

REPLIES

PEMMICAN.—(I. 389.) This word has no affinity with *Pembina*, though it comes from the same language. *Pimikkdn*, which means "made of fat," is the Cree name of an article of food much used by fur traders, trappers and explorers, as well as by northern Indians. It is made by mixing melted fat with dried meat, pounded fine, and pressing the mixture into bags of skin. Long, the Indian interpreter, calls it "hard grease

—the food all traders carry to the upper country" (*Travels*, p. 43). Mackenzie, (*Voyages*, CXXI) tells how to prepare it. See also Bartlett's *Dict. of Americanisms*, under the word "Pemitigon"—more accurately *pimitikan* or *bimidigan*—the Chippeway name of "pemmican." (Chip. *pimite* or *bimide*—Cree *pimi* "fat" or "grease.")

J. H. T.

YANKEE DOODLE.—(I. 390.) Gordon, in his *History of the American Revolution*, Vol. I, page 481, states that when news of the affair at Lexington (April 19, 1775) reached Lord Percy, in Boston, he ordered out a reinforcement to support his troops. "The brigade marched out, playing, by way of contempt, *Yankee Doodle*, a song composed in derision of the New Englanders, scornfully called Yankees."

CAMBRIDGE.

OUR NATIONAL FLAG.—(I. 196.) Trumbull, in his pictures in the Rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, 1777, and the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, 1781, shows a different arrangement of the stars in the union of the American standard from that given by your correspondent. They appear in this order:

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The same arrangement appears in Trumbull's smaller studies in the New Haven gallery. STANDARD-BEARER.

WILLIAM EUSTIS.—(I. 259, 394, 452.) When it became apparent that the city of Washington was the objective point of the British, preparations were made at the offices of the several departments for the security of their records. The work of packing the papers began, it is stated, in some of them, as early as the 18th of August. The removal of those of the Department of War was commenced Sunday, August 21st, and finished the next day; of the Navy, August 21st and 22d; of the State and Treasury, Monday, August 22d. The Clerk of the House of Representatives being indisposed, and his assistants in the field with the militia, the records of Congress suffered severely, and their library also was destroyed, although, with proper attention, there was ample time to remove it before the entry of the enemy on the 24th of August. Those of your readers who are curious about this matter are referred to the documents of the third session of the Thirteenth Congress, where reports from the different Secretaries are printed in full. Lossing, in his *Field Book of the War of 1812*, page 923, describes the removal of the books and papers of the Department of State.

I cannot, from the material at my command, state positively whether Col. Monroe assumed control of the Department of War as "Acting Secretary" on the 19th, 20th, 21st or 22d of December. A letter written from Washington, dated Dec. 23, mentions a communication sent by Col. Monroe to a Committee of the Senate on army affairs.

W. K.

(Publishers of Historical works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**THE INDIAN MISCELLANY; CONTAINING PAPERS ON THE HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, ARTS, LANGUAGES, RELIGIONS, TRADITIONS AND SUPERSTITIONS OF THE AMERICAN ABO-RIGINES; with Descriptions of their Domestic Life, Manners, Customs, Traits, Amusements and Exploits; Travels and Adventures in the Indian Country; Incidents of Border Warfare; Missionary Relations, &c.** Edited by W. W. BEACH. 8vo, pp. 490. J. MUNSELL, Albany, 1877.

This admirable collection of numerous fugitive papers, concerning the aborigines of America, reprinted from various sources, is most appropriately dedicated to the memory of S. G. Drake, who devoted years to the preservation and discovery of information on this always curious subject, the study of which is now being pursued, not only with passionate interest, but under well devised rules.

The articles are mainly reprints, some revised, and some enlarged for the present volume. The best known contributors are Squier, Buckingham Smith, Shea, Morgan, all experts in the line of Indian investigation. Other articles by Bryant, Stone, Browne and Lossing give a popular character to the work.

It is enough to say that it is published in Munsell's usual style.

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**THE LIFE OF THE REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD, B. A., OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, OXFORD.** Rev. L. TYERMAN. Two volumes. 8vo. A. D. F. RANDOLPH & Co., New York, 1877.

The generation of native born Americans now passing off the stage, if they have not heard themselves the magic eloquence of this most remarkable of itinerant preachers, have had from the lips of their parents some accounts of his wonderful power over the hearts and consciences of his hearers, and many a tradition has come down of the throngs which flocked to listen to him, under the Harvard elms and at the race courses in the middle colonies.

Whitefield was born in Gloucester, England, in 1714. When eighteen years of age he went to Oxford, and was admitted as a servitor in Pembroke College, where his father had preceded him half a century before. Here he found himself in what Dr. Johnson termed "a nest of singing birds," and here he found the Oxford Methodists with John and Charles Wesley at their head. To John Wesley was due his "conversion" in 1735.

He was admitted into holy orders at Oxford on Sunday, the 25th June, 1736, and the succeeding Sabbath preached his first sermon at St. Mary de Crypt. Such was his power, though then but twenty-one years of age, that he was accused of have "driven fifteen persons mad." His voice, a chief charm of all oratory, was, it is said, "unusual both in melody and strength."

Now commenced that evangelic mission which he seems to have understood in its earlier Christian spirit, embracing all, excluding none, in its holy purpose. He seems to have given an impulse to religious feeling, which reached the heart of all denominations of the Christian Church.

In the thirty-five years of his ministry, Whitefield paid seven visits to America, which from his ordination almost he looked upon as the field of his labors. He arrived in Savannah on the 7th May, 1738, and preached his first sermon in America the next day. His last was preached at Exeter, New Hampshire, on the 29th September, 1770. After preaching for two hours in an impassioned strain, he started for Newburyport. He arrived in a state of exhaustion, and died the next day. His bones are now exhibited in a open coffin in the vault beneath the pulpit of the Newburyport church.

In one of his most memorable sermons, he said that the colonies of America would become "one of the most opulent and powerful empires in the world." Verily the mantle of the prophets had fallen on his shoulders.

There is much of historic interest in this biography, and in its broad treatment of religious subjects even Whitefield himself could find nothing to censure or to change.

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**THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGIC REGISTER** for July, 1877. — 18 Somerset street, Boston.

This number contains an exceedingly good variety of historical and genealogical material. It is the only live publication of this kind in New England, and is always a welcome guest.

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**POTTER'S AMERICAN MONTHLY; AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART,** June, 1877. JOHN E. POTTER & Co., Philadelphia.

This well-known periodical has somewhat changed its scope, and abandoning the pure his-toric field, entertains in its pages articles of more general interest, and is illustrated in a manner to suit the popular taste. We have no doubt that our good friends have found their interest in this

change, and we hope it will find the support it deserves. The articles in this number are well selected and suited to family use.

**HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF ORANGE, WITH A HISTORY OF THE TOWN AND CITY OF NEWBURGH;** general, analytical and biographical, by E. M. RUTTENBER. 8vo. pp. 425. E. M. RUTTENBER & SON, Newburgh. 1875.

This volume, the first part of which appeared in 1875, has been recently completed, and is a valuable addition to our local history. It is accompanied with maps and numerous engravings on steel and wood. It combines careful and accurate histories of the county and town, the author wisely judging Newburgh, with its revolutionary reminiscences, to be entitled to a section for itself. Here it will never be forgotten the proclamation of Congress and the farewell orders of Washington were read, and the patriot army disbanded on the 3d November, 1783. The scene was painful. In the hour of final triumph the hardy veterans, many of whom for seven years had turned their weary thoughts only to this day, were startled, at the future before them, of penury, suffering, perhaps starvation, to which the chances of war were even preferable. There is a sketch of Washington's headquarters, which is now under charge of trustees, appointed by the State Legislature. Lafayette had his headquarters at Murderer's Creek, a few miles below, and the park of artillery was at New Windsor.

In the Colonial days Newburgh was a whaling port of some importance, although we do not find this fact mentioned.

**A BOOK OF AMERICAN EXPLORERS,** by THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON—Young Folks Series—12mo, pp. 367. LEE & SHEPARD, Boston, 1877.

These extracts, for they are nothing more, the author confining his labors to selection, are quite as interesting reading to the old folk as to the young. After the vast leap from the Norse legends of western migration, which anti-dates the Norman conquest of England, to the discoveries of the fifteenth century, the extracts present an almost continuous narrative of voyages from those of Columbus, Cabot and Verrazano to the safe arrival of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in Salem harbor, in 1620. The quaintness of the original is always preserved. There are numerous illustrations, the general idea of which appears to have been suggested by Bryant's popular history, to which we alluded to in our last number. We hope Col. Higginson will continue these selections, which combine instruction with the charm of romance.

**CAMP COURT AND SEIGE. A NARRATIVE OF PERSONAL ADVENTURE AND OBSERVATION DURING TWO WARS—1861-1865—1870-1871;** by WICKHAM HOFFMAN, Asst. Adj.-Gen. U. S. Vol. and Secretary U. S. Legation at Paris. Small 8vo, pp. 285. HARPER & BROTHERS, New York. 1877.

The announcement of an account of the personal experience of this amiable gentleman in the late civil war and at Paris during the most exciting period of the late Franco-German struggle, was naturally received by his numerous friends with satisfaction. We find it pleasant reading, of autobiographic character. It is a recital of events and information of events in which the author rarely ventures a deduction or an opinion. His experience of civil service has, no doubt, taught him that the first duty of a diplomat is discretion. Yet, it is but just to say, that while he believes in the continuance of a permanent officer in the Embassy, he approves of "new men" as ambassadors. We are more radical, and hold Embassies to be wholly unnecessary. When special occasions arise let special persons be sent to meet them.

Colonel Hoffman entertains little respect for Trochu's abilities. Trochu was a theorist. If France were to be saved it was not by a man who thought of saving "Society" first and France afterwards. No man who subordinates his patriotism to his principles is fit to command in serious exigencies. With the material at Trochu's command Paris and France could have easily been saved. Trochu's force was in proclamation—"Vox et præterea nihil."

The account of Paris during the Commune gives neither new information nor a correct appreciation of what really occurred. The Commune in its origin was a protest against a monarchical restoration, which but for that protestation would have taken place. Not only the sentiment of Paris, but that of the majority of France, was against the seizure of power by the Bordeaux Assembly. In the beginning the Commune had the support of the great body of the middle class. Later, as a definitive rupture became apparent, and the punishment of Paris was seen to be the programme of Versailles, the moderate men deserted their post, and left the government to the control of the lower class of adventurers. The bombardment and assault on the city were not only blunders, but crimes.

No one will defend the final atrocities of the Commune, but, on the other hand, it is not necessary to go behind the recent audacious attempt again to subjugate France by the reactionary Cabinet of McMahon for a justification of the first resistance. A strict, impartial history will record that it saved France from a restoration of the monarchy, and was the corner stone of

the Republic. As a resident of Paris during the whole of the Commune period, we speak from careful personal observation.

**THE WIT AND WISDOM OF THE HAYTIANS.** By JOHN BIGELOW. 8vo, large paper, pp. 112. SCRIBNER & ARMSTRONG, New York, 1877.

A charming little "volume de luxe," the purpose of which, as announced by the accomplished author, is to demonstrate the capacity of the African race for self-government from their mental activity and culture. Mr. Bigelow passed a winter in the island of Hayti in 1854, while it was yet under the sway of Faustin I. The book is a collection of proverbs, many of which are undoubtedly of purely African extraction, while in their form partaking of a certain Gallic flavor, which those acquainted with the older French usages and modes of thought will understand. It is one of the peculiarities of colonization that the Colons longer retain old habits, customs and expressions than even the mother race.

This book is not for the many, but the few, and is a curious testimony to the tendency to amalgamation of thought and speech in even the most opposite varieties of the human race. Language may not have been one before the tower of Babel was set up, but the indications towards a universal language are already numerous and increasing with marvellous rapidity.

**THE WILDERNESS, OR BRADDOCK'S TIMES—A TALE OF THE WEST.** Two volumes in one. 12mo, pp. 230. Pittsburg, 1848. Reprinted. V. R. WELDIN & Co. Pittsburg, 1876.

This work, originally published in New York in 1823, was from the pen of Dr. James McHenry of Philadelphia, and is of value as an early romance, founded on American history. The original editions are extremely rare, and this reprint will be gladly received.

**PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES—SECOND SERIES.** Published under direction of MATTHEW S. QUAY, Secretary of the Commonwealth. Edited by JOHN B. LINN and WILLIAM H. EGGLE, D. D. Vol. II. 8vo, pp. 826. B. F. MEYERS, State Printer, Harrisburg, 1876.

This volume, which is prefaced by a "Map of a part of the Middle British Colonies prior to the Revolution from Governor Pownall's Map of 1776," contains a list of Pennsylvania marriages, alphabetically arranged; a list of the persons naturalized in Pennsylvania up to 1774; a record of officers and soldiers in the service of the Pro-

vince of Pennsylvania, 1744-1764; of Indian traders, Mediterranean Passes, Letters of Marque and Ship's Registers, 1743-1776; Papers relating to the Province of Pennsylvania prior to the Revolution, and the Journal of Colonel James Burd.

**WAKEFIELD CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH—A COMMEMORATIVE SKETCH, 1644-1877,** by REV. CHARLES R. BLISS. 8vo, pp. 90. Wakefield, 1877.

The title of this sketch gives no information as to what section of the globe the town of Wakefield is in. We find in its pages, however, that it was an offshoot from Lynn, Massachusetts, and that the church in question was founded in 1644-5. The church belongs to the Congregational order, and has passed through various changes of exercise, discipline and of doctrine also; for, although the Rev. Pastor assures us that the "creed of the Church is the same that it was 112 years ago," there has been a wide departure from the tenets of the primitive establishment.

A chapter of interest contains biographical sketches of eight of the pastors of the congregation. One chapter is entitled, in good old-fashioned style, "Concerning the gathering," which, for the information of the mundane, we will translate to be the celebration demanded by the exigencies of Centennial patriotism.

**GENERAL JOHANN ANDREAS WAGENER, EINE BIOGRAPHISCHE SKIZZE VON H. A. RATTERMANN. REDAKTEUR DES "DEUTSCHER PIONIER."** 8vo, pp. 30. MECKLENBERG & ROSENTHAL, Cincinnati, 1872.

A biographical sketch of a Confederate officer who was in command at Hilton Head when it fell into the hands of the Union fleet. In the closing words of the sketch "He was a thorough German and loved his countrymen," to whom he was a faithful friend.

**TAXATION IN MASSACHUSETTS.** BY WILLIAM MINOT, JR., OF BOSTON. 8vo, pp. 73. A. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston, 1877.

A sharp attack upon the policy, efficiency and justice of the present system of taxation, in which he shows that while the laws as made centuries ago remain the same, the conditions of society are changed. Some of this author's premises with regard to our general revenue system are peculiarly and forcibly put; thus he shows that if any citizen invests money in ships sailing from a seaport rather than from Philadelphia, he forfeits

\$15 for every \$1,000 so invested for such offence; every foreigner loaning money to build houses in Massachusetts forfeits \$15 annually for such offence.

Notwithstanding these eccentricities of style and statement which are rather a feature of Boston literature, the work is a valuable contribution to the vexed question of taxation.

**ESSEX INSTITUTE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS**, Volume XIII, Part IV. October 1876. Published by Essex Institute, 1877.

This number contains a continuation of the "Orderly Book of the Regiment of Artillery raised for the defense of the town of Boston in 1776." Of this regiment Thomas Crafts was Colonel and Paul Revere Lt. Colonel. This is followed by copies from the Early Records of the Town of Rowley, Mass.; a sketch of the Dean family in Salem. There is little of general interest to notice.

**HISTOIRE DE LA MARINE FRANÇAISE PENDANT LA GUERRE DE L'INDÉPENDANCE AMÉRICAINNE PRÉCÉDÉE D'UN ÉTUDE SUR LA MARINE MILITAIRE DE LA FRANCE, ET SUR SES INSTITUTIONS DEPUIS LE COMMENCEMENT DU XVIIIÈ SIECLE JUSQU' A L'ANNÉE 1877.** Par E. CHEVALIER CAPITAINE DE VAISSEAU. 8vo, pp. 517. Librairie HACHETTE & CIE., Paris, 1877. For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

This volume supplies a want that has long been felt by students of American history. The author himself complains that the important part played by the French marine in aid of the United States, from 1778 to 1783, has never been faithfully presented, and that there are still many misapprehensions which it is important to correct. In the beginning of the French intervention the movements of the French fleet were marked by extreme prudence, and the dash of the Admirals was arrested by the circumspection of the Cabinet. It was not until the combat of Ouessant, when a tactical advantage, if not a decided victory, was won over Keppel and the English fleet that the Ministers took courage and left their officers to conduct their own operations.

Before entering upon the main theme of his work, Captain Chevalier gives in a preface a well-digested and lucid account of the history of the French Navy, from its organization by Richelieu in the reign of Louis XIII., and its development by his successor, Colbert. Under the regency the navy fell into neglect, and the breaking out of the war of the Succession found it entirely unfitted to cope with the English fleets. The peace of 1763 definitely established the maritime power of Great Britain.

The history proper is an exhaustive account of the operations on the American coast, the correctness of which in other than a purely historical sense is quite beyond other than technical criticism. The manoeuvres are recited in detail, and the numbers of vessels and weight of metal of the contending squadrons or ships given from indisputable authorities. He condemns the timidity of d'Estaing as a commander while doing justice to his personal bravery. To d'Orvilliers he ascribes both ability and intrepidity and the reputation of being the most capable general officer in the Marine, but his personal leaning is towards the Bailli de Suffren, whose qualities were exceptional, and whose name is in France a household word, as that of Nelson in England or John Paul Jones in America.

From these pages we learn that the documents preserved in the Archives of the French Marine, concerning the war of American independence, amount to one hundred and thirty-three manuscript volumes, of which forty-four relate to the battle of Dominique. We regret there is no "compte rendu" of these precious documents.

Such a volume as this should be at once translated by some competent hand.

**IS OUR REPUBLIC A FAILURE? A DISCUSSION OF THE RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH**, by E. H. WATSON, 16mo, pp. 436. The Author's Publishing Company, New York, 1877.

In the introduction the author announces her intention to present a "historical work written while the facts were occurring which initiated the rule and policy which the whole country is coming to perceive is not that of a true Republic." We look in vain for the reason of this book—praising and condoning in turn the separate rights of States and of the Union made more perfect after the failure of the Confederation by the "whole people of the United States"—the author draws no certain conclusions. We cannot see that any lessons are to be drawn from this volume, wherein we find innumerable premises, but no logical conclusion. Perhaps we may find in it a justification of the old theorem, that the mind of woman is suggestive, but not logical.

**TWO YEARS IN CALIFORNIA**, BY MARY CONE. With Illustrations. 16mo, pp. 238. S. C. GRIGGS & Co., Chicago, 1876.

A purely descriptive volume, which positively tempts one to go to California, inhale the balmy air, and enjoy the beauty and surprise of the wonderful nature here graphically described. This lady gives excellent and practical advice, which the emigrant will do well to consult before he abandons the habits of fixed civilization for the hardships of a new country which natural beau-

ties will not much modify in the absence of usual comfort. The tourist will find the book equally serviceable. John Chinaman has a chapter all to himself, and full credit is paid to the invaluable services of this industrious, patient and economical race as a factor not only in Californian development, but California Civilization. Her descriptions of the temples and theatres of the Chinese are admirable. The book is delightful in matter and manner, the printing and presswork are in excellent taste, and the illustrations while simple are creditable.

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**THE MAINE GENEALOGIST AND BIOGRAPHER.** A Quarterly Journal published under the direction of the Maine Genealogical and Biographical Society. WILLIAM BERRY LAPHAM, A. M., Editor. Volume II, 1876-7. Printed for the Society, Augusta.

The June number is before us. It contains notes upon the Ricker, Eddy, Kittery and Cilley families, and a notice of John Lothrop Motley, by which we learn that the father of the historian, Thomas Motley, was born in Portland and educated in the counting room of James Deering; later he became a merchant in Boston, where he married a daughter of Dr. John Lothrop. The Motley family is descended from John Motley, who emigrated from Belfast, Ireland, to Portland in 1734. There is also a memoir of Major-General John Blake, a lieutenant in the revolutionary army. A careful index adds value to this periodical.

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**A HISTORY OF ST. MARK'S PARISH, CULPEPPER COUNTY, VIRGINIA,** with Notes of Old Churches and Old Families, and Illustrations of the Manners and Customs of the Olden Time. By Rev. PHILIP SLAUGHTER, D. D. 12mo, 1877.

The reverend author is well known for his previous labors in Virginia history on the authority of vestry books and registers, of which he has already published those of St. George and Bristol parishes. This book opens with an account of the St. Mark, the author's native parish, and a valuable sketch of Sir Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, who erected the first parish church, and also organized and equipped at Germanna "the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe," who first passed the Blue Ridge and blazed the way to the valley of Virginia in 1716, reaching and crossing the Shenandoah river.

A chapter of "historical excursions" recites this memorable expedition, on the return from

which the Governor presented each of his companions with a golden horseshoe, which, to its shame be it said, the British Government penuriously refused to pay for. This chapter, which includes also the Journal of Mr. Fontaine and the Diary of Captain Philip Slaughter of the Virginia line, contains important contributions to history. A division, under the head of Genealogies, contains brief sketches of the historic families of Madison, Garnett, Spotswood, Pendleton, Slaughter, Strother, and others less familiar.

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**OUR THEOLOGICAL CENTURY; A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES,** by JOHN F. HUNT, D. D. 12mo, pp. 70. A. D. F. RANDOLPH & Co., New York, 1877.

A contribution to the theological history of the American Church. The century of American theology is divided into five periods. I. *The Liberal and Scriptural Period*: A reproduction in the practice of the founders of New England churches of the doctrine of Calvin. II. *The Reactionary Period or the Half Way Covenant*, in which the movement to separate State from Church began in the New England mind. III. *The Controversial Period*, in which by the power of Jonathan Edwards and the celebrated Whitefield strong doctrinal lines began to disappear. IV. *The Unitarian Period*, when, under the impulse given by Dr. Ware, the "compact structure of New England theology" broke from its foundation, and has never yet been restored. V. *The Œcumenical or Irenical Period*, which is the first approach to a common ground of Christian charity and intercourse, if not of belief. Doctrine begins to give way to practice, and a Catholic feeling among all sects seems to be the near future of religion in this country. America, in its large and Catholic principle, may yet realize the idea of a religious republic, in which, under all forms of individual thought, the one great principle of the Christian religion, "love to all men," will be the control and controlling idea.

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**NOTES AND ADDITIONS TO THE HISTORY OF GLOUCESTER,** by JOHN T. BABSON. Part First, Early Settlers. 4to, double column, pp. 94. M. V. B. PERLEY, Gloucester, Mass., 1876.

Genealogic notes, originally published in the Gloucester Telegraph, concerning the families of those who were inhabitants of the town before 1701, most of whom have still their representatives bearing their names in Gloucester to-day. The Volume is essentially biographical.



## FOREIGN REVIEWS.

It is the purpose of the Editor to notice all articles relating to American affairs, which may appear in the reviews published abroad, as a guide to readers.

REVUE HISTORIQUE DIRIGÉE PAR G. MONOD et G. FAGNIEZ. Deuxième année. Tome troisième. Janvier.—Avril 1877. Librairie GERMIER BAILLIÈRE & CIE, Paris. For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES XLVIII ANNÉE. Troisième période. Tomes vingtième a vingt troisième. Janvier—Juillet, 1877. Paris. For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

LE CORRESPONDANT—NOUVELLE SÉRIE. Tomes, soixante dixième a soixante deuxième. Librairie de CHARLES DOUNIOL & CIE., Paris. For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

LES PUBLICISTES AMÉRICAINS ET LA CONSTITUTION DES ÉTATS-UNIS, par NOAILLES DUC D'AYEN. *Le Correspondant*, 10 February, 1877.

This first part of a careful analysis of the present condition of the United States is not very cheerful reading; recent events, however, show that it was intended for home consumption, and to play a part in the legitimist scheme to overturn the rule of the Republic in France. Beginning with the assertion that the Philadelphia exhibition has been in no way advantageous or creditable to the United States, the duc d'Ayen seeks out the causes of this decadence, and closes with the query, whether our own Cassandras are right in their belief that the great Republic is drawing to its close. We are not of those who believe in the decay of morality, private or public, in this country, or that we need shrink from comparison with any nation in Europe. Here constant change in administration secures constant responsibility, and the press, carrying its liberty of criticism to its extreme verge, exaggerates every abuse. Abroad, under a continuing bureaucracy, evils are concealed or excused. In our cities, overwhelmed with a foreign element, uneducated and untrained, universal suffrage brings severe trials; but we assert unhesitatingly that the government service of the United States is, as a whole, better performed, and with more celerity and precision, than that of any foreign government without exception, and with as little loss from peculation or fraud by connivance of officials. A long experience on both sides of the water leads us to prefer the results of personal observation to the theories of others.

The duc d'Ayen is of opinion that statesmen cannot be "improvised;" that they are only formed by "time and tradition." Experience contradicts this also. When our public men have met the trained statesmen of Europe, they have shown themselves their equals always, often their superiors, and have proved that the broad common sense which our practical life teaches is a better training than that acquired in government or diplomatic bureaux.

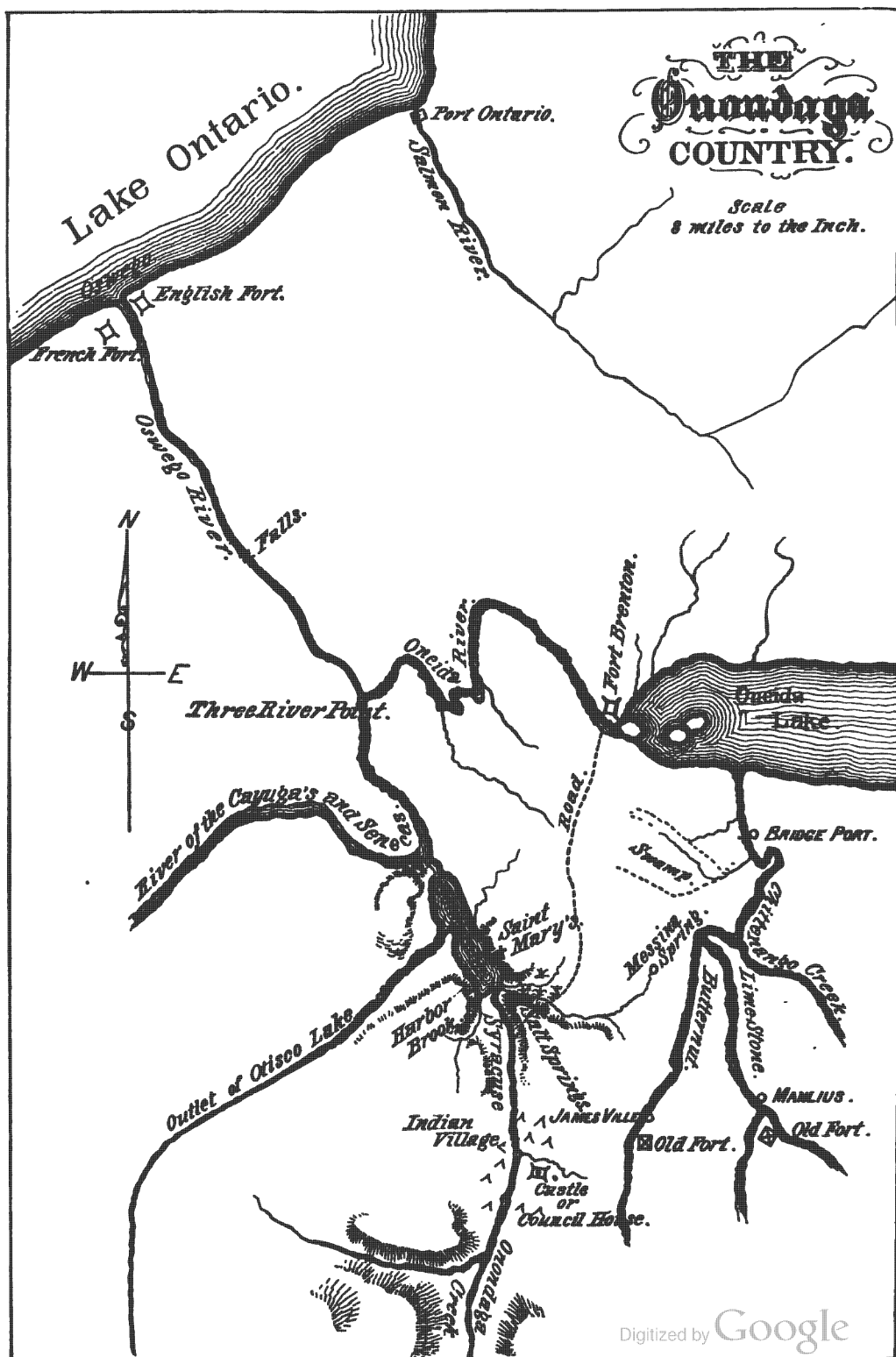
LE JOURNALISME AUX ÉTATS UNIS, M. C. DE VARIGNY. *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1 March, 1877.

In vivid contrast with the contemptuous allusions of Noailles (in the article from *Le Correspondant* just noticed) to the Philadelphia Exhibition is the opening paragraph of this interesting sketch. "The sentiment which the progress of the United States in its century of existence excites in the mind of M. de Varigny is that of 'astonishment; the results may be criticised in detail, but they are nevertheless prodigious.'" The attention of the author is specially directed to our journalism, which he traces from the first paper published in Boston, 1690, "Public Occurrences," to the year 1870, when the number was 5871, out of a total for the entire world of 7642. If the development of the Press be a sign of progress what a lesson is here. The Reaction in France may draw a salutary lesson from the result of the effort to bridle the press in America, which brought on the Stamp Act revolt and ultimately the American revolution.

LES MÉMOIRES D'UN HUMANISTE AMÉRICAIN. GEORGE TICKNOR. I. His youth and early voyages. II. Europe from 1835 to 1838. III. The old age of a Federalist, by M. H. BLERZY. *Revue des deux Mondes*, April 15, May 1, May 15, 1872.

These three sketches form an admirable biography of this interesting character, whose happy fortune it was to have seen the best society of America and Europe, and also to have been the intimate friend and correspondent of the literary celebrities of both hemispheres. It is in the second part of his critique that the reviewer has his best field, in his description of Ticknor's interviews with Fauriel, Jomard, Jouffroy, Villemain, Thierry among the literary men; of his visit to the salon of the Duchess de Rauzan, where he met Talleyrand and the Duke de Broglie, and where Guizot was a constant guest. Monsieur Blerzy complains in sadness that the good will of Ticknor was not with France in her late contest, but there is no poison in his pen and no personal feeling mingles with his patriotic regret.





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## THE FRENCH INVASIONS OF ONONDAGA

I WAS much interested in reading Mr. O. H. Marshall's article in the January number of THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, on Champlain's expedition against the Onondaga Indians in 1615, and I fully agree with him that it was a fort near Onondaga, not at Canandaigua, that Champlain tried to capture, and from which he was driven in disgrace, wounded and carried in a basket, borne by his friendly Canadian Indian allies. But I do not think that it was the fort on Onondaga Lake which he attacked, but that it was the "Castle" so called, at or near the present Indian village on the Onondaga Creek, on the mouth of which stands the city of Syracuse, or possibly, some place east of the castle.

Champlain crossed the Oneida River at the lower end of the lake, and on the 9th day of October, 1615, his scouts "captured eleven Iroquois who were on their way to their fishery, *distant four leagues from their fort*. The captives consisted of three men, four women, three boys and a girl." (*Clark's Onondaga, vol. i, p. 253.*) "The next day, which was the 10th, at 3 o'clock P. M., we arrived before the fort" (*Magazine, p. 3*). The distance from the river to the fort, on Onondaga Lake, is about four leagues, by any practicable line of march, and upon this statement of distance is based the opinion that this was the fort which Champlain besieged. Clark in his history of Onondaga describing this fort, says: "It may have been the stronghold of the Iroquois in the Onondaga Country, and may be the same attacked with so much vigor by Mons. Champlain in 1615," and Mr. Marshall knowing that there was a fort on Onondaga Lake about four leagues from the fine fisheries at the lower end of Oneida Lake, naturally assumes that it was the fort attacked by Champlain. I think fuller investigation will show that these high authorities have received a false impression in this particular.

Champlain did not *measure* distances, he guessed at them, and as Mr. Marshall argues, he did not always guess very well. Probably he more often over estimated than under estimated distances, but as the Indian

trail from the Oneida Lake to their villages, south and southeasterly therefrom, crossed but few obstructions, such as wide swamps or considerable streams, he may for once have made better progress than he supposed. He was part of two days in making the distance. If he left the river on the morning of the 9th, coming in sight of the village at 3 P. M. on the 10th, he had ample time to reach the ancient settlements of the Indians.

That he was following the Indian trail, is shown by his capturing prisoners that he met on the way from their village to the fisheries. Whether this explanation is satisfactory or not, it is the most probable one that occurs to me.

Champlain says: The Indian "village was enclosed with four strong rows of interlaced palisades, composed of large pieces of wood, thirty feet high, not more than half a foot apart and near an unfailing body of water." Such a work must have covered considerable ground, as the "village" was within it. If we suppose that the "village" was the capital and stronghold of the central tribe of the Iroquois, who had then long ruled over a large part of the country, we know that this fort must have been a very large one. Wherever it may have been situated, it is certain, from the description, that it was made at the cost of immense labor, by a people whose axes were of stone, and who had no beasts of burden to draw these "large pieces of wood thirty feet high," no means of excavating holes in which to plant the palisades, except such as belong to savages. The Onondagas were a great people, but we should hardly have considered them equal to so great a work.

Champlain says he attacked this fort and gave its defenders their first knowledge of the effect of fire arms. "As soon as they saw us and heard the balls whistling about their ears, they retired quietly into the fort, carrying with them their killed and wounded. We also fell back upon the main body, having five or six wounded, one of whom died (*Clark's Onon.*, vol. i, p. 254)." After this repulse, Champlain constructed a moveable tower, of sufficient height to overlook the palisades, and when the tower was finished, two hundred of the strongest men advanced it near to the palisades. "I stationed four marksmen on its top, who were well protected from the stones and arrows which were discharged by the enemy." Clark says, quoting from Champlain's account, that the Iroquois had placed conductors to convey water along the palisades to the outside to extinguish fire, and that "galleries were constructed outside of the palisades protected by a ball-proof parapet of wood, garnished with double pieces of wood."

The French drove the Iroquois from the galleries, and an attempt was made to fire the palisades, but the Indians "brought and threw water in such abundance that it poured in streams from the conductors and extinguished the fire in a very short time." \* \* "The battle lasted three hours," and ended in the total defeat of the French. Champlain was twice wounded by Onondaga arrows, and was forced to retreat, being himself carried on the back of one of his Canada Indians, doubled up in a heap in a basket, unable to stir "any more than an infant in its swaddling clothes." \* \* "As soon as I had strength to sustain myself, I escaped from this prison, or to speak plainly, from this hell." So the Governor of Canada fled, ignominiously, from an enterprise that he should never have undertaken. He was unable to reach Quebec that fall, but had to spend a dreary winter among the Huron Indians, and only reached Quebec the following June, "where he was received as one risen from the grave."

This was the introduction of the Iroquois to men having "pale faces," and who called themselves christians—and thus was a war commenced, that with occasional truces, lasted until the French power was extinguished in Canada. In the great contest which determined that English men should govern on this continent, the Iroquois are credited with turning the scale in favor of the victors.

Bancroft says: "Thrice did Champlain invade their country, until he was driven with disgrace from their wilderness. The five nations in return attempted the destruction of New France." \* \* The "Iroquois warriors scoured every wilderness to lay it waste; depopulating the whole country on the Ontario, they obtained an acknowledged superiority over New France. The colony was in perpetual danger and Quebec itself was besieged."

From the straits of this war the French found partial relief in the labors of the Jesuit missionaries. For a better understanding of the whole subject, I give a short description of the lake and its surroundings.

Onondaga Lake is a body of water about six miles in length and about one and a quarter in width. The southeast end, or head of the lake, is quite wide and receives its greatest feeder, the Onondaga Creek, near the northeast angle. (The channel of this creek has recently been changed in consequence of the construction of a branch of the Central Railroad across it.)

From this northeast angle, a low swamp or marsh extended in a northeasterly direction for about two miles, that in very high water is still overflowed for most of that distance, and before the outlet of the lake

was lowered and straightened by the State, all the low lands at the head of the lake were overflowed during much of the summer season. The swamp that extends northeast from the lake, has on both its sides bluffs that rise from twenty to thirty and more feet. The bluff on the south shore is the termination of wide table land, on which most of the city of Syracuse stands. The bluff on the north side the swamp extends along the north shore of the lake for nearly two miles, and then slopes more gradually.

On the bluff on the north shore were found the remains of a fort that Clark supposed was the one besieged by Champlain. He quotes from a manuscript of my father, Judge James Geddes, as follows: "In the summer of 1797, when the Surveyor General laid out the salt lots, I officiated as deputy surveyor, and when traversing the shores of Onondaga Lake, I found between Brown's Pump Works and Liverpool the traces of an old stockade, which I surveyed and made a map of. Our opinion was, from the truth of the right angles and other apparent circumstances, that it was a French work. A fine spring of water rises near by."

Clark says: (*p. 147, vol. ii.*) "On this ground have been plowed up brass kettles, gun barrels, musket balls, axes, grape shot, &c. In 1794 the ditch was easily to be traced and some of the pickets were standing. *The work contained about half an acre of land.*"

From the foregoing we may fairly say that this fort on Onondaga Lake is too small in any way to meet Champlain's description. The only supply of water was outside. The spring would have been taken by Champlain and he would have occupied the space between the fort and the lake, and thus cut off all supply of water. The spring is not sufficient to furnish water for putting out the fires as described in the account of the siege. If the way to the lake was open to the Indians, they had no vessels adequate to bringing the water, and if they had such vessels, Champlain's muskets and his Huron Indian arrows would have prevented their bringing the water in that way. If the fort had been located below some abundant supply of water, we could understand how the fires could have been put out by it.

The brass kettles, gun barrels, &c., plowed up here, tell of French, not Indian occupancy, and I think they will be sufficiently accounted for in that way. It is proper to say here, that the country around this fort has never given evidences of extensive Indian settlements—no great fields of corn, whose hills the early settlers would have seen had there been any, gave evidence of such occupation. Every consideration is against any supposition that this was ever the head centre of the Iro-

quois confederacy. The very name of the central tribe contradicts any such supposition. "Men of the Mountain" is the meaning of the word "Onondaga." The north side of Onondaga Lake is a great plain; the villages of the tribe have been among the hills of South Onondaga, generally on running streams, where a full supply could be conducted from the brooks that come down the valleys which indent the mountain sides. Champlain does not mention a lake, but "an unfailing body of water." (*See p. 3 of Jan. Mag.*)

The site of the fort on the north side of the lake is most commanding, overlooking the lake and the slopes of the last spurs of the Alleghany Mountains on the other side of the lake, and has no ranges of high land near it on the north, east, or west.

When Champlain invaded Onondaga, there must have been a village near the place that is now the home of the Indians. The first missionary came to Onondaga in 1642, only 27 years after Champlain's raid (*Clark, vol. i, p. 130*).

But it is not until 1653 that I can find positive evidence of the approximate location of the village. "August the 5th, says the 'Relation' of Father Le Moyne, we traveled four leagues before arriving at the principal Onondaga village." Where was this *principal* village? On the 15th of August he set out on his return to Quebec, and "on the 16th," he says, "we arrived at the entrance of a small lake (Onondaga). In a basin, half dry, we tasted the water of a spring, which the Indians are afraid to drink, saying that it is inhabited by a demon who renders it foul. I found it to be a fountain of salt water, from which we made a little salt, as natural as from the sea, some of which we shall carry to Quebec."

"On the 17th we entered the outlet of the Lake and passed the river of the Seneca's on the left."

Thirty-eight years after Champlain's invasion, the principal village of the Onondaga's was at a considerable distance from the salt spring, which is at the head of Onondaga Lake and about two miles southeast of the remains of the fort on the north shore of the lake. On the 17th day of August, Father Le Moyne sailed by the place, afterwards, as I think, the site of the French fort surveyed by Judge Geddes. Had there stood on that ground only 38 years before such a work as Champlain described, surrounding an Indian village, it could hardly have failed to attract the missionary's attention and notice in his minute journal.

It is very difficult to give any reason why in these 38 years the Onondaga's should have so moved their important fort. There is no tradition of any such Indian fort on the north shore of the



lake, but there is a tradition that the principal village was long ago on the table lands east of James Ville, and the evidences of great corn crops having been there raised, were found by the early settlers, whose descendents now till the lands. In the towns of Pompey and Manlius, and near and beyond the east line of the county are the remains of extensive forts and evidences of ancient occupation of which we know little, except that blacksmith's tools, muskets and cannon balls, gun locks, saws, fragments of church bells, mixed with specimens of brown pottery and nearly every variety of Indian relics have been found. Nothing like this has ever been said of the north shore of Onondaga Lake.

If the facts I have thus far presented are sufficient to justify the supposition that Champlain besieged an Indian village, south of the salt spring, then I venture to express the opinion that, after capturing his prisoners on his way from Oneida River, he followed the Indian trail, passing east of the swamp which I have described as reaching some two miles northeasterly from the lake. This was the most direct line, and had no serious obstacles to a quick march over it. From the highlands of the eastern part of the city of Syracuse he would have probably seen the lake on his right, but I do not think he was ever within a mile of its shores.

There is an important fact in regard to the shores of Onondaga Lake that should be mentioned. Except at a few points, the water, near the shore, is so shallow that there are but few good landing places about the head of the lake. The mouth of the largest stream that flows into the lake, Onondaga Creek, had a bar that barely allowed a light canoe to pass over. Further west the landing was better. Near the southeast angle of the lake there is a stream that is now, and was by the Indians, called "Harbor Creek." There in the midst of a swamp they landed, on their return from hunting and fishing, and unloaded their canoes, and from thence went by land to their village some eight miles away. The name of this harbor was given to Judge Geddes, "Don-da-dah-gwah," for his Indian title, as it was here that he landed with his salt kettles in 1794.

Having, as I think, shown that the fort on the shore of Onondaga Lake was not the point of Champlain's attack, I will now give what I believe to be its true origin, and an account of some preceding events.

The excuse made for Champlain's invasions was that when the French came to Canada in 1603 they found the Adirondack Indians settled where Quebec stands, to which place they had been driven from their former homes by the Iroquois, and the French became allies of the Adi-

rondacks in their wars; thus taking part in a quarrel, the merits of which must have been entirely beyond their knowledge, and in which they could have had no proper interest, and having failed in war to conquer the Iroquois, the French next tried the influences of a religion whose great precepts they had so signally violated.

In 1623, Henry de Levi, Duc de Ventadour, who was himself both a noble and a priest, was made Viceroy of New France. He established a mission among the Indians near Quebec in 1625, and gradually the labors of the missionaries were extended into the wilderness, and no men have ever labored with more zeal and devotion than did the Jesuit Priests. They explored the country, learning new languages, submitting to hardships without number, and quite often suffering martyrdom through Indian tortures at the stake; many of them wrote accounts of their work, and these relations give us the only authentic early history of the central part of New York State.

As early as 1642 Father Isaac Jogues visited Onondaga as prisoner of a band of Iroquois, who captured him and his party while on the way from Upper to Lower Canada. Most of the party were massacred, but Father Jogues was spared, and granted uncommon personal liberty. He went through the forests worshipping and teaching, writing the name of Christ and graving the cross on the bark of trees; and finding his way down the Mohawk river, was finally humanely ransomed by the Dutch, and returned to France.

So in 1644 Father Bressani was taken prisoner on "his way to the Hurons, beaten, mangled, mutilated; driven barefoot over rough paths, through briars and thickets; scourged by a whole village; burned, tortured, wounded and scarred. He was eye-witness to the fate of one of his companions, who was boiled and eaten. Yet some mysterious awe protected his life, and he, too, was at last humanely rescued by the Dutch." (*Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 134.*) And thus the religion of Christ came to Central New York.

The French had become tired of the war, and in 1645 a great meeting was held at Three Rivers, where it was "agreed to smooth the forest-path, to calm the river, to hide the tomahawk. 'Let the clouds be dispersed,' said the Iroquois. 'Let the sun shine on all the land between us.'"

"In May, 1646, Father Jogues, commissioned as an envoy, was hospitably received by the Mohaws, and given an opportunity of offering the friendship of France to the Onondagas." He returned safely to Canada, and gave a favorable report, that led to a permanent mission

being attempted among the Five Nations; and he, the only one who knew their dialect, which he had learned while their prisoner, was sent on the mission. "*Ibo, et non redibo.*" I shall go, but shall never return. This was his farewell.

He went directly to the Mohaws, the most savage and ferocious of the Five Nations, who "received him as a prisoner, and against the voice of the other nations, he was condemned by the grand council of the Mohawks as an enchanter who had blighted their harvest. Timid by nature, yet tranquil from zeal, he approached the cabin where the death-festival was kept, and as he entered received the death-blow. His head was hung upon the palisades of the village, his body thrown into the Mohawk River."

War followed, resulting in dreadful ruin to the Canada Indians, every effort being now made by the French for peace, without favorable result. But the Iroquois, having through commerce with the Dutch at Albany learned the use of fire-arms, dominated "not only over the Indians of the north, the west, and the southwest, but over the French themselves. They bade defiance to forts and entrenchments; their war parties triumphed at Three Rivers, were too powerful for the palisades of Silleri, and proudly passed the walls of Quebec." (*Bancroft.*)

At length satisfied with the display of their power, the Iroquois desired rest, probably influenced somewhat by their Huron prisoners, who in accordance with Indian customs, had been adopted and incorporated into the Five Nations, some of them still retaining their love for the French and the christian faith that had been taught them by the faithful Jesuit Priests.

In 1653 peace was concluded and Father Le Moyne appeared as envoy at Onondaga to satisfy the treaty. "He found there a multitude of Hurons, who like the Jews at Babylon, retained their faith among strangers," and they received the priest with great joy. It was on his return to Quebec that he visited the salt springs, as before related.

In 1655 Chaumonot and Claude Dablon were hospitably welcomed at Onondaga, and built a chapel, "and there in the heart of New York the solemn services of the Roman Church were chanted as securely as in any part of Christendom."

The salt springs were visited, "two leagues" from the village, and "near the lake Genentaha; and the place chosen for the French settlement, because it is the center of the Iroquois nations, and because we can from thence visit in canoes various locations upon the rivers and lakes, which renders commerce free and commodious." (*Clark, vol. i, p. 150.*)

Claude Dablon returned to Quebec for re-enforcements, being thereunto urged by the Onondagas, and again leaving Quebec on the 17th of May, 1656, to return to them, and on the 11th day of July entered Lake Genentaha, "on whose shore we had designed to pitch our camp, where the old men, knowing it to be the places elected by Fathers Chaumonot and Dablon, awaited us with a great multitude of people."

After giving us a good description of the lake, its salt springs, the birds and snakes that frequent it—the Relation goes on to say, "We embarked five pieces of cannon, whose diminutive thunder rolled over the lake; this was the first salute sent over the water." "Then we took a ride in our canoes or little bateaux, going four by four." The 12th of July they sang the *Te Deum*, and formally took possession in the name of Jesus Christ, dedicating and consecrating it by the holy sacrament of the mass.

"On Monday, the 17th of July, 1656, "we commenced work in earnest upon our dwellings, and made a good redoubt for our soldiers. We have placed it upon an eminence which commands the lake and all the surrounding positions. Springs of fresh water abound. In short the place appears as beautiful, as convenient and advantageous as we could desire. While the laborers were thus occupied, our Father Superior, to whom the Lord has restored health, went with sixteen of our most stalwart soldiers to the village of Onondaga, distant about four leagues from our dwelling." [The true distance, is about ten miles.] (*Clark, vol. i, p. 162.*)

On the 27th of July the party returned to the shore of the lake, to find a dwelling completed, which they named St. Mary's of Genentaha. The history of this stockade from the day of its foundation is thus certainly known, and has sufficient interest to justify us in following it further.

"The French who were at St. Mary's of Lake Genentaha, performed all the trades of a city, to get us lodged and preserve us amidst the barbarians. \* \* We had to labor much, sleep little, lie upon the ground, sheltered only by miserable barks, eat only a little meat, without bread or wine, or other seasoning than hunger. We were tormented both night and day by musquitoes, which there assailed us on every side. All this, combined with the change of climate and the great labor of the journey, so injured our constitutions, that we all fell sick. It was a pitiful sight to see sometimes as many as twenty, almost piled upon each other, at a time and in a country where we had no other help than heaven."

When this country was first settled by the fathers of the present owners, scenes quite like this were witnessed on the shores of our then malarious waters every autumn, only to pass away, as it did with the French, when the frosts came with their healing powers.

The necessary supplies of provisions for the subsistence of the colony, and of presents for the natives, to preserve their good will, were not sent from Quebec, and the mission languished. "The Indians finding the French slow in bestowing presents, and becoming in a degree tired of supporting them, as might naturally be supposed, their regard for christianity relaxed and their affections for the French declined."

The Mohawk tribe had never been entirely reconciled to this settlement in the centre of the Iroquois Confederacy, and soon it became apparent that the Indians were maturing a plan to kill the whole colony. War between the Iroquois and the French broke out anew, and by February, 1658, it became evident that the French must abandon St. Mary's of Genentaha, promptly, or suffer death there at the hands of the savages. There was no hope of assistance from Canada, and strangely, they had no boats to use in their retreat. A christian Indian informed the commandant, Monsieur Depuys, of the plot against him, and the construction of small light boats was at once commenced in the store room, which was secluded, and the largest place they had in which they could work and not be observed by the Indians.

On the 19th day of March the Indians were entrapped into a feast (that ended in a profound sleep), and under cover of the night the Frenchmen fled, and though there was yet much ice in the rivers, they made such haste that they reached Montreal in fifteen days (*Clark, vol. i, p. 184*). Bancroft says: "At last, when a conspiracy was framed in the tribe of the Onondagas, the French, having vainly solicited reinforcements, abandoned their chapel, their cabins and their hearths, and the valley of the Oswego. The Mohawks compelled Le Moyne to return; and the French and the Five Nations were once more at war. Such was the issue of the most successful attempt at French colonization in New York."

The Indians now armed with muskets, carried the war to Montreal, nearly exterminating the Canada Indians, having at some times as many as thirty captives at Onondaga, saved from the terrible death usually inflicted upon prisoners. These captives, uniting with the native converts to christianity, are said to have kept up the worship of God through all the wars that followed. Peace was again made, and again the missionary penetrated the forest.

De Witt Clinton, in an address delivered before the New York Historical Society, said: "From the Jesuit's journal it appears that in the year 1666, at the request of Garakontie, an Onondaga Chieftain, a French colony was directed to repair to his village for the purpose of teaching the Indians the arts and sciences, and endeavor, if practicable, to civilize and christianize them. We learn from the Sachems that at this time the Indians had a fort a short distance above the village of Jamesville, on the banks of a small stream; a little above which, it seems, the Chief, Garakontie, would have his new friends *set down*. Accordingly they repaired thither and commenced the labor, in which being greatly aided by the savages, a few months only were necessary to the building of a small village."

This colony remained for three years in a very peaceable and flourishing condition, during which time much addition was made to the establishment, and a small chapel built in which the Jesuit used to collect the barbarians and perform the rites and ceremonies of his church. About this time (1669) a party of Spaniards, consisting of twenty-three persons, arrived at the village, guided by some Iroquois from the Mississippi River. They had been informed that there was a lake "to the north, whose bottom was covered with a substance shining and white, which they took from the Indians description to be silver."

"Having arrived at Onondaga Lake and the French village, and finding no silver, they seemed bent on a quarrel with the French." \* \* "The Spaniards told the Indians that the only object of the French was to tyrannize over them. The French, on the other hand, asserted that the Spaniards were laying a plan to rob them of their lands."

"The Indians by this time becoming jealous of both, determined to rid themselves of these intruders. Having obtained assistance of the Oneidas and Cayugas, they agreed upon the time and manner of attack. A little before daybreak, on *All Saint's Day*, 1669, the little colony, together with the Spaniards, were aroused from their slumbers by the discharge of fire arms and the war-whoop of the savages. Every house was immediately fired or broken open, and such as attempted to escape from the flames were killed by the tomahawk, and not one of the colonists or Spaniards were left alive to relate the sad disaster." And so perished the second French colony that was planted in Onondaga. The Onondagas were cruel, but the French and their Indian allies, prompted to action by the Jesuit Priests, were no less cruel, as many a massacre of Indians gives proof.

The war went on with varying fortune, and when twenty years had passed, mostly in bloodshed, Count Frontenac returned in 1689, as Gov-

ernor of Canada, to find that Montreal had been captured and burned by the Five Nations, Fort Frontenac evacuated and razed. From Three Rivers to Mackinaw there remained not one French town, and hardly even a post (*Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 179*). Frontenac made unavailing efforts for peace with the Iroquois, but war in its cruelest form raged for years. England being at war with France formed a close alliance with the Iroquois, and the French aided by Canada Indians made frequent inroads into New England and the frontier settlements of New York. In January, 1690, a party from Montreal of one hundred "and ten, composed of French and of the christian Iroquois, for two and twenty days, waded through morasses, through forests, and across rivers to Schenectady," and near midnight of February 8th set fire to the dwellings and raised the war-whoop. Some of the inhabitants, half clad, fled through the snow to Albany. Sixty were massacred, seventeen of them children (*Bancroft*).

New England suffered from like invasions, and many of the people were killed or carried into captivity. Great deeds of bravery were performed and indescribable suffering endured. The French were generally successful under the wise leadership of Frontenac, and by 1696 the French dominion was extended in the east to the heart of Maine. In the west, unfortunate efforts had been made by the English for the conquest of Canada; they had been all abandoned, and Frontenac was able to turn his whole force against the Iroquois. He had endeavored by treaties and missions to win their good will, and had tried to terrify them, by invasions into the Seneca and Mohawk countries; the French showing less mercy to prisoners than the Indians. "The Governor of Montreal had ordered no quarter to be given, unless to women and children; but the savage confederates insisted on showing mercy; and the French historian censures their humanity as inexcusable, for Schuyler of Albany, collecting two hundred men, pursued the party as it retired and succeeded in liberating many of the captives." (*Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 189.*)

Failing to end the war by these measures, Frontenac determined to rally all the force he could, and though seventy-four years of age and infirm, to take the command in person and invade the central tribe, and, if possible, destroy the power of the Confederacy. Having made the fort at Cadaraqui (now Kingston) strong and garrisoned it, and storing there provisions, arms and ammunition which, in case of disaster might be useful, he gathered his regular troops that had learned the art of war in the old world, and his farmers and artisans and laborers of every

degree, taking the whole body of the Canadian militia and Indians of many tribes, including the proselyted praying Iroquis, and on the 4th day of July, 1696, commenced his march from the Island of Montreal. Boats were the means of conveyance; they of such light construction that the troops could carry them around such rapids as might be too formidable to surmount. The van of the army was under the immediate command of the Governor of Montreal, Le Chevalier de Callières, and consisted of two battalions of regulars and five hundred Indians.

He had two large boats carrying two small cannon, which was followed by the mortars, grenades, artillery utensils and ammunition; then came the provisions. Next in order came the Vice Roy, at the head of the main body, accompanied by a large number of volunteers under the Chevalier de Grais, his Engineer, and four battalions of the militia, commanded by the Governor of Trois-Rivieres. Two battalions of regulars and some Indians, under De Vaudreuil, brought up the rear. *Clark, vol. i., p. 279.* Indians scouted the shores of the River St. Lawrence to prevent ambuscades, and at every "carrying place" parties protected those engaged in carrying the boats and stores. Twelve days of toilsome work brought the army to their depot of supplies at Fort Frontenac (Cadaraqui), one hundred and eighty miles from Montreal. Here they tarried some days for reinforcements of Indians who did not come, and on the 26th day of July resumed their advance, and on the 28th reached the mouth of the Oswego River, called in the history of the expedition "Onontague."

The Canadians were now in a narrow river, and in the country of their enemy. Fifty scouts on each shore felt the wilderness, "and the army proceeded only according to their reports." After progressing five leagues, which took two days, the flanking parties were largely increased. And thus they toiled up the Oswego, making but slow progress. Frontenac was "borne in his canoe by fifty savages" around the great falls,† they "singing and uttering yells of joy." Near the entrance of the outlet of Onondaga Lake, a drawing of the army on the bark of a tree was found, as a notice to the invaders that they were observed; and a bundle of rushes, numbering 1,434, indicating that that number of warriors awaited them. The short outlet which connects the lake with the river that runs within a little more than half a mile of its west end, bringing the waters of the lakes of the country of the Senecas and Cayugas, had a winding course and a rapid current through a dense swamp, and was very narrow, giving many important points for defense; and the French approached it with great caution, giving no opening for



surprise or ambushade; and we cannot but admire the consummate generalship that guided this army through such difficulties, suffering no check or disaster in invading and returning home. "We passed the Lake in order of battle. Monsieur de Callieres, who commanded that day on the left, that being the side of the enemy, made a large circuit under pretence of debarking on that side, while M. de Vaudreuil, with the right wing, hugged the shore to clear what he could encounter all around of the enemy." (*Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. i, p. 211.)

Thus confusing the Iroquois, by threatening on all sides, the French landed, "sword in hand," on the north shore, and at the very place where forty years before had been built the chapel of "St. Mary of Lake Genentaha."

The construction of a fort was at once commenced, and completed the next morning, the third day of August, 1696. A garrison of 140 men, under a trusty officer, was left in the fort "to guard the bateaux, canoes, provisions and other heavy baggage, which could not be transported; their loss would have absolutely caused that of the whole army." The march by land was commenced, "and half a league made that day." "We camped at the place called the Salt Springs, which in truth they are." "Inconceivable difficulty was experienced in moving the cannon and the artillery equipments over marshes and two pretty considerable rivers which it was necessary to traverse." (*Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. i, p. 211.)

This is a good description of the swamp which extends northeast from the lake, as the water was before the lake was lowered and the swamp partially drained. The two "pretty considerable rivers," now run in one channel under the Oswego Canal, and a plank road gives easy passage over this once tangled swamp which so obstructed the French march.

"On the 4th of August the order of battle was formed at sunrise, and the march was resumed, moving with the greatest caution and having flanking parties and 'forlorn hopes' of the most active savages and Frenchmen deployed to discover and receive the first fire." "Frontenac was borne on an arm-chair (*fauteuil*) between the two lines, in a position to place himself when he thought proper at the head." "Each battalion was only two deep, and showed a very great front." "They were from sunrise till night in getting to the location of the villages." The cabins of the Indians and the triple palisade which encircled their fort were found entirely burned (thus explaining the smoke seen at night at the French encampment on the lake shore). It was an oblong, flanked by four regular bastions. The two rows of pickets which touched each

other were of the thickness of an ordinary mast, and at six feet distance outside stood another palisade of much smaller dimensions, but from 40 to 50 feet high." (*Doc. History.*)

Eighty-one years before Champlain had been driven defeated from before the stronghold of this tribe. In his time the Indians had only the means known to savages to enable them to fortify and resist an invasion. When Frontenac came, they had not only firearms, but axes, shovels and the means to fortify; and much as we are surprised at this description of their fort, we give it more credit than we do that of Champlain.

Though the Iroquois had notified the French that 1,434 men were ready to resist them, they finally decided not to hazard a battle or a siege, being terrified by the descriptions of some Indians that had deserted from the French, of the destructive effects of the shells thrown by their cannon; but destroying their fort and houses, they fled into the fastnesses of the wilderness. Frontenac had led his army with such skill that these children of the forest, familiar with every stream and every swamp, had not been able to inflict the least injury upon it, and were forced to yield to the blow. The motives that actuated them in burning their stronghold it is not easy to understand. It appears to us that in so doing they simply saved the French that labor. No use could be made by the French of the fort, as it would have been beyond all their power to have sustained a permanent post in this wilderness, and at this distance from supplies.

The French looked up the stores that the Indians had hastily deposited in caches, destroying what they could not carry away. "The destruction of the Indian corn was commenced and continued the two following days. The grain was so forward that the stalks were very easily cut by the sword and sabre, without the least fear that any could sprout again. Not a single head remained. The fields stretched from a league and a half to two leagues from the fort. The destruction was complete."

To have allowed the French to accomplish all this without suitable protest would not have been Indian-like. So an aged chief (Clark says more than a hundred years old), by his own desire, was left in the fort to warn the French that the Indians would soon glut their revenge upon the settlements in Canada. The Indian allies of the French put this old man to the torture—a fate he had doubtless expected, and which he bore as became a chief of the Onondagas. "He told his tormentors to remember well his death when his countrymen should come to take terrible vengeance on them." \* \* "While life lasted he re-

proached the Indians with becoming slaves to the French, calling them dogs of dogs, and telling them to remember him when vengeance was executed on them, and this was the only Onondaga killed."

A detachment consisting of six or seven hundred of the most active of the whole army—soldiers, militia and Indians—was sent to Oneida, fourteen leagues distant. The corn of the Oneidas was destroyed, as well as their fort and cabins, and thirty-five among them, some of the principal chiefs, were made prisoners; they having remained at the village in the vain hope of averting disaster.

Having accomplished this much, and burned a Mohawk that was retaken at Oneida, the French started on their return to Canada on the 9th day of August, and "encamped midway from the fort, where the bateaux were left," having three of the Canada Indians killed, who had remained behind in the hope of finding more plunder. "The fort (St. Mary's, of Genentaha) was reached on the 10th and destroyed," and on the 20th they reached Montreal; being watched all the way by the Iroquois, and having every canoe that became separated from the main body cut off. This is the last of the invasions of the valley of Onondaga by the French. The victory was barren of useful results, and great injury to the French was caused by taking the Canadian militia from their fields in harvest time, and the scarcity of provisions that resulted was quite as severely felt in Canada the next year as it was at Onondaga, the government of New York furnishing the Oneidas and Onondagas corn to relieve them. (*Colonial History*, vol. iv, p. 174.)

In 1697, England and France made the treaty of Ryswick, and soon the French and the Iroquois made another treaty of Amity, which the "Canadians considered one of the greatest blessings that could be bestowed upon them. Nothing could be more terrible than this last war; the French ate their bread in continual fear. No man was sure when out of his own house of ever returning to it again. While laboring in the fields, they were under perpetual apprehension of being killed, or carried off to the Indian country, there to dole out a long and fearful captivity, or to die in lingering torments. In short, all business and trade were often entirely suspended; while fear, despair and misery blanched the countenances of the wretched inhabitants. On the return of the French Commissioners from making the treaty, they brought with them several Chiefs of the Five Nations from Onondaga. They were complimented, and received with every demonstration of respect by the French at Montreal; and thus it always is with a brave people, who struggle through every difficulty, until they finally triumphed with

honor. Many of the French prisoners among the Five Nations had become so attached to their new friends, that they remained in Onondaga and ended their days among the savages." (*Clark.*)

The individual Frenchman has all along taken kindly to the natives of America, and but for the mistake of Champlain and the unwise treatment of the Five Nations that followed, the government of the continent would have fallen to the French rather than to the English.

The Dutch approached the Indians from the east, and treated them justly, and by so doing gained their lasting friendship. The English, succeeding the Dutch, continued their friendly policy; the effect of which was that in the revolution which made us a nation, the Indians sustained the royal government.

The peace made between the Indians and French, which followed the treaty of Ryswick, of September 10th, 1697, between England and France, may properly be considered as ending the wars against the French conducted by the Indians independently of English direction. Henceforth they acted almost entirely in accordance with English policy, and on the great battle fields where England and France continued to dispute the supremacy of the continent, the Iroquois were constantly acting as allies of England.

When England acknowledged the independence of the United States, no provision was made for the Indians that had fought on the side of the English, and they were left entirely to our mercy. The Mohawks dispersed as a tribe, most of them going to Canada, where their descendants yet live. There were two views taken by the people of the State of New York as to the policy to be adopted in regard to the Indians, who had carried fire, the scalping knife and the tomahawk, not only to Wyoming and Cherry Valley, but along all our border settlements, murdering women and children, or driving them at midnight into the snows of winter to perish miserably. One, and by far the most numerous party, proposed to drive them all out of our State, if it might be, into the arms of their Canada allies. A smaller party, headed by General Schuyler, and aided by the great influence of General Washington, favored the plan, which was adopted, of leaving the Indians small reservations within the State, where a remnant of them still remains.

With the Western Indians, who sided with England in the war of the Revolution, no peace was really made. Armies were sent against them, that suffered ambuscade and dreadful disaster; and a hundred years of war have followed.

GEORGE GEDDES

## MARTIAL LAW DURING THE REVOLUTION

The proclamation of martial law by General Gage at Boston, June 12th, 1775, and by Governor Dunmore, in Virginia, on the 7th of November of the same year, met with the severe denunciation of the American people; but martial law, whether enforced justifiably or not, is sure to be opposed by those who become subject to its action.

The arraignment of the King of England in the Declaration of Independence has been cited as showing that the men, who were willing to go to war on the issues there made, could never have admitted the truth of the principles involved in a proclamation of martial law. There is no stronger proof that it is a necessary accompaniment of war, than the fact that our forefathers were themselves compelled to resort to it at the very beginning of and throughout the Revolution. A few instances will be given.

By the 37th of the Articles of War adopted by the Continental Congress June 30th, 1775, it was declared that "whosoever belonging to *the continental army*, shall relieve the enemy with money, victuals, or ammunition, or shall knowingly harbor or protect an enemy, shall suffer such punishment as by a general court-martial shall be ordered." This was law for the government of the military forces—military law. On the 7th of November of the same year—on the report of a committee appointed to confer with the commander-in-chief—Congress adopted certain additions, alterations and amendments to the Articles of War, amongst which was the following: "All persons convicted of holding a treacherous correspondence with, or giving intelligence to the enemy, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as a general court-martial shall think proper." This was martial law; that is to say martial law proper, as defined by Chief Justice Chase in the dissenting opinion in *ex parte Milligan*.

Again, on the 27th of December, 1776, the following resolution was adopted: "The unjust but determined purpose of the British court to enslave these free States, obvious through every delusive insinuation to the contrary, having placed things in such a situation that the very existence of civil liberty now depends on the right execution of military powers, and the vigorous, decisive conduct of these being impossible to distant, numerous and deliberative bodies: This Congress having maturely considered the present crisis, and having perfect reliance on the wisdom, vigor and uprightness of General Washington, do therefore,

*"Resolve,* That General Washington shall be, and he is hereby, vested with full, ample and complete powers to raise and collect together, in the most speedy and effectual manner, 16 battalions of infantry \* \* \*; to take wherever he may be, whatever he may want for the use of the army, if the inhabitants will not sell it, allowing a reasonable price for the same; to arrest and confine persons who refuse to take the continental currency, or are otherwise disaffected to the American cause, and return to the States of which they are citizens their names and the nature of their offences, together with the witnesses to prove them."

This was a statutory sanction of martial law, and as regards the seizure of private property, *not* an exercise of the right of eminent domain. [The difference between the law of "overruling necessity" and the right of eminent domain is discussed in the Law Register for July, 1874, in an article entitled "war claims against the United States," by Wm. Lawrence.]

The next resolution of Congress authorizing the enforcement of martial law was that of October 8th, 1777, which was only to remain in force until January 1st, 1778, but was extended by a resolution of December 29th. "Whereas it is of essential consequence to the general welfare that the most effectual measures should be forthwith pursued for cutting off all communication of supplies or intelligence to the enemy's army now in and near the city of Philadelphia; and whereas it has been found by the experience of all the States that in times of invasion the power of the municipal law is too feeble and dilatory to bring to a condign and exemplary punishment, persons guilty of such traitorous practices:

*"Resolved,* That any person being an inhabitant of any of these States, who shall act as a guide or pilot by land or water for the enemy, or shall give or send intelligence to them, or in any manner furnish them with supplies of provisions, money, clothing, arms, forage, fuel, or any kind of stores, be considered and treated as an enemy and traitor to these United States; and that General Washington be empowered to order such persons, taken within thirty miles of any city, town or place in the States of Pennsylvania, Jersey, or Delaware, which is or may be in the possession of the enemy's forces, to be tried by a court-martial, and such courts-martial are hereby authorized to sentence any such persons convicted before them of any of the offences aforesaid, to suffer death or such other punishment as to them shall seem meet."

Under this resolution one Joseph Murill, an inhabitant of Pennsylvania, was tried for giving intelligence, and acting as a guide, to the enemy. He was found guilty and sentenced to be executed: and Gen-

eral Washington, in an order issued from his headquarters at Valley Forge, 1778, approved the sentence, and ordered it to be carried into effect. Murill's execution was, however, subsequently indefinitely postponed.

On the 3d of April, 1778, Washington also approved and ordered the execution of the sentence of William Morganan, of Pennsylvania, who had been convicted, under the same resolution, of coming out of Philadelphia and attempting to steal and carry back a horse. The sentence in this case was, "to be kept at hard labor during the contest with Great Britain, not less than thirty miles from the enemy's camp, and if he be caught making his escape, to suffer death." Orders dated March 25th, and April 13th, 1778, approve the sentences in several similar cases; none, however, being capital.

Again, on the 27th of February, 1778, Congress resolved: "That whatever inhabitant of these States shall kill, or seize, or take, any loyal citizen or citizens thereof, and convey him or them to any place within the power of the enemy, or shall enter into any combination for such a purpose, or attempt to carry the same into execution, or hath assisted, or shall assist therein; or shall by giving intelligence, acting as a guide, or in any other manner whatever, aid the enemy in the perpetuation thereof, he shall suffer death by the judgment of a court-martial, as a traitor, assassin or spy, if the offense be committed within seventy miles of the headquarters of the grand or other armies of these States where a general officer commands."

The effect of this resolution—and it did not escape observation at the time—was to suspend (for instance, in Boston and other parts of Massachusetts, which were not the seat of war, but were within seventy miles of Providence, the headquarters of a general officer who commanded a small army) the judicial authority of the State in particular cases, and to subject criminals, ordinarily triable under the laws of the State, to military trial.

It was under this resolution that Joshua H. Smith was tried by court-martial for complicity with Major André. After André's first interview with Arnold, he did not return to the *Vulture*, sloop-of-war, which had taken him up the river, but went to Smith's house, where he spent a night and day. Smith went on board the *Vulture* on a mission from André, and when the latter undertook his fatal trip he wore a suit of Smith's clothes. The court-martial being of opinion that it had jurisdiction under the resolution of February 27th, 1778, the following charge was exhibited against Smith: "For aiding and assisting Benedict

Arnold, late a Major-General in our service, in a combination with the enemy, for the purpose of taking, seizing, and killing such of the loyal citizens and soldiers as were in garrison at West Point and its dependencies." The finding of the court was, that "the evidence produced on the trial and the prisoner's defence being fully and maturely considered by the court, they are of opinion that, notwithstanding it appears to them that the said Joshua H. Smith did aid and assist Benedict Arnold, late Major-General in our service, who had entered into a combination with the enemy for the purposes which the charge mentions, yet they are of opinion that the evidence is not sufficient to convict the said Joshua H. Smith of his being privy to, or having a knowledge of, the said Benedict Arnold's criminal, traitorous, and base designs. They are, therefore, of opinion that the said Joshua H. Smith is not guilty of the charge exhibited against him, and do acquit him."

Washington subsequently delivered over the prisoner to the Government of New York, with the view to his trial by civil process if deemed advisable; but whilst thus held he effected his escape, and was not recaptured.

G. NORMAN LIEBER



## ABEL PARKER UPSHUR

SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES, 1842-1844

Abel Parker Upshur, one of a family of twelve brothers and sisters, was born at the old homestead, Vaucuse, in Northampton county, Virginia, in 1791, his parents being Lyttleton and Anne Parker Upshur. He lost his father early in life, at which juncture the Vaucuse estate was found much involved, so that Abel's instruction and preparation for college were conducted for the greater part by his talented elder brothers.

His beginning of student life, technically so-called, was at Princeton, but certain disturbances arising among the youth regarding their respective States' rights and Federalistic political views, Mr. Upshur bade adieu to the institution at the close of the first session, transferring his future collegiate life to Yale, where he was graduated honorably. Subsequently a law pupil of Hon. William Wirt, the young student, now a denizen of Richmond, was, in view of the troublous state of affairs at home, practising the most rigid and, it must added, honorable economy. He found it feasible to respond but in a measurable degree to the demands society was constantly making upon his presence. The State capital was in its hey-day, socially speaking, at that time; the gifted Maria Mayo, afterward Mrs. General Scott, and her more beautiful sister, subsequently Mrs. Cabell, being the reigning belles. Mr. Upshur appeared among them costumed plainly, but as became a gentleman, and it is a well-known fact that for one entire season he subsisted on bread and cheese purchased at a neighboring shop, while his sleeping apartment was the summer-house in a garden in Franklin street. All this in the rigid resolve to free himself from debt—debt incurred for his collegiate expenses, repaid afterward, when the family estate had been happily engineered through all its vicissitudes—the good son and brother having resolutely refused one cent therefrom while his mother lived or his sisters were helpless.

By and by he became a successful practitioner of the law in Richmond, but afterward sought the old home again. His native county returned him in 1825 as member of the State Legislature, and in 1827 he succeeded his uncle, Judge Parker, on the bench, whence, on Mr. Tyler's accession to the Presidency in 1841, he was called to be a member of his Cabinet. First filling the position of Secretary of the Navy

("Jack" remembering him to this day as the man who abolished flogging in the navy), on Mr. Webster's resignation in 1842, Mr. Upshur succeeded him as Secretary of State.

In 1826 he married his cousin, Miss Elizabeth A. B. Upshur, the daughter of John Brown Upshur, of Accomac county; the issue of this marriage was an only child, a daughter, who afterward married Lieutenant Ringgold, U. S. A., of Washington City.

The beloved and beautiful home, Vaucluse, was now, in 1841, given up for a residence among the gayer, but not more congenial scenes of the National Capital.

As the Ashburton Treaty had been the crowning event of Mr. Webster's premiership, so the annexation of Texas was the *coup d'état* of his successor's service, and many go so far as to ascribe in great measure to Mr. Upshur's policy the accession of these thousands of square miles in all their vastness and quality values to the territory of the United States. The venerable George Wythe Munford of Virginia, author of the "Reports," alluding to Mr. Tyler and his administration, says: "When he summoned around him as members of his Cabinet such men as John C. Calhoun and Abel Upshur and Thomas W. Gilmer and John Y. Mason and Hugh S. Legare, men of exalted talents, of high-toned character and virtues, of upright honesty and deserved popularity, the genial warmth of other days began to revive, party asperity began to be mellowed and softened, and long before his death he was again beloved, and was held in high estimation as a virtuous patriot."

Quoting from another portion of the same essay, we find: "I hope you will bear with me while I attempt to draw a faint sketch of another orator, whom I think one of the most gifted of our Virginia statesmen. I allude to Abel P. Upshur, a jurist, a judge, a representative, a member of the Convention of 1829-30, Secretary of the Navy and Secretary of State during the administration of Mr. Tyler.

"His forte I think was in a deliberative assembly. I heard him on many occasions at the bar, for he was for a long period attorney for the commonwealth in this city. I have listened to his lucid, short, distinct and able opinions delivered off-hand as a judge. I witnessed some of his efforts in the convention, but the most powerful speech of his life that I know of, was delivered in the House of Delegates on the proposition to repeal the law which prohibited a man from marrying his wife's sister."\*

\*Named in the statutes, "The Incestuous Marriage Bill."

"Judge Upshur was of large frame, broad shoulders, expanded chest, fine head, high and capacious forehead as if the brain had pressed it outward. It was like the massive brow of Daniel Webster, though his eyebrows did not throw the dark shade upon the face that Webster's did, but there was a sunshine playing upon the features as if the light had been reflected from his exceeding bald head."

"One eye was defective, but the other was so speaking that it threw the defective one in the shade. At that time old General Samuel Blackburn was a member from the County of Bath. He was a remarkable man, too, in his day—was a grim, morose old customer, who had a peculiar intellect of his own, which displayed uncommon powers, but delighted most in cutting hits upon his brother members, and his blows had been given so hard and repeated so often, that he became a terror to the young, and the older avoided encounters with him. He had never failed to turn the laugh upon his antagonists, and make them subjects of his ridicule and mirth. Judge Upshur had delivered a master effort in favor of the bill before the house, and when he concluded, having delighted all beyond measure, and the effect was manifest in the beaming countenances of the audience, and in the quivering tear that hung on the undried lid and which rough men were ashamed to wipe away lest they might unfold their weakness, General Blackburn undertook to dispel the illusion, and by the employment of his old weapons to break the force of the argument. He let slip all his dogs and attempted to worry the game by snapping and barking, but as long as he confined himself to howlings at arguments which were untouched and unimpaired, a playful smile only lighted up the Judge's face. At length, however, he took another tack and assailed his personal appearance, drawing upon his fancy for imaginings derogatory to his personal character, and he essayed to laugh him to scorn and throw him into contempt. Then I saw the great man's bosom heave, and his countenance seemed to grow radiant with a glow—the inspiration of the orator filled his soul. When Achilles was about to draw his sword against Agamemnon, his king and chief, we are told the blue-eyed goddess suddenly stood behind him with terrible look invisible to every one but himself, seized his yellow hair and assuaged the wrath of the young hero with prudent advice. He withdrew his mighty hand from the silver handle and the sword dropped back into the scabbard. Not so Upshur; the blue-eyed Pallas lent him the Ægis of Jove, and he shook the flaming boss full in the eyes of all the house. He began with tones that moved the hair on your head, and told that his blood was up. He was as calm as he is who in danger

knows no fear. With measured step and slow he stalked along, and he balanced his words in his hands to see that they were well chosen and of the proper weight. There was a solemnity around that you could feel. He kept removing the little impediments from his path, and as he advanced he grew warm, energetic, chaste, sublime, and when at last he had acquired the proper pitch and felt the key-note had roused his brain, he turned upon the foe,

‘ And with a withering look  
The war denouncing trumpet took.’

and his words hissed and scorched. And then he left, as it seemed, the hateful theme, and he would come back to the subject in debate, and with a mellowed voice, soft tones were dropped, as if the lighter shades were thrown in to make the darkness gloomy and the night more black, and then he would serenely recall the imputation on his person and character that had roused his ire, and assuming the tones with which he first began, he drove right onward and still he kept his wild, unaltered mien, while each strained ball of sight seemed bursting from his head.

“I never shall forget that day. I never shall forget the look of the denounced and discomfited assailant. I never shall cease to remember the spell that bound the hearers, and how men gave expression to their feelings by pressing around the speaker when he concluded, giving him the cordial grip of the sympathetic hand. Such is a faint effort to give you some idea of the manner of the roused and animated Upshur.”

Of the speech alluded to by Mr. Munford as “the most powerful of his life,” and what was everywhere recognized as Mr. Upshur’s crowning success in oratory and argument, it was never reported, and as he kept, or in fact had no notes, it is lost, save to the memory of those who heard it.

The most voluminous contribution left by him to the literature of his country is, as its title-page bespeaks: “The Federal Government, Its True Nature and Character; Being a Review of Judge Story’s Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States,” a work considered thoroughly able and exhaustive, or else incendiary and treasonable, according as the standpoint of criticism may be from a Federalistic or States-Rights view.

Upon the merits of this or that doctrine as in array one against the other, it is all inexpedient to cavil now. It may be more in accord with the spirit of the centennial year just past away, and certainly not less profitable in any view to turn over the columns of an old issue of the *Boston Courier* at present in the writer’s hands. The occasion treated of

was the laying of the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill monument, June 17th, 1843. President Tyler and his Cabinet were at the great Faneuil Hall dinner. The "Grecian fire shed from the lips of Webster" was commented on in terms of just praise, while "on Upshur, one of the noblest sons of a noble State," it was alleged, "the mantle of Madison may truly be said to have fallen."

"Mr. Bancroft proposed," said the *Courier*, 'Virginia and Massachusetts. Their names are blended inseparably in the record of their country's glory; their sons will ever cherish the freedom and the Union established by their fathers.'" Mr. Upshur of Virginia, Secretary of the Navy, rose to respond amidst enthusiastic applause. He said: "Mr. President:—We are all assembled upon a very interesting occasion; we are all—those of us who are strangers—enjoying the kind hospitalities of the citizens of Boston, and it becomes the duty of some one of the Virginians present to respond to the call upon his native State. I regret that the task falls upon me, for though I feel, and though all who come from Virginia feel deeply the value of such a notice of their native State by Massachusetts, there are few of us who can adequately respond to the compliment. As to myself, I never was much in the habit of public speaking, and what little faculty I once possessed is now entirely lost through disuse. I might offer as another apology for my hesitation—that I am overpowered by the circumstances in which I find myself placed—but I will offer none whatever. I can say but little, yet that little shall be in the language of truth and sincerity, a language always eloquent enough. In responding to your call—your association of Massachusetts and Virginia—where shall I begin? Topics rush upon the mind so rapidly, each so strongly appealing for notice and utterance, that the tongue is confused and the power of recollection lost. But indeed why should I attempt to recall to Massachusetts minds those topics? It is a part of every Massachusetts man's education to know of the revolutionary exertions of the different States and of the ties which bound them together. Every schoolboy in New England, with his satchel on his back, can tell of Lexington and Bunker Hill, Trenton and Yorktown.

"Every one in Massachusetts knows all this, and I hope I may say that in my own State our children learn to kiss those hallowed names at their mothers' knees. And, sir, it was Virginia's fortune to furnish to the American Army a leader whose peer the world never saw. Though in all creation there has been but one Washington, and never will be another—and though he was wholly of Virginia, yet we are not

selfish. His fame was bright enough to cast a lustre over the whole land. We can share it freely with our countrymen and all shall have enough! But, sir, engrossing as is that name, and, as I hope, without a violation of modesty I may say, brilliant as are many other names belonging to Virginia, their glory belongs not to us alone. In looking back to the events of the Revolution, who is there that can separate Virginia from Massachusetts? Who can fail to couple the Old Dominion with this noble Commonwealth? Would, sir, that Virginia were here to-day, to respond as she would respond to the greeting of Massachusetts, but venturing, incompetent as I am to do so, to represent her embodied spirit, in her name I say to Massachusetts—as she would say were she here—hail, hail to thee, oh! my sister! Let me express to you, personally, the great, deep and solemn satisfaction with which I have observed all the proceedings that have come under my eye to-day. I have seen much, very much which proves the taste, wealth and liberality of the people of Boston and Charlestown, hundreds of circumstances denoting civilization and refinement. But the moral beauty of the scene engrosses my whole attention. Thousands and thousands—how many thousands it is impossible for me even to conjecture—have met me at every turn. Crowds on crowds in the thronged streets—every eye beaming with joyousness and excitement—who elsewhere would wholly have obstructed the path of the carriages, were here managed peaceably and promptly by a few marshals and police officers, each furnished with a two foot staff. There was no confusion nor disturbance. Each officer and marshal seem to be a magician, managing the countless crowd by the mere waving of his wand. Sir, to what is this owing? To what will it lead? In my own beloved State we are respecters of law and order, but there it is rare to see a collection making the slightest approach to that of to-day. I will not venture to say that such a crowd could not there be so managed, but I hardly dare to hope it would. Never but in Massachusetts has there been a sight like this! And what is it that makes the slight and short wand more powerful than the fixed and bristling bayonets and the loaded gun? Your public schools you say, and the knowledge they impart to the people. Doubtless these have a great effect! But, more than these, and most valuable of everything is the education and principle drawn from the mother's knee. Their blessings have been signally illustrated to-day, and they have placed Massachusetts so high on the roll of civilization and refinement that she may well call upon her sisters to come to her and learn how to be good, great, happy and wise. In connection with this subject, and as a tribute at

once just to Massachusetts and grateful to Virginia, permit me to propose—Massachusetts—Foremost in the conflict by which our liberties were won, and foremost to show us what our liberties are, when won.”

The great national calamity by which Secretary Upshur and other prominent personages were suddenly swept into eternity is fresh in the memory of many now living. Thomas W. Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy, Virgil Maxcy, Commodore Beverly Kennon, David Gardiner, of New York city—all by one fell swoop of the great destroyer passed from that festive scene on board the war steamer Princeton to the solemn realities of the mystical Beyond.

The occasion was an excursion down the river, for the testing of Com. Alex. Stockton's new gun, the “Peace-maker.” Horrible the irony concealed under that name! At about four o'clock in the afternoon the company were summoned, from their hilarious fête in the cabin, to come above. The ship was approaching Mount Vernon and the salute would be given by the new implement of war. “Let them remove the dead men,” said Mr. Upshur, laughingly, pointing to the empty champagne bottles, as he rose from the table responsive to the summons. A moment more, and mirth and laughter were turned into wailing. A crash—an explosion—and as the thick cloud passed away there lay—horrible sight! the lifeless bodies of those named, scattered here and there over the deck. Some were mutilated in a shocking manner. Mr. Upshur's death-wound was by the lodgment of a heavy segment of the gun upon his breast. There was only a slight abrasion of the skin on the forehead, and no interruption of the peaceful, eminently benevolent smile—the prominent characterization of his countenance in life. The last playful remark ever reported of him, as set down here, seemed something prophetic of his impending fate. Another somewhat singular incident of the catastrophe, as regarded Judge Upshur, was that the heavy iron weight which so suddenly stilled the current of the wearer's life, drove the hands of his watch immovable into the dial. Thus it will doubtless stand many a year to come—

“*The horologe of eternity!*”

recording in fatal fixedness the dire date—Twenty minutes to Four o'clock, of that Twenty-eighth day of February, Eighteen Hundred and Forty-four.

MARY UPSHUR STURGES

DIARY  
OF GOVERNOR SAMUEL WARD

DELEGATE FROM RHODE ISLAND  
IN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774-1776

Part III

SECOND CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION.  
—September 4th, 1775. Set out [from Westerly, R. I.] for Philadelphia, dined at Russell's, lodged at Durfey's.—5th. Oated at Saybrook ferry, dined at She-dar's, and lodged at Beer's.—6th. Oated at Stratford ferry, dined at Penfield's, lodged at Betts.—7th. Breakfasted at Stamford, dined at Haviland's (Rye), lodged at Kingsbridge.—8th. Dined at Mr. Bayard's, lodged at Newark.—9th. Breakfasted at Graham's, oated at Dawson's, dined at Farmer's, Brunswick, lodged at Hyer's, Princetown.—10th. Oated at Trenton ferry, dined at Bristol, oated at "Wheat-sheaf."—11th. Mr. President and Mr. Cushing, S. Ward, the Connecticut delegates, Mr. Crane of the Jerseys, several Pennsylvania, lower County, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina and Georgia delegates met, and adjourned to the next day.—12th. Members from the above Colonies met, were joined by Messrs. Adams. For want of a quorum did no business; adjourned. Mr. Hopkins came into the City.—13th. Met. The President took the chair the first time. Letters from Generals Washington, Schuyler, etc., two from General Washington to General Gage, and one from Gage read. Leave granted to Dr. Franklin to receive his books, papers, etc., just arrived. Leave granted to two Virginia men to reload and export a cargo which was shipped, timely, on board a vessel

cast away. Mr. Hopkins was with us until one.—14th. Met. A number of letters from General Schuyler, etc., read. Dr. Stringer appointed Chief Physician and Surgeon to General Schuyler's army, to be paid for his medicines and supplies; the same pay as the other Chief Physician. The motion from Georgia considered and referred; (Mr. Hopkins until one); the address of that Provincial Congress to the King read and their resolves. Treaty with the Six Nations read; a plan for taking Fort Detroit, proposed by Mr. Wilson and Colonel Morris, rejected. Colonel Morris, appointed a Commissioner at the Indian Treaty for the Middle Department.—15th. Met. Dr. Walker of Virginia appointed a Commissioner in the room of Mr. Henry. Goods, arrived in Georgia before 6th August last, to be sold or re-shipped at the option of the proprietors. If sold, first cost and charges to be reimbursed the owners; the profits to be applied by the Provincial Congress for the defence of the Colony. (Mr. Hopkins [remained] until half past one).—16th. Entered upon General Washington's letters; referred to Monday. Next Tuesday assigned for consideration of the trade of the Colonies.—A motion that no provisions, hides, or leather, sheepskins, flax-seed, be exported—postponed. (Mr. Hopkins until one).—18th. Agreed that proper persons be appointed a Committee to procure five hundred tons [of] powder, and, if [there is] not so much to be had, saltpetre to make up that quantity; forty brass field pieces, twenty thousand double bridled gunlocks, ten thousand stands of arms [and] flints. Received an express from General Schuyler: he



made his landing good, repulsed the party that attacked him, and returned to Isle aux Noix. (Mr. Hopkins [remained] till half past one.)—19th. Took into consideration General Schuyler's letters, appointed a committee to answer them; gave Colonel Fenton leave to go to England or Ireland, he not to take up arms against us; appointed Mr. Willing, Dr. Franklin, Mr. P. Livingston, Mr. Alsop, Mr. Deane, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Langdon, Mr. McKean and Mr. Ward, a Committee for purchasing powder, etc. (Mr. Hopkins as usual.)—20th. Finished letter to General Schuyler, [a] copy to be sent [to] General Washington: General Washington's letter resumed. Mr. Gridley to have a commission as Colonel. (Mr. Hopkins [left] as usual.) State of trade referred.—21st. Sundry accounts preferred and postponed. Appointment of a Brigadier General deferred until the Army is new modelled. General Washington to commission, as Brigade Majors, Box, Sam. Brewer, and Scammel. General Schuyler to appoint a Brigade Major. Judge Advocate's pay, for him and clerk, fifty dollars per month. A Committee appointed to consider of the best means of supplying our Army; their names, Mr. Deane, Mr. Ward, Mr. Cushing, Mr. P. Livingston, Mr. Willing.—An account for duck [sail-cloth], etc., of James Milligan, Jr., allowed. Committee of Berks County's accounts; £2,038.7s.1d. for rifle-men under Colonel Thompson referred to the Committee; Colonel Thompson to send an account, how he disposed of the money, 5,000 dollars. (Mr. Hopkins as usual.)—22d. Letters from [the] Provincial Congress of New York: estimate and plan of fortifications on the

Highlands, referred to to-morrow. Letters from Mr. Morris and Mr. Wilson relative to disturbances between Virginians and Pennsylvanians, near Pittsburgh, referred to the morrow. Door-keeper's accounts allowed. Upon Major Rogers being taken into custody, ordered, that if nothing but his being on half pay be found against him, that he be discharged on parole.—Dr. Franklin, Mr. J. Rutledge, Mr. Jay, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Deane and Mr. Willing appointed a Committee to take into consideration [the] state of the trade of the Colonies. A Messenger's accounts allowed. Mr. Hopkins as usual.—23d. Upon reading a letter from the Quartermaster General, relative [to] coarse goods for clothing the soldiers, ordered, that Mr. Lewis, Mr. Willing, Mr. Deane, Mr. Alsop, Mr. Langdon, be a Committee to purchase £5,000 worth [of] coarse woollen goods for the use of the Continental Army, to be placed in the hands of the Quartermasters General for the soldiers at prime cost and charges; the quartermaster to have five per cent. for his trouble. Some accounts allowed. The letters from Morris and Wilson referred to Monday. (Mr. Hopkins as usual.) A parcel of medicines for the hospital ordered to be bought.—25th. The Committee appointed to audit the Rifle accounts, etc., is authorized to draw for a sum not exceeding two thousand dollars. Colonel Lee, Mr. J. Adams and Mr. Lynch, a Committee to take General Washington's letters into consideration and report.—A Committee for auditing all accounts appointed: Mr. Langdon, Mr. Cushing, Mr. Ward, Mr. Deane, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Smith, Mr. Wil-

ling, Mr. Rodney, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Gadsden, Dr. Zubly.—Letters from Colonel Morris and Mr. Wilson taken into consideration and referred. (Mr. Hopkins [left] as usual. Shall not minute it again, unless he sits all day.)—26th. Letters from Colonel Morris, etc., deferred. Letter to General Washington.—27th. Copy of Journal presented and partly read. Kettles, canteens, etc., allowed the soldiers. One hundred and sixty thousand dollars ordered [to be paid] to Connecticut on account. Several accounts, Robert Erwin, etc., allowed. Journal read and ordered to be printed.—28th. Attended the invitation of the City on board the Galleys.—29th. A letter from General Washington. Several accounts allowed. The powder Committee to purchase some said to be arrived. President to sign all orders on the Treasury. Three members appointed to go to the Camp, to consult General Washington, the Governors [of] Connecticut and Rhode Island, the President of the Congress of New Hampshire, and the Council of the Massachusetts, upon the most effective method of continuing, supporting and regulating, a Continental Army.—30th. Dr. Franklin, Mr. Lynch and Colonel Harrison, the Committee.—John Rutledge, Colonel Lee, R. R. Livingston, S. Adams and Mr. Johnson, a Committee to draw instructions for the above Committee: President to write to General Washington, (to acquaint him with the appointments,) and the Governors, Council and President; desiring them to attend the Committee, 12th October next. Postage of letters to be same as usual. Some accounts allowed. A complaint made

by delegates against the Connecticut people at Susquehannah. A report from the Committee for considering of the trade, etc., read.

October 2d. The above report read again, and referred to a Committee of the whole Congress to-morrow morning.—Instructions to General Washington: soldiers to be paid by calendar months.—October 3d. Several accounts allowed. Carbines and pistols sold to [the] Committee of Safety. The General may give to the Army one month's pay, upon taking booty. Commissary General to contract for such quantities [of] beef and pork as the General thinks necessary, and salt it up at the Camp. 300,000 dollars to go by the Committee to [the] Paymaster General. Expenses of the Committee to be paid by the Continent: the Committee to confer with Mr. Rittenhouse.—[I] presented our instructions for carrying on the war effectually and building an American fleet.—4th. Allowed a vessel going to South Carolina to carry certain stores enumerated. Resolved into a Committee upon the trade of the colonies. (Additional instructions to the Committee first given.) Only 189,467 dollars ready of the 300,000 yesterday ordered. Some accounts allowed. Then went into a Committee of the whole, etc. Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had taken into their consideration, etc., and desired leave to sit again to-morrow, to take into their further consideration, etc., which was accordingly resolved.—5th. Congress according to the order of the day went into a Committee of the whole, etc. After some debate a member produced a number of letters from England, which

were read, and Captain Read, just arrived, and the gentleman to whom the letters were written, desired to attend the Congress. Expresses sent to General Washington, Governor Cooke and Governor Trumbull, to send our several vessels to intercept two transports with powder, etc. Encouragement given to the men, etc. The vessels to go on the service to be at the risk of the Continent.—6th. Letters from Generals Schuyler and Montgomery. £20,000, Pennsylvania currency, in silver or gold, to be got for Continental money for the Canada expedition. Recommended to Provincial Assemblies and Conventions, [and] Committees of Safety, to arrest and secure such persons whose going at large may endanger such Colonies or the liberty of America. (This to be transmitted.) Committee for importation of powder to export, agreeable to the Continental Association, as much provisions or other produce of these Colonies as they shall judge expedient for the purchase of arms and ammunition. A Committee appointed to consider of the fortifications ordered to be erected on Hudson's River. Further report of the Committee for concerting a plan for intercepting certain [vessels] read. Ordered that the Congress [be] resolved into a Committee of the Whole to take into their consideration the state of the trade. Consideration of the instructions to the Delegates of Rhode Island put off to to-morrow.—7th. Letters from New York read. Consideration of Rhode Island instructions to be heard next Monday week. The money ordered for the goods [for the Army]. Report of the Committee, who took into consideration the letter relative

to fortification[s] on Hudson's River, accepted; and [a] recommendation to the Provincial Congress accordingly. General Wooster ordered (unless counter-ordered by General Schuyler,) to come down to the Highlands, leave as many troops as the managers of the works think necessary, and repair with the remainder to New York. Dispute between Pennsylvanians and Connecticut people referred to either (Colony's) Delegates to report on Monday next. Agreed to resolve into a Committee on Monday to consider the state of trade. Letters from Colonel Morris and Mr. Wilson referred to next Monday.—October 9th. A letter from the Commissary [General] relative to £500, advanced for Colonel Arnold; and the money ordered to be paid accordingly. Further order for exchanging £20,000, P. C[urrenc]y, for General Schuyler. Mr. Duane authorized to propose to the Committee of Safety of this Province to borrow one ton of powder for New York. Letters from Generals Schuyler and Montgomery read, [and] referred to a Committee, [namely] John Adams, John Rutledge, Mr. Chase, R. Livingston and Mr. Deane. The affair between Pennsylvania and Connecticut further referred. The Delegates of Pennsylvania to send what hard money the Treasurers have got to General Schuyler by two of the light horse. Recommended to the Provincial Convention of New Jersey to immediately raise two Battalions of eight Companies each, at Continental charge, each Company for one year: Sixty-eight privates and officers as recommended by Congress in the militia bill; privates at five dollars per month, and discharged at any time; allowing

one month's pay gratis, instead of bounty; one pair [of] shoes, one pair [of] yarn stockings and a felt hat given each private. Pay of the officers the same as that now in the Continental Army; if that be raised, the officers of these battalions to have the same.—10th. Some accounts allowed. The money sent to General Schuyler. Answer to General Schuyler's letter reported and referred. Appointments of field officers referred. To be resolved to-morrow into a Committee of the Whole to take into consideration the state of trade.—11th. Pennsylvania and Connecticut to report to-morrow. Some accounts allowed. Debate concerning field-officers resumed, and referred until the return of the Committee from Cambridge. Committee for billeting.—12th. Captain and other Commissioned Officers allowed while recruiting or on their march  $2\frac{3}{4}$  dollars billet, and the men while in quarters one dollar per week, while on march  $1\frac{1}{2}$ .—Blanket and shirt allowed each soldier, if to be got, not to be in the terms of enlistment.—The President to transmit blank commissions to the Convention of New Jersey for the officers ordered to command the troops. John Penn, Esq., a Delegate from North Carolina, arrived, and took his place accordingly. Resolved into a Committee of the Whole for [the] consideration of the trade of the United Colonies. Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had taken into their consideration, according to the order of the day, the state of the trade, etc.—13th. Resolved into a Committee of the Whole, and resumed the consideration of trade, etc. Mr. Ward reported that, etc. A letter from General Washington, with

papers relative to Dr. Church, etc. Resolved, that a swift sailing [vessel] to carry ten carriage guns and a proportionable number of swivels, with eighty men, be fitted with all possible dispatch to cruise three months eastward, for intercepting such transports laden with warlike stores and other supplies for our enemies, and such other purposes as the Congress may direct. A Committee appointed to estimate the expense, and report a proper vessel. Remainder of the report referred to Monday next. Memorials from New York and Philadelphia merchants relative to Tea. Messrs. Rutledge, S. and J. Adams, Mr. Ward and Colonel Lee, the Committee to take into their consideration the memorials and report.—14th. Letters from General Washington again taken into consideration; postponed to Monday. A Director General of Hospital, etc., to be chosen on Monday next. Affair between Connecticut and Pennsylvania referred until Monday. A Committee was moved for by the first [Committee].—16th. Letter from [the] Provincial Congress of New Jersey, requesting the liberty of appointing field officers to the two battalions proposed to be raised. Committee appointed to answer it. Letter from General Schuyler, enclosing letters from General Montgomery and others. Two hundred thousand dollars ordered to be sent to General Schuyler, under direction of the Pennsylvania Delegates. A ton of powder to [be] sent from New York to General Schuyler. A Committee to consider of further Ways and Means for promoting the manufacture of saltpetre; the saltpetre taken at Turtle Bay to be sent to the powder mills at

New York. Mr. Randolph and Mr. Hopkins appointed to confer with Mr. McPherson. A Committee to inquire what quantity of powder has been sent to General Schuyler. The order of the day further referred.—17th. A Committee appointed to consider and report what is fit to be done in the disputes between Pennsylvania and Connecticut. Some accounts allowed. Letter from Governor Cooke read. Dr. Morgan chosen Director General of the Hospital in the room of Dr. Church. President desired to write to the Convention of New York, to desire that all the sulphur in the City be removed to a place of safety.—18th. Report relative to the Tea read, and postponed generally. Delegates from New Hampshire presented an instruction from the Provincial Congress for the advice of Congress relative to their assuming government. Referred to Monday next. A Committee appointed to collect a just and well authenticated account of all hostilities committed since [the] first [of] March last by Ministerial troops and ships of war, and of the number and value of houses burnt and vessels taken.—19th. A petition from Messrs. Sears and Randal relative to Tea referred [for a] fortnight. Some accounts allowed. Report from Committee for considering the [method for] supplying the Army read. Order to Captain Sears for thirty thousand dollars on account of the flour supplied by him. Committee appointed to confer with Captain McPherson reported: Ordered that a letter be written to General Washington, recommending him to the General; to whom he is immediately to repair. The Provincial Convention of New

York desired to transmit to this Congress copies of any proceedings of theirs upon a letter from Governor Tryon, or of the Mayor and Aldermen.—20th. Letter to General Washington relative to Captain McPherson read and approved: three hundred dollars ordered to be advanced to him. Resolved into a Committee of the Whole. Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had taken into consideration the matter referred to them, but, having come to no resolutions, desired leave to sit to-morrow, which was granted.—21st. According to the order of the day the Congress again resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, in order, etc. Mr. Ward reported as above.—22d. About eight at night Mr. Randolph died, having been ill but a few hours.—23d. Resolved to attend the funeral with a mourning crape round the left arm, to be continued a month. Mr. Middleton, Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Chase appointed to superintend the funeral and to request Mr. Duché to preach a funeral discourse. New appointment of the Delegates of the lower Counties [Delaware], their credentials presented and approved.—24th. Adjourned to two o'clock; adjourned to to-morrow.—25th. A letter from General Washington, 30th September; two from Gov. Trumbull, and one from (the) Convention of New York read: an answer to the Convention of New Jersey reported; the matter of field officers referred to the return of the Committee, and the Convention desired to raise the battalions with all speed. Some accounts allowed. Instructions from General Gage to Captain Campbell read and ordered to be published: examination of Campbell and others read, and copies to be sent to [the]

Convention of New York, with recommendation to them to seize [a Mr. Grant]. Mr. Hewes added to the Committee of Claims.—26th. Resolved, that the resolution of 15th July, relative to giving provisions or other American produce for powder be printed in handbills and sent throughout Europe and foreign West Indies. Convention of New York to take into their custody, blankets, shirts, etc., and send such of them as may be necessary for General Schuyler's army to him. A Committee appointed to take into consideration the letter from New York, and report an answer. An express ordered to Virginia, to inquire into the matter of rock saltpetre, and bring samples. A Committee (J. Adams, J. Rutledge, Mr. Ward, Colonel Lee, Mr. Sherman) appointed to take into their consideration the instruction to the Delegates of New Hampshire, and report their opinion thereon. The resolution for obtaining well authenticated accounts of hostilities, etc., ordered to be printed in the newspapers; then resolved into a Committee of the Whole: Mr. Ward reported a resolution that it be recommended to the Assemblies, etc., to export to the foreign West Indies, on account and risk of the Colonies respectively, provisions or other produce, except horned cattle, sheep, hogs and poultry, for the importation of arms and ammunition for their several Colonies.—27th. A report from the Committee appointed to take into their consideration a letter from New York was read.—The Congress then resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole. Mr. Ward reported that they had come into a resolution, etc.—28th. The Committee of Safety

of Philadelphia laid before Congress the examinations of Captain Campbell, etc., ordered to be confined in gaol by the direction of the Committee, the officers to be allowed ten shillings, Pennsylvania currency, a day, the privates 7/6. A Company [of] Matrosses ordered to be raised in the Province of New York.—Some accounts allowed. Mr. Wythe, Mr. Paine and Mr. Humphreys, added to the Saltpetre Committee. Five of the Committee of Claims to be a quorum for the future. The Inspectors of the press to deliver the proof-sheets and checks of the Continental bills to the Continental Treasurers, and they to deliver one to the Delegates of each Colony to be lodged with the Provincial Treasurer, and retain the rest in their hands.—30th. Four armed vessels ordered to be fitted out: a Committee for that purpose. Recommendation of [the] Provincial Congress of New Jersey for field officers referred.—31st. Letters from General Schuyler read. Resolved into a Committee of the Whole. Mr. Ward reported a certain resolution, and desired leave to sit again. Report referred. Resolve of the Assembly of Pennsylvania presented and referred to Friday.

November 1. Letter from General Washington, containing an account of [the] burning [of] Falmouth, etc., read. Copies to be forwarded to the several Colonies by the Delegates. A letter from the Committee [of Conference] with copies of their proceedings. The report of the Committee of the Whole ordered; that no provisions be exported, etc.; New York and the other excepted Colonies to take no advantage of such exceptions; no rice to be shipped; that no live stock (neces-

sary sea-stores, at the discretion of the Committee of Safety, and horses excepted) be exported, or water-borne, except in bays, rivers and sounds.—2d. Some accounts allowed. The Committee for fitting out armed vessels authorized to draw for money, agree with officers, etc.; one-third of all transports to be given the men who take them, and one-half of all vessels of war. Petition from Passamaquoddy referred to a Committee. The Delegates [are] to transmit [to] their Colonies the resolutions relative to trade. Memorial of [the] Committee [of] Safety of Pennsylvania ordered to lie [on the table]. Report of Mr. Bedford, Muster-master. A petition from J. Rains of Bermuda read, ordered to lie [on the table] upon reading. Letters from Generals Schuyler, Montgomery and Mr. Livingston. A Committee of three appointed to repair to General Schuyler, etc. A Committee appointed to draw up instructions for them. Three thousand felt hats, stockings, etc., ordered to be purchased and sent to General Schuyler, and sold to the soldiers at prime cost, etc. A Committee to purchase them, Mr. Alsop, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Sherman.—Business increased so fast, [I] could not go on with the minutes.—February 8th. Drew an order on Mr. Heffner for one quarter cask of powder.—14th. Drew an order on the Treasury for 266  $\frac{2}{3}$ , to the Waggon Master, on Mr. Matlack for ten tons, saltpetre.—15th. Drew an order in favor of the Delegates of New Jersey for  $\frac{1}{2}$  ton [of] powder. One ton for New York on Tuesday before.—16th. Drew on the Treasury for six hundred dollars in favour of Mr. Irwin.—19th. Drew an order in favour of Alsop, etc.,

for 200,000 dollars, and agreed to give Pennsylvania [currency?] as wanted,—21st. Gave an order for eight tons [of] powder to go to Canada. Directions to the guard, request to the Committee of Safety to take order for furnishing waggon. Letter to Committee [of] Inspection relative to Arms: 1st. 1000 barrels [of] gunpowder. In default of getting the whole, as much saltpetre with a proportionate quantity as may make up. 2000 stand [s of] arms, 5000 double bridled gunlocks, 12 brass field pieces, 6 pounders. 2d. 50 Tons of powder, 12 brass 6-pounders, 1000 stands of arms, 2000 double bridled gunlocks.\*

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL OF THE CONGRESS.—Monday, November 6, 1775. "Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed to take into consideration the sundry letters lately received from the Convention of New York, and the state of that Colony, and report what in their opinion is necessary to be done." The members chosen: Mr. R. Livingston, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Allen and Mr. Ward.

Wednesday, November 8, 1775. "Resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed to confer with Mr. Kirkland." The members chosen: Mr. Cushing, Mr. Wythe and Mr. Ward.

Thursday, November 16, 1775. Sundry papers from the General Assembly of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay being laid before Congress and read, Resolved, That these be referred to a Committee of seven. The members chosen: Mr. Johnson, Mr. Sherman, Mr. W. Livingston, Mr. Ward, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Hooper and Mr. Harrison.

Tuesday, November 21, 1775. The

Congress then resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the petitions from Burmuda to them referred; and after some time spent therein, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had taken into consideration the petitions to them referred, and had come to certain resolutions thereon, which he read in his place, and then delivered in.

Friday, December 8, 1775. Resolved, That a standing Committee, composed of a member from each Colony, be appointed to receive the applications and examine into the qualifications of the several persons who apply for offices in the American army, and report to Congress. The members are: Mr. Bartlett, Mr. S. Adams, Mr. Ward, Mr. Dyer, Mr. Jay, Mr. W. Livingston, Mr. Allen, Mr. Rodney, Mr. F. L. Lee, Mr. Penn and Mr. Lynch.

Monday, December 11, 1775. Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress took into consideration the instructions given to the Delegates of Rhode Island [in favor of building a fleet, etc.,] and after debate thereon, Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to devise ways and means for furnishing these Colonies with a naval armament, and report with all convenient speed.

Friday, December 22, 1775. Agreeable to the order of the day the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into farther consideration the report of the Committee of Conference relative to an attack on Boston, and after some time spent thereon, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had taken into consideration

the matter referred to them, and had come to a resolution thereon, which he was ready to report. The report of the Committee, being read, was agreed to as follows: Resolved, That if General Washington and his Council of War should be of opinion that a successful attack may be made on the troops in Boston, he do it in any manner he may think expedient, notwithstanding the town and property in it may thereby be destroyed.

Friday, December 29, 1775. Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the trade of the United Colonies, and after some time spent thereon, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had taken into consideration the matter to them referred, and had come to certain resolutions which he was ready to report.—The report of the Committee being read, the Congress took the same into consideration.

Monday, January 15, 1776. Resolved, That the letters from Lord Stirling be referred to a committee of five.—The members chosen, Mr. W. Livingston, Mr. McKee, Mr. Floyd, Mr. Ward and Mr. Alexander. \* \* \* The Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the state of the trade of the United Colonies; and after some time, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported, that the Committee had taken into their farther consideration the matter to them referred, but that not having come to a conclusion, they desired him to move for leave to sit again.



Wednesday, January 17, 1776. Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the propriety of opening the ports after the first of March next; and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported, that the Committee had taken into consideration the matter to them referred; and had come to a resolution, which he read in his place, and delivered in. The report being again read, Ordered, To lie on the table.

Thursday, January 18, 1776. Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to take into consideration the letter from General Schuyler, of the 13th of January, with the enclosures, and report thereon to Congress. The members chosen, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Wythe, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Ward and Mr. S. Adams.

Wednesday, January 24, 1776. The Secretary laid before Congress an account of the repulse our troops met with in their attempt on Quebec, the 31st of December; which was read. Ordered, That the same be published. Resolved, That a committee of seven be appointed to consider the propriety of establishing a war office, and the powers with which the said office should be vested.—The members chosen, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Franklin, Mr. E. Rutledge, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Ward, Mr. S. Adams and Mr. Morris.

Thursday, January 25, 1776. Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to take the examination of Brigadier-General Prescott and Captain Chase, who are arrived at Philadelphia, and report to Congress: The members chosen, Mr. Adams, Mr. Ward and Mr. Sherman.  
\* \* \*

The committee appointed to

take the examination of General Prescott and Captain Chase, made report of their proceedings: Resolved, That the said committee be directed to make farther inquiry into the character and conduct of General Prescott, and inspect the letters of General Schuyler and General Montgomery concerning him.

Friday, January 26, 1776. Resolved. That a committee of three be appointed to consider what allowance ought to be made for paying the troops raised in New Jersey and Pennsylvania; The members chosen, Mr. Ward, Mr. Harrison and Mr. Allen.

Saturday, January 27, 1776. A letter from General Washington, dated the 19th of January; one from the Committee at Trenton, dated the 24th, one from Lord Stirling, dated the 25th, and one from T. Lowry, dated the 24th of the same month, were read: Resolved, That the same be referred to Mr. Wythe, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Ward and Mr. S. Adams.  
\* \* \* A memorial from H. Keppeler and John Steinmetz was presented to Congress and read: Resolved, That the same be referred to a Committee of three: The members chosen, Mr. Ward, Mr. Alexander and Mr. Wythe.

Monday, January 29, 1776. The committee to whom were referred the letter from General Washington, dated the 19th instant, with the papers therein mentioned, and the letter from Lord Stirling dated the 24th, and the letter from the Committee at Trenton, dated the day last mentioned, brought in their report; Resolved, That the applications made by General Washington to the governments of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, in such an ex-

agency, to raise a regiment in each of those Colonies for the service of Canada, were prudent, consistent with his duty, and a farther manifestation of his commendable zeal for the good of his country, etc., etc., \* \* \* That the three regiments to be raised in New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, for the service in Canada, be exclusive of the thirteen intended to reinforce the army at Cambridge, etc. \* \* \* The Committee desired leave to sit again, which was granted.

Tuesday, January 30, 1776. Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to take into consideration an application for the Committee of Safety for New York. The members chosen, Mr. Ward, Mr. Paine, Mr. Paca, Mr. Lee and Mr. Rodney.

Tuesday, February 6, 1776. Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to bring in a resolution respecting the exportation of naval stores for the public service: The members chosen, Mr. Hewes, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Ward, Mr. Paine and Mr. S. Adams.

Wednesday, February 14, 1776. The Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the report of the Committee on the Regulations and Restrictions under which the ports should be opened after the first day of March next; and after some time spent thereon, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported, that the committee had taken into consideration the matter referred to them, but not having come to a conclusion, desired leave to sit again.

Friday, February 16, 1776. Resolved, That the Secret Committee (of which Governor Ward was Chairman,) be di-

rected to furnish Colonel St. Clair's Battalion with arms, and that the President write to Colonel St. Clair, and direct him to use the utmost diligence in getting his battalion ready, and to march the companies, one at a time, as fast as they can be got ready, to Canada, with all possible expedition. \* \* \* Agreeable to the Order of the Day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole \* \* \* Mr. Ward reported.

Thursday, February 22d, 1776. The Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to take into consideration the letters just received from General Washington. \* \* \* Mr. Ward reported. \* \* \* Resolved, That the secret Committee be empowered for the purpose of procuring arms and ammunition, to export the produce of these Colonies, equal to the amount of that by them exported in two vessels lately taken by the enemy.

Thursday, February 29, 1776. Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the letter from General Washington of the 9th instant, and the trade of the Colonies after the 1st of March; and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported.

Friday, March 8, 1776. A letter from Colonel Hazen of the 18th of February last, inclosing an account and estimates of the losses he has sustained, was received and read: Resolved, That the same be referred to Mr. Wythe, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Ward and Mr. S. Adams, who are directed to examine the said account, and report upon the several articles.

Wednesday, March 13, 1776. Resolved, That a Committee of seven be

appointed to enquire and report the best ways and means of raising the necessary supplies to defray the expenses of the war for the present year, over and above the emission of bills of credit. The members chosen: Mr. Johnson, Mr. Duane, Mr. Hewes, Mr. Gerry, Mr. R. Morris, Mr. Ward and Mr. Wythe. \* \* \* The Congress then resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole. \* \* \* After some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported, that the Committee have had under consideration the matters referred to them, but not having come to any resolution, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Tuesday, March 26, 1776. The Congress being informed that Mr. Ward, one of the Delegates of Rhode Island, died yesterday, Resolved, That Mr. Hopkins, Mr. S. Adams and Mr. Wolcott be a Committee to superintend the funeral, and that they be directed to apply to the Rev. Mr. Stillman, and request him to preach a funeral sermon on the occasion. That the said Committee be directed to invite the Assembly and Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, and other public bodies in Philadelphia, to attend the funeral.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—Governor Ward's health was so much affected by his arduous labors in his country's service that he succumbed to an attack of smallpox, and died in Philadelphia, March 26, 1776. His physician, Dr. Young, writing the same day to his brother Henry Ward, Secretary of Rhode Island, says: "It is with the most heart-felt grief, with the deepest affliction and pungent regret, that I inform you the patriotic Samuel Ward, Esq., left his

anxious, his numerous friends in this city to bewail their loss of one of the most able, consistent and determined defenders of American liberty in his person, who departed life at 2 A. M. this morning of that tremendous disease, the smallpox, taken in the natural way. \* \* \*

So full, so firm, so capable, so industrious was Mr. Ward that his loss will be severely felt in the Congress. One, at least, of the mighty advocates for American Independency is fallen in Mr. Ward, to the great grief of the proto-patriot Adams." John Adams mentions Governor Ward's death in a letter as follows: "We have this week lost a very valuable friend of the Colonies, in Governor Ward of Rhode Island, by the smallpox in the natural way. \* \* \* He was an amiable and a sensible man, a steadfast friend to his country, upon very pure principles. His funeral was attended with the same solemnities as Mr. Randolph's; Mr. Stillman, being the Anabaptist minister here, of which persuasion was the Governor, was desired by Congress to preach a sermon, which he did with great applause."

Governor Ward's remains were interred in the First Baptist Church, and a marble monument was erected over the spot by an Act of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, passed the following May. The inscription was written by the celebrated John Jay. In 1860 Governor Ward's remains were removed to the family plot in the cemetery at Newport, Rhode Island, where they repose beneath the original monument. Rhode Island may well be proud of his memory, for such a high minded Christian patriot adds lustre to the annals of his country.



THE IROQUOIS FORT FROM THE EDITION OF CHAMPLAIN'S VOYAGES 1632





His extraordinary grasp of mind is evinced in his remarkable letters, which display his deep conviction of the necessity of strenuously opposing every aggressive measure of the British Ministry, and glow with eloquent and luminous predictions of the great future in store for America. He was an eminently courageous, self-sacrificing statesman, who felt that he could not spare time from his arduous labors to preserve his health, and thus fell a victim to his untiring and profound love for his native land.

JOHN WARD.

\* Governor Ward in the month of October writes to his family: "I am almost worn out with attention [to business.] I am upon a standing committee of claims, which meets every morning before Congress, and upon the secret Committee which meets almost every afternoon; and these, with a close attendance upon Congress, and writing many letters, make my duty very hard, and I cannot get time to ride or take other exercise."

## CHAMPLAIN'S EXPEDITION OF 1615

*Translated from the Text of the Edition of 1619,  
for the Magazine of American History.*

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—Champlain left Honfleur the 24th day of April, 1614, and arrived at Tadoussac the 25th of May following. He brought with him several Fathers who proposed to establish a mission in Canada. One of those was Father Joseph (Le Caron). His return had been anxiously awaited by the savages about the new settlement of Quebec, in the hope that he would assist them in their war against the Iroquois, their ancient enemies. Father Joseph at once

went to meet them at the Grand Sault Saint Louis, which was their rendezvous, while Champlain remained at Quebec to make some arrangements for the new settlement. He left Quebec a few days later on his journey. At the river of Prairies, five leagues below the Grand Sault, he met Father Joseph returning to Quebec to procure some church insignia. Arrived at the Grand Sault (Laverdière estimates on the 19th or 20th June) he visited the savages by whom he was received with great glee, and plans were arranged for a campaign. The savages engaged to furnish twenty-five hundred warriors and Champlain, delighted with their warlike resolution, promised to accompany them. Returned to Quebec he made his plans and again departed on the 4th of July to join them. On the 8th he met one of his companions returning from the Sault, who informed him that the savages had left in great disappointment fearing that he was dead or captured by the Iroquois. He had promised to join them in four or five days and it was now ten. He also learned that Father Joseph had gone with them with twelve Frenchmen who had been hired to the savages to assist them. The 9th of the same month Champlain embarked with his servant, one interpreter and ten savages in two canoes. He went up the river St. Lawrence some six leagues and followed up the river of Prairies which empties into the said river, leaving the Sault Saint Louis on the left some five or six leagues further up, passing several small rapids, then entering a lake which they passed and returned to the river which leads to the Algommequins, a distance of

eighty-nine leagues from the Sault Saint Louis. Continuing his journey to the lake of the Algommequins he entered a river which descends into that lake, which he went up some thirty-five leagues, passing numerous rapids, some by water others by portages. Here he found a rough country inhabited by a tribe of the Algommequins, called Otaguottonemin, who lived by hunting and fishing. Leaving this river which flows from the north and is that by which the savages go to the Sacquenay to trade off peltry for tobacco (*petun*), [this spot he describes as in 46 degrees latitude] he continued his voyage by land; leaving the river of the Algommequins he passed by several lakes where the savages carried their canoes to the lakes of the Nipisierinij, which is at  $46\frac{1}{4}$  degrees latitude. The 26th of the same month, after a journey, by land and water through the lakes, of about twenty-five leagues, he arrived at the huts of the savages where he was warmly received and remained two days. These savages were about seven or eight hundred in number, and lived upon the lake which is full of pleasant islands, one of which more than six leagues long. The lake itself is eight leagues wide and twenty-five long, into which falls a river coming from the northwest which they go up to barter the goods they receive from the French for skins.

After spending two days with the chief of the Nipisierinij Champlain re-embarked and entered a river which is the outlet of the lake, by which he journeyed some thirty-five leagues, passing in his descent several small rapids, until he reached the lake of the Attigouautan. The country he found even poorer than

that which he had passed, although some Indian corn was found near the border of the lake. Here he met three hundred men of a nation which he called *les cheveux relevés* from their manner of wearing their hair. After a day's sojourn with this tribe he pursued his route along the border of the lake of the Attigouautan for a distance of about forty-five leagues. This lake he describes as very large, nearly four hundred leagues in length from East to West, and fifty leagues wide. On account of its great extent he named it *La Mer Douce*. He speaks of the enormous trout in which it abounded, some five feet and a half in length, and the smallest two feet and a half, as also of pike, equally large, and of a certain kind of sturgeon. After crossing a bay which makes one of the extremities of the lake, he journeyed some seven leagues until on the 1st day of August he reached the country of the Attigouautan, at a village called Otoüacha. Here he found a beautiful country, and it would appear made the village his headquarters. The next day he visited another village called Carmaron, a league distant, where the chief treated him with cordiality and urged him to remain with him, but Champlain preferred to return to what he for the first time calls *notre village*, which can mean no other than that of Otoüacha. The next day he visited a village called Tona-guainchain, and still another called Te-guenonquiaye, where he was also received with hospitality and fed upon Indian corn. Thence he was guided to Carhagouha, a village enclosed in a triple wooden palisade thirty-five feet high for defence. In this village lived

Father Joseph, who was delighted to see him, and on the 12th of August celebrated high mass and planted a cross near to a little frame house, which was built for him by Champlain while waiting the completion of preparations for the campaign against the Iroquois. Seeing that these would occupy some time Champlain determined to explore the country, and traveled slowly from village to village to Cahiagué, which was to be the rendezvous for the whole army, distant from Carhagouha about fourteen leagues. He left this latter place on the 14th August with ten of his companions, and passing by five of the principal villages, all enclosed in wooden palisades (the border defence against the Iroquois), he arrived at Cahiagué, the principal village of the country, which he found to be composed of two hundred huts of considerable size. Everywhere he was well received and hospitably entertained.

EDITOR.

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CHAMPLAIN'S NARRATIVE.—The seventeenth day of August I arrived at Cahiagué,<sup>1</sup> where I was received with great joy and satisfaction by all the savages of the country, who had abandoned their projects, thinking to see me no more, and that the Iroquois had captured me as I have before said, which was the cause of the great delay which took place in this expedition, so much that they had even postponed it to some later year. While thus debating they received news that a certain nation of their allies who dwell three days journey higher up than the Entouhonorons, against whom the Iroquois also make war, which allies

were anxious to assist in this expedition with five hundred good men, and enter into alliance and swear friendship with us, being equally desirous of seeing us and that we should all make war together. They showed their great satisfaction in our acquaintance, and I also in this opportunity, because of my desire to know something of that country, which is only seven days' journey distant, whence the Flamens go on trading expeditions up to the fortieth degree, the which savages (Iroquois), aided by the Flamens, make war upon them and capture them and put them cruelly to death, as in fact that last year while in war they had three of the said Flamens, who were assisting them as we were the Attigouautans, and in the combat one of their people was killed. Nevertheless they did not hesitate to send back the three Flamens whom they had made prisoners without doing them any harm, believing that they were of our people, although they never had any knowledge of us except by hearsay, never having seen any Christians, for otherwise these three prisoners would not have gotten off so cheaply, nor would they now should they catch and take them. This nation is very warlike, which is of great consequence to the nation of the Attigouotans, who have only three villages in the midst of more than twenty others against whom they are at war, and with no possibility of succor from their friends, since they must either pass by the country of the Chouontouarouon, which is thickly inhabited, or they must make a great detour of country.

When I arrived at this village it suited me to remain there while the warriors



armed from the neighboring villages, so as to be ready to move as early as possible, during which time there was continual feasting and dancing because of the delight they felt to see us so determined to assist them in their war and of their assurance of victory.

The greater part of our people being assembled, we left the village the first day of September and passed by the border of a small lake, distant from the said village about three leagues, where they take abundance of fish, which they preserve for the winter. There is another lake adjoining this which is twenty-six leagues in circuit, pouring into the smaller in one place where the greater quantity of the said fish are taken by means of a number of palisades which nearly close the straight, some small openings only being left where they place their nets and the fish are taken; There two lakes empty into the Mer Douce (Sweet Sea). We sojourned a short time in this place awaiting the rest of our savages; when all were assembled with their arms, corn and other things necessary, they resolved to choose the most resolute men they had in their band to carry notice of our departure to those tribes who were to assist us with their five hundred men and to invite them to come to join us, so that we should reach the enemies' fort at the same time. This resolution taken, they dispatched two canoes with twelve of the most hardy savages, and at the same time one of our interpreters who begged permission of me to accompany them, which I gladly granted him, since it was his own wish, and he could in this manner see their country and become acquainted with the

people who inhabit it. The danger was by no means small since they must of necessity pass through the midst of the enemy. They left the eighth of the said month and the tenth following there was a heavy white frost. We continued our course toward the enemy, and made some five to six leagues in these lakes; thence the savages carried their canoes about ten leagues overland, and we came upon another lake, in extent six to seven leagues long and three wide. From this flows a river which discharges itself into the grand lake of the Entouhonorons, and having crossed this lake we passed a rapid which continues the course of the said river, always downwards about sixty-four leagues and which is the opening of the said lake of the Entouhonorons; and as we journeyed we passed five rapids by land, some from four to five leagues long and we passed through several lakes which are of considerable extent, and the said river which passes among them abounds in excellent fish, and certain it is that all this country is very beautiful and agreeable. Along the shore it seems as though the trees had been purposely planted in most places, and also that all this country has been inhabited in times past by savages who have been compelled to abandon it through fear of their enemies. There are vines and chestnut trees in great quantity; the grapes reach maturity, but there always remains a quite sharp bitter taste in the throat after eating any quantity—which arises from their not having been cultivated; even the barren country here is quite pleasant. Hunting of deer and bear is abundant here, and to test it we hunted ourselves and took a consider-

able number during our descent; to do this four or five hundred of the savages stretched themselves out in a line in the woods, until they reach certain points which extend into the river and then marching in order with bows and arrows in their hands, shouting and making a great noise to frighten the beasts, they keep on until they come to the end of the point. Then all the animals who find themselves between the point and the hunters are compelled to take to the water or else are slaughtered by the arrows of the savages; nevertheless those of the savages who are in the canoes expressly posted near the edge of the bank, approach without difficulty the deer and other animals pursued, which are disturbed and greatly frightened, when the hunters kill them easily with sword blades inserted in a handle of wood after the fashion of a half-pike; and thus they hunt and do likewise in the islands where there is abundance of game. I took a singular pleasure in watching them hunt, remarking their industry. Many were killed by shots from the arquebuses by which they were greatly surprised: But an accident happened; a deer being fired upon, unfortunately a savage was in the way and was wounded by a shot from an arquebuse unintentionally, as may be supposed, which caused a great excitement among them, which was nevertheless appeased by some gifts to the wounded man, which is the usual manner of appeasing them and settling their quarrels, and should the wounded man die the presents and gifts are made to the relatives of him that is killed. As for the game it is in great abundance in its season. There are also quantities of

cranes white as swans and other varieties of birds similar to those of France.

We went by short days' journey as far as the border of the Lake of the Entouhonorons, always hunting as hereinbefore described, and arrived there, we crossed it at one of its ends, going in an easterly direction, this being the beginning of the great River St. Lawrence, at a height of forty-three degrees of latitude, there being fine and quite extensive islands in this passage. We made about fourteen leagues to cross to the other side of the lake, going in a southerly direction towards the land of the enemy. The savages hid all their canoes in the wood near the bank. We went by land about four leagues over a sandy beach, where I observed a very pretty and inviting country, traversed by numerous small brooks and by two small streams, which empty into the said lake, and many pools and meadows where there was an infinite quantity of game and abundant vines and pine wood, and a great number of chestnut trees, the fruit of which was still in its shell. The chestnuts are small but of an agreeable flavor. The country is covered with forests, without any barren country for the greater part of this piece of land. All the canoes being thus hidden, we left the shore of the lake, which is about twenty-four leagues long and twenty-five wide. The greater part of it is inhabited on the sides of its banks by savages, and we continued our journey by land about twenty-five to thirty leagues. During four days we crossed a number of brooks and a river which flows from a lake which empties itself into that of the Entouhonorons. This lake is twenty-five or thirty leagues in

circuit, has numerous islands on it, and is the place where the enemy, the Iroquois, take their fish, which are in abundance.

The ninth of the month of October our savages, while upon a scout, came upon eleven savages whom they took prisoners—that is to say, four women, three boys, one girl and three men—who were going to fish at a distance of about four leagues from the enemy's fort. Now it must be stated that one of the chiefs, seeing these prisoners, cut off the finger of one of these poor women as a beginning of their usual torture, whereupon I interfered and reproached Captain Yroquet, explaining to him that it was not becoming in a warrior, as he called himself, to behave cruelly to women, who have no other defense than their tears, and who on account of their silliness and weakness should be treated with humanity; but, on the contrary, that this act would be said to come of a vile and brutal heart, and that if he committed any more such cruelty as this that I should no longer feel the heart to aid or favor him in their war. To which he only answered that their enemies treated them in the same manner, but since his manner of proceeding displeased me he would no longer injure the women, but only the men, since the contrary way was not agreeable to us.

The next day about three o'clock in the afternoon we arrived before the fort of the enemy where the savages skirmished somewhat with each other.<sup>3</sup> Although our intention was not to discover ourselves until the next day, yet the impatience of our savages would not allow of it, partly from the desire they had

to draw upon their enemies and partly to rescue some of their own people who had gone too far and were closely pursued. Thereupon I advanced and took part in the action with the few men that I had; nevertheless we showed them that which they had never seen nor heard. For as soon as they saw us and heard the shots of the arquebuses and balls whistling about their ears they retreated rapidly to their fort, carrying off their dead and wounded in this charge, and we also fell back upon our main body, with five or six of our people wounded, one of whom died.

This done we withdrew to the distance of a cannon shot out of sight of the enemy, notwithstanding my advice and the promise they had made me, which moved me to speak to them and use hard and disagreeable words in order to incite them to their duty, foreseeing that if they acted according to their fancy and by their own judgment nothing could result from it but ill to their loss and ruin; nevertheless I did not weary of sending to them and preparing the means they should adopt to have their enemy in their power, which was to make of a certain kind of wood a platform which should overlook the palisades, on which four or five of our arquebusiers should be placed who would fire constantly over their palisades and galleries, which were well supplied with stones, and in this manner dislodge the enemy, who incommoded us from above their galleries, and at the same time we should prepare planks to make a kind of mantlet to cover and protect our people from the arrows and stones which they generally use. These things, that is to say, the said platform

and the mantlets could be carried by hand and by a number of men, and there was one made in such a manner that the water could not put out the fire, which we would apply to the front of the fort, and meanwhile those who would be on the platform would do their duty with some arquebusiers who would be posted on it, and in this manner we could so defend ourselves that they could not approach to put out the fire we should set to their enclosure. This they found excellent and timely, and they set men to work at once following my advice, and in fact the next morning they had set about it, some cutting the wood the others gathering it up to build and prepare the aforesaid platform and mantlets, which was promptly done, and in less than four hours, except the wood, of which they gathered entirely too little to put before the palisades to set fire to them. They were in hopes that the same day the five hundred men promised would come, of which they, nevertheless, had doubts, because they had not appeared at the rendezvous, as they had been charged to do and as they had agreed, the which greatly disturbed our savages. But seeing that they were strong enough in numbers to take the fort without other assistance, and judging for my part that delay is always injurious in all affairs, at least in many things, I urged them to attack the said fort, observing to them that the enemy was acquainted with their strength and with our fire arms, which pierced that which was proof against arms, and would begin to barricade and to cover themselves with stout pieces of wood with which they were well supplied and their village

full, and that the least delay the better; and indeed they did protect themselves very well, for their village was enclosed by four strong palisades of heavy pieces of wood interlaced the one with the other, between any two of which there was not more than a half foot of opening, thirty feet high, and the galleries which were in the form of a parapet they had strengthened with double thicknesses of wood, proof against the shot of our arquebuses, and as they were also so near a pond that they would never lack for water, and with a number of gutters which they had arranged with a space between, which threw water outside, and they also kept water under cover inside to extinguish the fire. This, in a word, is the manner which they adopted with all their fortifications and defences, which are usually stronger than the villages of the Attigouauton and others.

We drew near to attack this village, our platform being carried by two hundred of the strongest men who placed it before the village at the length of a pike's distance, where I mounted upon it three arquebuses, well sheltered from the arrows and stones which might be drawn or thrown upon it. Notwithstanding which the enemy did not fail to shoot a great number of arrows which did not miss and to throw a great quantity of stones from behind their palisades. Nevertheless, the infinite number of shots from the arquebuses compelled them to dislodge and to abandon their galleries by reason and favor of the platform to which they were exposed and they did not dare to come out from their cover nor to show themselves, but fought under cover. But when the platform was

brought up instead of bringing the mantlets in good order and that upon which we were to put the fire, the men abandoned it and began to shout to their enemies, shooting their arrows into the fort, but in my opinion without much havoc to the enemy. But they must be excused as they are not men of war and moreover they will endure no discipline or punishment and will only do what they choose. This is why one of them inconsiderately set fire to the wood close to the fort of the enemy and wholly on the wrong side and against the wind, so that it was of no effect.

The fire over, the greater part of the savages began to pile up wood against the palisades, but in small quantity, for which reason the fire being ill supplied with wood could not do much damage; moreover such a turmoil arose among these people that we could not be heard; this afflicted me sorely; I shouted my best in their ears and showed them as far as I was able the danger to which their stupidity exposed them, but they could hear nothing for the great noise they made, and seeing that it was useless for me to crack my throat with shouting to them, and that my remonstrances were vain and unable to remedy this disorder or to do any thing further, I resolved to do what I could with my own men and to shoot all those whom we could discover and perceive. However, the enemy took advantage of our disorder; they went to the water and threw such quantities of it that you would have said that streams were falling from their gutters, in such fashion that in less than no time they entirely extinguished the fire, while at the same time they never

ceased shooting their arrows which fell upon us like hail; those who were on the platform killed and wounded many. We were engaged in this fight about three hours, two of our chiefs and those the most important wounded, namely one called Ochateguain, the other Orani, and also fifteen privates wounded. The others by their side seeing their men and some of their chiefs wounded, began to talk of retreating without fighting longer, waiting for the five hundred men whose arrival could not be much longer delayed and thus withdrew, nothing but disorder resulting from this folly. Moreover the chiefs have no absolute authority over their companions who do as they choose, according to their own caprices, which is the cause of their disorder and which ruins all their undertakings. For when anything is resolved upon by the leading men, any common or worthless fellow may set aside this resolution and make a new plan if the fancy strikes him. Thus the one does nothing to assist the other as may be seen by this expedition.

But we withdrew to our main body, I wounded by two arrow shots, one in the leg and the other in the knee, which caused great annoyance as well as great and excessive pains. And being all collected together, I remonstrated with them upon the disorder which had taken place, but all my words were of no more avail than though I had said nothing and did not move them in the least; they saying that many of their people had been wounded as well as myself, which would give great fatigue and inconvenience to the others, who would have to carry them on the retreat, and that it was impossible to return to the enemy al-

though they would still wait four days for the five hundred men who were expected, and when they came they would make a second attack upon their enemies and would more faithfully obey my orders than they had done before. I was compelled to accede, to my great regret. On the opposite page (44), is a representation of the manner in which they fortify their villages, and by this drawing it may be understood and seen that those of our friends and enemies are fortified alike.

The next day, a very high wind sprung up which lasted two days, and was quite favorable for setting fire anew to the fort of the enemy; to which I urged them strongly, but they were unwilling to do anything more, fearing to get the worse of the affair and moreover remembering their wounded.

We were encamped until the 16th of the said month, during which time there was some skirmishing between the enemy and our people, who were generally enveloped by the enemy more from their imprudence than any want of courage, assuring us that we must go after them every time that they went to the charge so as to extricate them from the crowd, as they could only withdraw under the cover of our arquebuses, which the enemy greatly dreaded and feared. For as soon as they perceived one of our arquebuses they promptly retreated, crying out to us in a persuasive manner that we should not take part in their combats and that their enemies showed very little courage in asking us to assist them, with many other arguments of the same nature to move our hearts. I have represented the manner in which they arm themselves when they go to war on page 23, figure E.

Some days passing and seeing that the five hundred men did not arrive, they determined to depart and retreat as rapidly as possible, and began to make baskets to carry off the wounded, who are put in them piled up in a heap, twisted and tied in such a manner that it is impossible to make any more motion than a baby in its swaddling clothes, and not without causing great and severe pain to the wounded. I can say it with entire truth as far as I was concerned, as I was carried several days, being unable to stand up, principally because of an arrow wound in the knee, for never was I in such a hell as during this time, for the pain which I suffered from the wound in my knee was nothing to that which I endured tied and garotted on the back of one of our savages, which exhausted my patience, so that as soon as I had the strength to stand up I got out of this prison, or rather hell.

The enemy pursued us about half a league, but at a considerable distance, trying to cut off some of the rear guard, but their trouble proved fruitless and they withdrew.

Now all that struck me favorably in their manner of warfare was that they retreat with great prudence, placing all their wounded and old in their centre, they being in front, on the wings, and in their rear guard, well armed, and so arranged until they are in a place of safety, nothing breaking their order.

This retreat was quite long, something like twenty-five to thirty leagues, which caused great fatigue to the wounded and to those who carried them, although they were occasionally relieved.

The eighteenth day of the said month

there was a heavy fall of snow and hail, with a high wind, which gave us great discomfort. Nevertheless we did so well that we reached the border of the Lake of the Entonhorons at the spot where our canoes were hidden, which we found in good order, for we feared that the enemy might have broken them up, and being all assembled, and seeing that they were anxious to return to their village, I prayed them to escort me to our habitation, which at first they did not seem inclined to grant, but at last they consented and called for four men to guide me, which being done, the four men freely volunteered; for, as I have stated before, the chiefs have no authority over their companions, for which reason they often cannot do what they wish. These men being found, it became necessary to find a canoe, which could not be procured, each one having need of his own and there being no more than they needed. This was not a subject of contentment to me, but on the contrary greatly disturbed me, causing me to fear their ill will, as they had promised to carry me back and guide me to our habitation after the war, besides which I was little fitted to winter with them, for otherwise I should have cared nothing about it, but being powerless I was forced to submit patiently. But a few days later I discovered that they designed to detain me and my companions in their country, partly for their own safety—being in fear of their enemies—partly that I should hear what should be agreed upon in their councils and meetings, and also to decide upon what course it was best to pursue in the future towards their enemies for their safety and preservation.

The next day, the twenty-eighth day of the said month, preparations were made on all sides, some to hunt the deer or the beaver, others to fish, others to return to their villages, and for my accommodation and lodging one of the principal chiefs, named Durantal, with whom I was on good terms, offered me his cabin, provisions and stores, and he also joined in the hunt of the deer, which is held to be the noblest of game and is the most abundant; and after crossing the end of the lake of the said island we entered a river some twelve leagues long. Then they carried their canoes overland about half a league, when we entered a lake measuring ten to twelve leagues around, in which there was an abundance of game, such as swans, white herons, ducks (*houstardes*), teal, thrush, larks, snipe, geese and many other kinds of wild fowl too numerous to mention, a great quantity of which I killed, which was very fortunate for us while waiting the taking of a deer; from here we went to a certain place some ten leagues distant, where our savages supposed that there were deer in plenty. There some twenty-five savages joined together to put up two or three log huts, arranged close together, and caulked them with moss to keep out the wind, and covered them with the bark of trees. This accomplished, they went into the woods. [Here follows a description of the hunt, which was continued until the frosts, when traveling was easier as the ground was marshy.] On the fourth day of December we left this place, travelling on the river which was frozen, and on the frozen lakes and ponds, sometimes journeying through the woods for a period of nineteen days,

which was not without exertion and fatigue to the savages, who carried a hundred pounds burthen, as well as to myself carrying twenty pounds, which after a little time was very troublesome. It is quite true that at times I was relieved by the savages, but notwithstanding I still felt the fatigue. As for them, the more easily to cross the ice, they are in the habit of making a kind of wooden sleigh on which they load their burthens and drag them after them with great ease, traveling swiftly, but a few days later there came a thaw which gave us great annoyance and discomfort, for we had to pass through pine woods full of streams, ponds, marshes, and thick with fallen timber, which caused us endless trouble and embarrassments and great personal suffering, as we were always wet above our knees. We were four days in this condition, for the reason that in a great part of the country the ice could not bear us. We finally reached our village the twentieth day of the said month,<sup>1</sup> when Captain Yroquet came to winter with his companions, who are Algommequins, and his son, whom he brought with him to be cared for; he had been badly injured, while hunting, by a bear which he was trying to kill.

**SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.**—After some days repose at "notre village" (Otaüacha) Champlain left on the 14th January to pay a visit to Father Joseph, whom he found the next day in the little frame house which he had built for him. On the 15th February they visited the nation of Petun. EDITOR.

<sup>1</sup> Cahigué is evidently the Huron name of St. Jean Baptiste, the principal town of the Aren-darons, or tribe of the Rock.

<sup>2</sup> Laverdière says that, to judge by the travel already made by the troops, that is twenty-five or thirty leagues, as estimated by Champlain and by the indications of the map of 1632, the fort was a short distance from the foot of Lake Canondaguen, or Canandagua, etc., toward the south of Lake Honeoye, in the County of Ontario.

<sup>3</sup> Laverdière here notes that the arrival at Cahigué was on the 23d December, as stated in the text of 1632. Champlain left the 4th, and was nineteen days on the journey. Laverdière remarks that Champlain left Cahigué to visit Father Joseph at Carhagouha the 4th, not the 2d January.

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## NOTES

**THE IROQUOIS FORT.**—The site of the Fort attacked by Champlain with his Indian allies in his third expedition against the Iroquois (1615) is still a matter of uncertainty. The text of Champlain, in its editions of 1619 and 1632, has not yet been translated in full. The authenticity of the map inserted in the edition of 1632 has been questioned. In it the fort appears as a round palisaded position, which is described in the explanation as a "village enclosed within four palisades, where the Sieur de Champlain was during the war upon the Antouhonorons." A drawing of the fort and of Champlain's attack upon it appears in the editions of 1619 and 1632.

Where was this fort? Marshall, in his last paper on this subject (in our January number, I. 13), questions the authenticity of the map annexed to the edition of 1632, adheres to his previously stated opinion, and says that "there is no site more probable, nor one which corresponds in more particulars to Champlain's description than the banks of the Onondaga Lake." Brodhead (I. 69)



says that the attack was made upon the fortified village of the Iroquois on the *northern* bank of the Onondaga Lake, near the site of the present town of Liverpool." Clark, in his History of Onondaga (II. 256), assumes that "it is satisfactorily shown that this Iroquois fort was on the shore of Onondaga Lake." Geddes, in this number of the Magazine, inclines to the opinion that it was on the site of what is now Fort Saint Mary's. So much for the Onondaga Lake and Creek.

O'Callahan, in a foot note to his translation of Champlain's expeditions into Northern and Western New York (Doc. Hist., III, 16), gives a different site. He states that the engagement "seems to have been fought in the neighborhood of Lake Canandaigua." Parkman does not express a definite opinion. (Pioneers of France in the New World, p. 372.) He says that the village was "a town of the Senecas," mentions the opinions already quoted, but considers that the site was farther westward than Lake Onondaga, as held by Marshall, Brodhead and Clark, and leans to the opinion of O'Callaghan, "perhaps on Lake Canandaigua, and has so marked it in his Route of Champlain (p. 370).

The Map of Champlain (1632) is naturally imperfect. It shows none of the group of Central New York lakes, a well-known feature in the geography of the State, but several bodies of water to the northeast of them. (See map January number.) In this imperfect geographical description lies the difficulty of ascertaining the precise site of the fort.

General John S. Clark of Auburn, in a paper read before the New York His-

torical Society, which showed an intimate knowledge of the remains of the various Indian villages and posts, assigned the site of the Iroquois fort to the western extremity of Oneida Lake. This interesting sketch, to which the accomplished gentleman devoted long and careful labor, is very decided in its conclusions. It has not yet been printed. When it shall be submitted to the public we believe that his critical examinations will go far towards settling this vexed question.

In stating these various opinions, we only observe that while the map is in dispute there is no question of the authenticity of the "View of the Fort" attacked in 1615, which we to-day reproduce, and that no site which will not accord with its certain position at the foot of a body of water large enough to admit of waves can be accepted. They are clearly delineated in the View, and to our mind conclusively show that the "*unfailing body of water*" to which Champlain alludes as the protection of the palisades against fire, was not a spring nor a brook, but an "*étang*" or pool, or lake, from which water could be drawn with certainty for its protection.

When the remains of a principal fort are established in such a situation, we shall consider the question of that attacked by Champlain as settled. Wherever it was, it was certainly the stronghold of the Iroquois nation. No such expedition as that of Champlain, with the entire power of his Indian allies, would have been undertaken against an inferior position.

EDITOR.

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WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS.—In the new edition of Thomas' History of Printing

in America, edited under the auspices of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, p. 177, we read regarding Wisconsin: "The *Green Bay Republican* was printed by W. Shoals in 1831 or 1832." The dates here are both wrong. So is the intimation that Mr. Shoals published the first newspaper in Wisconsin. Only two issues were made in Green Bay or elsewhere in Wisconsin previous to 1834. Those two were Nos. I and II of the *Green Bay Intelligencer*, not *Republican*, on December 11th and 25th, 1833, not 1831 or 1832. Nor were these papers published by Shoals at all, but by Suydam and Ellis. This was the first printing ever done in the territory, now Wisconsin, except a few lottery tickets, which the Mr. Ellis just mentioned had struck off by hand.

The *Green Bay Republican* began to be published October 10, 1841, ten years later than as stated by the Antiquarian editor, and its publisher was not W. Shoals, but Henry O.

Madison, Wis. J. D. BUTLER.

COUNT RUMFORD.—Married in Paris, Count Rumford, to the widow of M. Vareesy; by which nuptial *experiment* he obtains a fortune of 8000*l* per annum—the most effective of all the *Rumfordizing* projects for keeping a *house warm*.—*Literary Tablet*, May 1, 1805. W. K.

THE PREPOSITION "OF."—On p. 259 of the Magazine the late Governor William Eustis is mentioned as "Secretary of War." This form of expression is a very modern innovation upon the accustomed mode. It originated, I believe, during Mr. Lincoln's administration, and

I imagine its use is exclusively confined to the United States. At all events it is manifestly incorrect. One can properly say secretary of an association, or of an office, as of State; that is, of the State Department, of the Treasury, the Interior, &c. These are substantive things; but War is simply a condition of public affairs, and, therefore, however real this condition may be, War in itself considered is a mere abstraction. We say, for instance, a counsellor *at* law, not *of* law, and so in other cases, as has been the immemorial practice. The mistake has arisen from not sufficiently appreciating the meaning and force of the preposition *at*. This is merely the Latin preposition *ad*, meaning *about* or *in reference to*; so that Secretary at War signifies Secretary *in reference to* or *concerning* War. G. L.

PENN'S DESCRIPTION OF PENNSYLVANIA.—William Penn while conversing with a gentleman in regard to the climate, soil, etc., of his new colony in America remarked: "That that country wanted the shelter of mountains, which left it open to the northern winds from Hudson's Bay, and the Frozen Sea, which destroyed all plantations of trees, and was even pernicious to all common vegetables." W. K.

THE FRANKING PRIVILEGE.—As Mr. Gideon Granger (the Postmaster General) is frequently under the necessity of travelling from Washington to Connecticut in the *mail stage*, it is suggested that instead of being franked each time, he should have the words *free* marked on the back of his coat, in gold letters. This might prevent any attempts to have

him stowed away in the mail.—*Washington Federalist, September, 1802.*

PETERSFIELD.

FULL-BLOODED YANKEES.—The celebration of Independence was observed at Concord, N. H., on the 5th instant, where the following toast was drank: "The Militia of this State—Theirs' be the spirit of '*full-blooded Yankees.*'"

This is an allusion to an anecdote of the late Gen. Cilley, perhaps not generally known. In an engagement in the late war his regiment was observed by Washington to fight with remarkable intrepidity and good conduct, from morning till night. The confusion of the scene prevented Washington, who was at some distance, from recognizing the regiment. Upon their return to camp in the evening, General Washington rode in the dusk, and inquired, "What troops are these?" Col. Cilley instantly and impetuously replied, "*Full-blooded Yankees, please your Excellency.*"—*The Spectator, July 28, 1802.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

### QUERIES

THE FIRST FIRE ENGINES IN BROOKLYN.—Dr. Stiles, in his admirable history of Brooklyn, states that the first fire engine used in that city was procured in the year 1785. This was one built by Jacob Roome, of New York, all former engines having been imported from England. It appears, however, that one of these imported engines had been used in Brooklyn at an earlier date. In 1767 the French Church of New

York, which then owned a house near the ferry, in Brooklyn, contributed one pound toward the amount to be raised for the purchase of the fire engines, "qui sont depuis peu arrivés pour l'usage du ferry."

How early were these engines introduced in New York? C. W. B.

UNFAMILIAR QUOTATION.—Who was the author of the following lines applied to General Washington?

"The tall mast that bears our flag on high,  
Grew in our soil and ripen'd in our sky."

CUTTER.

EAR-RINGS WORN BY AMERICAN SAILORS.—In the Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1814, it is charged that America encouraged Britons to "enter her marine and become traitors to their country; false certificates of citizenship, and an ear-ring in the ear, made an English seaman an American; and the Yorkshire dialect or the west country pronunciation would contradict the solemn assertions that they were Americans. 'What are you?' said a brave British Captain to a fellow with a ring in his ear, as he approached the quarter deck. 'Are you a man or a woman?' Disgusting as this custom is, it is become general; and it is now notic'd, to shew to what contemptible things men will submit, to hide or shelter their base conduct."

Was the ear-ring a distinctive mark of the American seaman and when was it adopted? W. K.

MONTGARNIER.—In the year 1807 and later "Montgarnier" wrote pieces for the N. Y. Weekly Museum, and again about

1817 in the *Commercial Advertiser*. Who was the writer that used this *nom de plume*? X.

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BROOMS AT THE MAST HEAD.—Christopher Marshall, of Philadelphia, noted in his diary from the *London News* of March, 1775, the following item: "There are, at this time, between London Bridge and Lime House, more than 300 vessels with brooms at their mast heads, as a token that they are for sale."

This custom, still in use in England, is of ancient date; it indicates that the vessel is for sale or hire. Was it ever practiced in America? ANNAPOLIS.

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DOCTOR WHEELER.—Wanted, information of Charles Wheeler, M. D., "the only physician and surgeon in Lord Dunmore's army, 1774." Lies buried at Brownsville, Pa., where he died Sept., 1813, aged 71 years, having been born at London, England, in 1742. Does any work on Lord Dunmore mention him?

H. E. H.

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DEVIL'S BELT.—In an English map made during the revolution (Jeffrey's London, 1778) Long Island Sound is set down as the *Devil's Belt*. When and why did this name originate and how long did it continue in use? J. D. B.

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THE MORRIS CREST.—What legitimate heraldic authority of record was there for the crest of the Morris family, of Morrisania, viz.: a burning castle and the motto "*Tandem Vincitur*?" Bolton's History of Westchester County states that they were assumed, and gives the reasons with such particular detail as to fairly support the statement. J. B. B.

## REPLIES

LE PETIT CENSEUR.—(I. 258.) The first number of this newspaper appeared in New York on the 4th July, 1805, under the title of *Le Petit Censeur, Journal Francais, Critique et Littéraire*. Its motto was from La Fontaine, "Tout faiseur de journal doit tribut au malin." The editor was M. Alexis Daudet (not Didot), price eight dollars a year. It was published from 144 Greenwich street, which appears to have been a house of French resort, as we find the name of Dr. Stephen Léon Henri Baptiste la Ravine among the deaths by yellow fever at this house in the fatal fall of this year. This fever was no doubt the cause of the failure of Daudet's enterprise. There exist seventeen continuous numbers, I to XVII, in the Library of the New York Historical Society, in the last of which the editor announces that it will be suspended for a few days only, the editor finding the cost of printing so great that he had determined to have a press of his own; whether any further issue was made is uncertain, probably not. The paper appears to have been a favorite organ for French advertisements. The prospectus, to which W. K. alludes, is not in the N. Y. Hist. Society's collection. The first number announces the coronation of Le Roi d'Italie. In his *Varieties* he complains bitterly of the terrible dust in Broadway, and urges the use of a water cart to lay it. In his *Modes* he discourses learnedly of the fashions, and describes the last French costume of a "petite maitresse de Paris." His informant was Adelle Colifichet, a Paris modiste, whose quarters were probably in the garret of 144.

J. A. S.

CONNECTICUT YANKEES.—(I. 256, 330.) Gordon, the Historian of the American Revolution, thus states the origin of the term Yankee. "Take the best account of it which your friend can procure. It was a cant, favorite word with farmer Jonathan Hastings, of Cambridge, about 1713. Two aged ministers, who were at the college at that town, have told me they remembered it to have been in use among the students but had no recollection of it before that period. The inventor used it to express excellency. A Yankee good horse, or Yankee cider and the like, were an excellent, good horse and excellent cider. The students used to hire horses of him; their intercourse with him and his use of the term upon all occasions led them to adopt it, and they gave him the name of Yankee Jon. He was a worthy, honest man, but no conjurer. This could not escape the notice of the collegiates. Yankee probably became a by-word among them to express a weak, simple, awkward person, was carried from the college with them when they left it, and was in that way circulated and established through the country (as was the case in respect to Hobson's choice by the students at Cambridge in old England) till from its currency in New England, it was at length taken up and unjustly applied to the New Englanders in common as a term of reproach." CAMBRIDGE.

WASHINGTON'S PORTRAIT.—(I. 55, 451.) William's Masonic portrait of Washington, referred to by H. E. H. (I. 451), was not, I believe, taken from life. The statement that "the President (Washington) was a member of Masonic Lodge

No. 22, Alexandria, Va.," is, I think also erroneous. I. C.

*Alleghany City, Pa.*

YANKEE DOODLE.—(I. 390.) In Munsell's Albany Almanac for 1877—No. 94, will be found a long article entitled "Yankee Doodle in the Albany Pasture," which is taken from an old file of the *Albany Statesman*, attributing the authorship of Yankee Doodle to Dr. Shackburg, of the British army, in 1752.

H. E. H.

AN HISTORICAL PORTRAIT.—(I. 251, 394.) An excellent French print in stipple has been recently shown to us. A bust portrait of Lafayette, engraved by Hopwood and published by Furne at Paris. The head is the same as that in the paintings in the New York and Massachusetts Historical Societies, but the arrangement of dress is different. There are epaulettes and also a single decoration on the left breast; the cross of St. Michel. Engravers occasionally take liberties with costumes, but it seems probable that both the pictures and the engraving had a common origin.

We have recently seen a small miniature portrait of Lafayette on ivory in the style of the close of the last century, which is similar in every point to that in the print of Furne. The coloring differs from that of the N. Y. Historical Society portrait. The coat is blue; standing collar blue with buff cording; epaulettes buff and buttons gold; white facings, cravat white, shirt bosom frilled, hair powdered and tied in black cue; on the left breast a red ribband bearing an order.

EDITOR.

(Publishers of Historical works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**THE WASHINGTON-CRAWFORD LETTERS, BEING THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GEORGE WASHINGTON AND WILLIAM CRAWFORD, FROM 1767 TO 1781, CONCERNING WESTERN LANDS,** with an Appendix, containing later Letters of Washington on the same subject; and letters from Valentine Crawford to Washington, written in 1774 and 1775, chronologically arranged and carefully annotated by C. W. BUTTERFIELD. 8vo, pp. 107. ROBERT CLARKE & Co., Cincinnati, 1877.

In his preface the editor justly assumes that this correspondence is a contribution of considerable value. Washington was well aware of the great value of western lands which he was himself one of the first to survey. Crawford was a surveyor and his trusted agent. Washington's letters are full of practical common sense. Crawford's show that Washington's confidence in him as an accomplished surveyor and a competent judge of the qualities of land was not misplaced.

The letters are preceded by a short but extremely interesting biographical sketch of Crawford, who saw considerable service as Colonel in the Virginia line, and was present at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. After the war, he was actively engaged as surveyor and boundary commissioner. He lost his life while upon a campaign against the Wyandot Indians on the Sandusky river. Defeated by the savages, he fell into the hands of the Delawares a few days later, and died by torture on the 11th June, 1782, an incident which created intense excitement at the time throughout the United States.

**AMERICA NOT DISCOVERED BY COLUMBUS; AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY THE NORSEMEN IN THE TENTH CENTURY,** by RASMUS B. ANDERSON, A. M., Professor of the Scandinavian Languages in the University of Wisconsin, &c. With an Appendix on the Historical, Linguistic, Literary and Scientific Value of the Scandinavian Languages. (New and improved edition.) 8vo, pp. 120. S. C. GRIGGS & Co., Chicago, 1877.

More than one nation are claimed to have taken a hand in the discovery of America; Norsemen, Irish, Welsh, and even Chinese at periods far anterior to the later voyages, the priority of which is matter of dispute. Goodrich despises Columbus, and believes in the Norse discovery.

Leland accepts the Norse traditions, but sets up an idol of his own in a Buddhist monk of the fifth century. The International Congress of Savans, which met at Nancy in France in 1875, are also said to have recognized the claims of the Norsemen. They meet again at Luxembourg in September, when we may have their "last word" on this subject.

Mr. Anderson in no way disputes the subsequent claim of Columbus, but supports the story that the great admiral was himself in Iceland in 1472, and there learned the new route to India via the western continent. We have realized this route in the Pacific Railroad. Nothing is more probable than that the bold Icelanders often sighted Greenland, but that probability finds no support in our view in the doubtful inscriptions on the Dighton Rock or the no longer doubtful Newport Mill. We do not think that Mr. Anderson has made out more than a case of strong probability.

**HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF NORTHERN NEW YORK AND THE ADIRONDACK WILDERNESS;** including Traditions of the Indians, Early Explorers, Pioneer Settlers, Hermit Hunters, &c., by NATHANIEL BARTLETT SYLVESTER. 8vo, pp. 316. WILLIAM H. YOUNG, Troy, 1877.

Mr. Sylvester's attention was first drawn to the subject treated of in this pleasing volume by a request to prepare an article upon "John Brown's Tract or the Great Wilderness of Northern New York," a region familiar to our summer tourists as one of the most attractive of resorts which still retain a flavor of the olden time. Champlain was its first discoverer and explorer in 1609. The Iroquois and Algonquins then fought their battles on this territory. Later it was a disputed ground over which French and English contended for more than a century. Since his first work, Mr. Sylvester has devoted much time in examination of all that is to be gathered from documents or tradition, yet only claims to have pointed the way to the field of research.

A chapter recites in brief and easy style the history of the "Ho-de-no-sau-nee or People of the Long House," as the Iroquois in the Five Nations themselves called their Confederacy; another describes the geological formation of the Laurentides; another the visit of Châteaubriand, who, as well as Tom Moore, la Rochefoucauld and Talleyrand saw the Northern Wilderness, while still clothed with the "forest primæval;" another tells of *Ka-ad-ros-se-ra*, (Sar-atoga) and the northern warpath. We select the

titles of these to show the variety contained in the thirty-three chapters which make up this fascinating volume. There are two excellent portraits from steel, Champlain and Sir William Johnson, once Lord of this vast manor.

Let no one visit this region without this volume to guide and cheer the way.

#### A SHORT HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND,

BY GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE, LL. D.

8vo, pp. 356. J. A. & R. A. REID, Providence, 1877.

The name of Mr. Greene is enough to commend this history, and no man knows better its precise value than himself. He divides history into two classes. "One a sober teacher; the other a pleasant companion." That of Mr. Arnold, the historian of Rhode Island, leaves no gaps in sober teaching; but for its aid, Mr. Greene says, his own would never have been written. We accept his book as a pleasant companion. It is more than this. It is happily divided and compact in form and treatment, and supplies all the information the ordinary reader looks for, with philosophy enough to satisfy the higher requirements of the historical student, who reasons backward to causes and forward to results from events.

#### CONSECRATION SERVICES OF TRINITY

CHURCH, BOSTON, FEBRUARY 9, 1877, with the Consecration Sermon, by Rev. A. H. VINTON, D. D.; an Historical Sermon by Rev. PHILIP BROOKS, and a Description of the Church Edifice by N. H. RICHARDSON, Architect. Small 4to, pp. 76. Printed by order of the Vestry. Boston, 1877.

This beautifully printed little volume is as interesting to the student of history as to those whose affection it reaches through the channel of religious thought. Mr. Brooks traces in his classic and charming style the history of the Episcopal Church of Boston, from its small and unpromising beginnings at a time when the Church of England was symbolic of tyranny and idolatry in the eyes of the stern Puritans, to its aristocratic period, when King's Chapel was endowed by the Crown; relates the burning of old Trinity church on Summer street, well remembered by New Yorkers in the days when Wainwright and Eastburn were its ministers, and brings its history down to the completion of the extensive and stately structure, the consecration of which this volume celebrates.

#### HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE COUNTY

OF PASSAIC, NEW JERSEY, ESPECIALLY OF THE

FIRST SETTLEMENTS AND SETTLERS, by WILLIAM NELSON. Prepared and printed by order of the Board of Chosen Freeholders of the County. 8vo, pp. 39. CHISWELL & WURTS, Paterson, N. J., 1877.

We have here a sketch of a county which has more of antiquity than romance to boast of. The first settlement of Acquackanonk, as the land to the northward of Newark was called, seems to have been in the year 1679-80. The Totowa Falls were to the Dutch a natural wonder. Among the settlers before the revolution we find many well-known names, prominent among which those of Schuyler, Bayard, Roome, Westervelt, an offshoot of the Lubbers, and Garretson. During the revolution this was historic ground. In 1776, after the battle of White Plains, the American army retreated behind the first line of Jersey hills; in 1778, after the battle of Monmouth, there was a running fight to Acquackanonk; in 1780 Lord Stirling had his headquarters at the Totowa bridge. The revolt of the Pennsylvania line took place at Pompton. Here, under the shadow of Federal Hill, the French army was encamped.

#### THE MEDICAL MEN OF THE REVOLU-

TION, WITH A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY, CONTAINING THE NAMES OF NEARLY TWELVE HUNDRED PHYSICIANS. An Address before the Alumni Association of Jefferson Medical College, March 11, 1876, by J. M. TONER, M. D. 8vo, pp. 140. COLLINS, Philadelphia, 1876.

The leading authority on this subject has been Dr. Thatcher's Medical Biography. The present exhaustive sketch is an excellent supplement to the older work. The narrative includes the service at each battle during the revolution, with abundant notes, to which is added an appendix, with an alphabetical list of medical men who served, and an excellent general index of names. We take occasion to state that we have in this city the best collection of works relating to the medical history of the United States, the result of the intelligent labor of Dr. Purple.

#### THE BURNING OF THE CONVENT.

A NARRATIVE OF THE DESTRUCTION BY A MOB OF THE URSULINE SCHOOL ON MOUNT BENEDICT, CHARLESTOWN, AS REMEMBERED BY ONE OF THE PUPILS. 12mo, pp. 198. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co., Boston, 1877.

Massachusetts is a staid commonwealth, and no part of it more staid and orderly than the

twin cities of Boston and Charlestown, which have been well ordered communities from the time when the first preachers laid down their organic law; but nevertheless they have not been exempt from occasional gusts of passion and unreasoning fury. In the Stamp Act days they set the example of popular uprisings and violence, which alarmed even their own sages. These had warrant in patriotic resistance to oppression. The destruction of the convent in 1834 is well remembered; the immediate cause of the assault was the refusal of the Superior to permit an examination of the vaults of the building, where cells of confinement and torture were supposed to exist, and a nun, who had escaped and been recaptured, was said to be confined. The convent life to which Miss Louisa Whitney was consigned by her father, and to which she seems to have had no special vocation, is described with grace and feeling, and the final scene itself with vivid detail. We do not wonder that the book has been a success. All truthful narratives of personal experience are successful.

#### BIOGRAPHIES OF FRANCIS LEWIS AND

MORGAN LEWIS, by their Grand-daughter,  
JULIA DELAFIELD. 16mo, pp. 225. A. D.  
F. RANDOLPH & Co., New York, 1877.

This little volume, by a lady who is well known to the older residents of New York, is a pleasing record of personal and family reminiscences, and valuable because it preserves in permanent form anecdotes hitherto of oral tradition. If it does not throw new light upon the facts of history, it at least helps us to understand the characters of those who moulded the events which make our history. Those interested in the families of Lewis and Livingston will find here much to amuse as well as to instruct them.

#### EVANGELICAL CATHOLIC PAPERS.

COMPRISING ADDRESSES, LECTURES AND SERMONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF REV. W. A. MUHLENBERG, D. D., DURING THE LAST FIFTY YEARS. Compiled by ANNE AYRES, Sister Superintendent of St. Luke's Hospital and St. Johnland. 8vo, pp. 459. T. WHITTAKER, New York, 1877.

These papers, we learn from the compiler's preface, were read in the proof by the worthy and beloved clergyman shortly before his death, and met his entire approval. They may be, therefore, accepted as a fair representation of his pulpit eloquence. It is said of General Wolfe that the night before his death he remarked that he would rather have been the author of Gray's Elegy than win a battle. Time

has confirmed the judgment of the accomplished soldier. The knell of the curfew will toll the fame of the penniless bard to millions of ears which the trumpet of fame will never reach. So of Muhlenberg it may be said that he has touched more hearts with one simple Christian hymn than hundreds of divines by volumes of theology.

#### SARATOGA; AN INDIAN TALE OF FRONTIER LIFE. A TRUE STORY OF 1787. 8vo, pp. 400. T. P. PETERSON BROS., Philadelphia, 1877.

The anonymous author asserts in his preface that for all artistic purposes "whatever might be true is true." This is a new theory. The purpose of art is to present nature in its highest form. To call this an Indian tale is a misnomer. It is an improbable episode in the life of a lunatic, one *Crazy Jake*, who we are informed was in 1787 a denizen of the Saratoga woods, after the manner of our old friend Orson; and whose amusement was, according to this story, to tie travelers to saplings, to tuck young women under his arm and hide them in caverns, and occasionally roast Indians at the stake, while himself protected by the superstitious regard in which his Indian and half-Indian neighbors held the demented, and by the philanthropy of a young gentleman who, perfectly safe himself by the magic power of his commanding eye, let his wild protégé run at large. We have the usual lovers after Cooper's style, the usual Oneida and half-breed; a glimpse of the Mingoes. Interspersed here and there some pleasing descriptions of the Springs before they became the fashion, and a romantic chapter entitled *Elective Affinities*, where the author soars into the upper realms. This title challenges comparison with Goethe's famous romance of this name, which is evidently familiar to the author. It is complained of that reviewers do not read the books which they notice. We have read this through, and confess that we never had such a hankering desire for Saratoga and a draught of its coolest spring.

#### ESSEX INSTITUTE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, Volume XIII, Part IV. October 1876. Published by Essex Institute, 1877.

This number contains a continuation of the "Orderly Book of the Regiment of Artillery raised for the defense of the town of Boston in 1776." Of this regiment Thomas Crafts was Colonel, and Paul Revere Lt. Colonel. This is followed by copies from the Early Records of the Town of Rowley, Mass.; a sketch of the Dean family in Salem.



**NARRATIVE OF THE NORTH POLAR EXPEDITION.** U. S. SHIP *POLARIS*, CAPTAIN CHARLES FRANCIS HALL Commanding. Edited under the direction of the Hon. G. M. ROBESON, Secretary of the Navy, by Rear Admiral C. H. DAVIS, U. S. N. U. S. Naval Observatory, 1876. Royal 8vo, pp. 681. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, Washington.

The world belongs to man. He is its appointed lord and master. Its secrets are his; the hidden forces of nature are his and for his uses. To him it belongs to discover and control them. So long as he has not acquainted himself with the laws of all those that are evident to him; so long as there remains an inch of the earth's surface unexplored, his mission has not been completed, and he must continue to grope and hesitate in an uncertainty which only complete knowledge dispels. The primitive man having discovered fire and observed, in the ashes of the hearth, metallic substances before unknown, sought their like in the earth, and never rested until he found them or the substances of which they were composed. To this industry and inborn craving for knowledge, we owe our present comforts. Shall this craving and industry cease? Shall Nature say to her master: So far only shalt thou come? Shall the icy barrier of the poles, where lie hidden the final solvent of the mystery of magnetism and polar attraction defy the step or hand of man? The statement of the proposition is its answer. Governments may or may not aid in the final solution of these problems, but the history of mankind, and its progress through difficulties quite other than those offered by climate, make it certain that man, aided or unaided by the State, will ultimately succeed.

Captain Hall introduced a new method of exploration; that of using the Esquimaux as factors in the enterprise. Having acquired a knowledge of the Esquimaux language, he brought with him to the United States two Esquimaux, Joe and his wife, whom he proposed to use in the exploration. The interest he awakened in the subject, and his own earnest disposition readily acquired for him the support which he desired. Captain Hall made three expeditions to the Polar Regions. The first and second were undertaken upon funds subscribed by private liberality.

The results of the first (1860-1862) were the identification of Frobisher's expedition, relics of which were brought home; its main geographical discovery that Frobisher's Strait was a bay, in conformity to which the admiralty charts are now made. The second (1864-1869), the idea of which was conceived during his return from the first, but his report was interfered with because of the third expedition undertaken for the Government. It is of this, the expedition in the *Polaris*, that this volume treats. The papers,

journals and correspondence of this expedition were purchased by Congress in 1874, and are now at the Naval Observatory at Washington. The Senate ordered the narrative to be published, by resolution, February, 1877. Rear Admiral Davis undertook its preparation for the press, but his health failing, the labor of completion devolved upon Prof. J. E. Nourse, U. S. N. We cannot undertake to give even the result of this exploration. The narrative is copiously and well illustrated. We may only add that a new expedition is now proposed, and that Captain Howgate is appealing to our citizens to fit out a colony to settle near the Pole. Captain Howgate was the navigator of the *Polaris*, and is thoroughly imbued with the idea of Hall, that the final result will only be reached by approximate gradual advances.

**SARATOGA. THE BATTLE. BATTLE-GROUND. VISITOR'S GUIDE.** With Maps. By ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH. 4to, pp. 102. AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, New York City, 1877.

A most seasonable publication in this the Centennial anniversary of the battle summer which terminated in the victory of Gates at Saratoga. The first part of the volume consists of the article on Burgoyne and the Northern Campaign of 1777, which appeared in our May number. This is followed by a few chapters, in which, in the form of a conversation between some summer residents at the springs, the minor incidents of the battle and numerous personal details of the officers of the two armies are graphically narrated. A third section forms a complete guide for visitors. There is an admirable map of the battlefield, showing in colors the British and American positions during the third period of the campaign, and also a Map of Drives in the vicinity of Saratoga. We have never seen a guide book so entertaining while at the same time practical as this. No visitor to the Springs should be without it.

**TAINTOR'S ROUTE AND CITY GUIDES.** NORTHERN NEW ENGLAND RESORTS; SEASIDE RESORTS ON THE ATLANTIC COAST; HUDSON RIVER ROUTE; SARATOGA ILLUSTRATED; CITY OF NEW YORK. Small 8vo. TAINTOR BROTHERS, MERRILL & Co., New York.

The excellence of these convenient little handbooks is well known. They convey about all the information a traveler stands in need of; tables of distances, picturesque descriptions, advice as to hotels, numerous illustrations and accurate maps.

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## THE LOCATION OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

**I**T is "a singular fact, but not generally known, that the seat of Government of the United States was located by Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson while sipping a bottle of wine." The above appeared a short time ago as an editorial paragraph in one of the leading newspapers of the country. The disposition to crystallize into short and striking paragraphs important events and occurrences is, from the shortness of life, perhaps commendable, if not one of the demands of these whirling times. It certainly, however, should not be indulged or encouraged when the process conveys erroneous impressions, or does violence to interesting historical facts. When it is stated that to Congress belonged the power of fixing the seat of Government much of the sparkle of the wine disappears; although doubtless the soothing and gladsome virtues of that beverage were not entirely unknown factors in the legislation of that period. If the gentle reader has had any experience in fixing or removing even a county seat, he may have some faint conception of the vehemence and bitterness in which the local interests and narrow prejudices, the jealousies, the pride and honor, and even the patriotic sentiments of thirteen States were to be consulted.

The introduction of this question into Congress, together with its companion piece, the assumption of the State debts, produced one of the most angry and bitter discussions recorded in its annals. Although as early as 1784, under the confederation, the necessity of fixing a permanent residence for Congress was generally acknowledged; and under an ordinance of that date commissioners had been appointed to purchase land on the Delaware, and to erect buildings thereon for that purpose; yet the Southern States were always strong enough to arrest the execution of the design, by refusing an appropriation of funds, which required the assent of nine States; and when the new government was inaugurated the powers of the commissioners passed away, and their proceedings were treated as a nullity.

The question of locating the permanent seat of government was introduced into the first Congress by a resolution offered in the lower branch, declaring it should be fixed on the east bank of the Susquehanna. It was conceded that the capital should be located either in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland or Virginia, and each of these States had offered to donate land for that purpose. Philadelphia on the Delaware, became one extreme, and Georgetown on the Potomac, the other. Many intermediate points, Germantown, Lancaster, Harrisburg, Wright's Ferry, York, Carlisle, and Baltimore, were named as suitable places for the capital. Pittsburgh also was casually mentioned, which led Fisher Ames, a leading statesman of his day, to make the famous declaration, that the region north and west of the Ohio was an unmeasurable wilderness; that the decision of the question on a prospective population was perfectly romantic; that it would be a century before those people would be considerable, and how that country was to be governed when settled was beyond all calculation.

The question, however, was narrowed to the consideration of the respective claims of the Susquehanna and the Potomac. The object was to select a locality in the centre of the wealth, population and territory of the United States, accessible from the Atlantic Ocean, and having a direct and easy communication with the western country. It was urged in favor of the Susquehanna that it was the centre of common convenience, equally distant from the extreme east and south. It afforded easy access to the ocean, and yet was secure from foreign invasion; it was south of the centre of wealth and population, and it was held that the future population of the country would incline more to the Eastern and manufacturing States than towards the Southern and agricultural; that by a small outlay the navigation of that river, together with that of the Juniata and the Kiskiminitas, a branch of the Allegheny, could be made available, and a safe, easy and commodious communication with the west could be established. In the event of the western country separating from the Union, the capital, if located on the Susquehanna, would be on the right side of the dividing line; and at no remote day the accession of the British provinces to the Union might be confidently expected. If the Potomac was selected, there would be nine States to the northward of that river, and but four southward. Besides and much more, that region was malarious, unhealthy and destructive to northern constitutions; and eastern adventurers going into that country had only met untimely graves. If the capital was located on that river, the whole of New England would consider the Union dissolved.

Those friendly to the Potomac insisted that the interests of the Southern States and the western country should be consulted, and that those interests would be sacrificed if their wishes in this respect were not complied with; that while the question of wealth had no proper bearing on the subject, the center of population was continually receding from the east. With a salubrity of climate, and a fertility of soil unsurpassed, the Potomac had a direct communication with the ocean; while that with the west was not only more certain and convenient, but in the latter respect it had an immense advantage over the Susquehanna. With a short portage between the head-waters of the Potomac and the Youghiogheny, these rivers could be made navigable, and Georgetown, the locality contemplated, would be by this route only two hundred and fifty miles from Pittsburg, the key to the western country.

The lower House was so divided that Pennsylvania held the balance of power; but the members from that State were themselves somewhat divided in their views, and in consequence secret and mysterious intrigues and political sleight-of-hand were in turn charged by cunning wights from the east and south upon the representatives from that State. But no Pennsylvanian need decline a comparison, or be put to the blush, at the final action of the delegation upon that question. A vote was reached and the Susquehanna was selected. A bill was framed in compliance with the resolution and sent to the Senate, which body, contrary to all expectation, struck out the Susquehanna and inserted the Delaware. The House concurred in the amendment, adding a proviso, that the laws of Pennsylvania should remain in force in the territory selected until otherwise provided. This very reasonable proviso was, for some cause not apparent, rejected by the Senate, and the subject was dismissed for that session.

At the next session of Congress the question again came up, and became strangely blended and interwoven with another leading and important measure. On January 14, 1790, Alexander Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, submitted to and read in Congress his masterly Report on the Support of Public Credit, a document as remarkable for the honesty and soundness of its maxims as for the strength and beauty of its language. The cardinal principle of that report was, that the public debt ought to be provided for on the basis of the contract upon which it was created. He not only urged the funding of the debts contracted by Congress, but also advocated that the General Government should assume the debts of the individual States, contracted in prosecuting the revolutionary war. The violence and acrimony with which

the last proposition was assailed was only equalled by the zeal, ability and determination with which it was defended. The eastern members, with an exception, were its firm and staunch supporters, while the Southern members, with the exception of those from South Carolina, were just as determined in opposition. This was a State Right of such a peculiar nature that the most strenuous advocates of that doctrine were very glad and willing to surrender. The New York and Pennsylvania delegations were about equally divided on the question.

Against the assumption, it was argued that Congress had no power to assume these debts. No petition, either from a State or a creditor, had been presented, asking for such an assumption, nor had any State Legislature instructed in favor of the measure; but, on the contrary, one State had not only instructed her representatives against the measure, but had unanimously passed an amendment in accepting the constitution, utterly repudiating the right of Congress to control or regulate these debts. The measure is both impolitic and unjust; it tends to consolidation; that while it gives importance to the General Government, the popularity and energy of the State Governments would be destroyed. It was further urged that these State debts had never been fairly liquidated; that while some of the States had paid off a great part of their indebtedness, others had made no exertion whatever in that direction. Not only had some of the States given large bounties to their troops, but they had also fitted out rash, foolish and expensive expeditions, and all this was included in the sums to be assumed. Speculators alone would profit at the expense of the many; and so manifold and direful were the evils that this measure, if adopted, would inflict on the peace, prosperity and happiness of the people, that they would put a Hastings to the blush, though long accustomed to preying upon the vitals of his fellow men.

Briefly stated, the leading arguments in favor of assumption, were, that not only had these debts been contracted on the recommendation of Congress, but they had been incurred to secure the peace, liberty and independence of the United States; the first army was raised, armed and equipped by the States. Prudence, policy and justice dictated that these debts, having been contracted for the common defence and general welfare, should be made a common burden. The resources of the Union could be better developed, and taxes for the payment of these debts could be collected with greater ease and facility under one government than under many. The States having surrendered the revenue arising from import and tonnage, would the general Government, after acquiring their resources, be so unjust and ungenerous as to

refuse to assume their indebtedness? If the assumption of these debts tended to consolidation, would not the refusal to assume lead directly to disunion? That of all the bands of a political connection none is stronger than a uniform, compact and efficacious chain or system of revenues. Not only will public credit be restored, industry encouraged, and the trade and manufactures of the States promoted; but direct taxes will be suppressed, and the invidious comparisons between the States and their citizens will be abolished. In short, the adoption of this measure alone will make us a great, flourishing and happy nation.

The debate lasted many weeks, and some of the speeches were of the most violent character. Unfortunately the Senate sat with closed doors, and the speeches delivered in that body were never reported. A vote was finally reached, and assumption was defeated in the House by a majority of two. There was a solemn and an ominous pause in the proceedings. Congress met from day to day, and adjourned without transacting business. Secession was openly avowed, and the Government seemed on the verge of destruction. To confront and grapple with every danger was the maxim and practice of Hamilton, and in the midst of this crisis, he, almost in despair of the Union, sought Jefferson, and represented the serious and critical juncture of affairs: painted the temper into which Congress had been wrought; that a secession of the members and a separation of the States seemed inevitable, and urged that as the assumption measure had failed, but by a small majority, if Jefferson would appeal to the judgment and discretion of some of his friends a change might be effected in the vote, and the machine of government again set in motion. While candidly confessing that the measure was unpalatable to the South, yet he observed that those States were sorely grieved at the prospect of losing the capital, and suggested, as a compromise, that the temporary residence of Congress be located at Philadelphia until the year 1800, and thereafter the permanent seat of government should be fixed on the Potomac. Jefferson assented, and bills were at once introduced into the Senate assuming the State debts and locating the capital, as suggested by Hamilton, and both these measures passed that body by a majority of two. The bills were sent to the House, and assumption was carried, on a full vote, by a majority of six, and the other measure by a majority of three.

The immediate effect of the assumption measure was the relieving South Carolina and Massachusetts, each of nearly \$4,000,000 of debt, which may account in part for the rapid growth and prosperity of those States, while the balance of the \$18,000,000 actually assumed was dis-

tributed among the other members of the Union. But the Report of Hamilton had a more lasting and far-reaching influence. Although from the confidence inspired by the new government the public stocks had gradually improved, yet on the adoption of the suggestions of Hamilton the public securities advanced to a premium; and the success with which the Treasury measure was attended not only stung the hearts, but unnerved and paralyzed the efforts of the State leaders. At the next session the plan of a National Bank, devised by Hamilton, through which the fiscal operations of the Government were to be carried on, though just as fiercely assailed, was adopted in Congress by a majority of thirty-two. Decided and gratifying as was this mark of confidence, it was soon supplemented by the more pleasing and striking fact that the entire stock of the Bank, amounting to \$10,000,000, was subscribed and taken in a single day; and while paying  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. annual dividends, the stock was soon selling at 20, 25 and even 45 per cent. premium. But this was not all. The principles of the Report became the rallying cry and landmark of party; and if not originating, gave form and pressure to the great political parties, the liberal and strict constructionists, that for many subsequent years divided and dominated the country. In succeeding elections these principles were discussed on the hustings, and many, both of those who had favored and those who had opposed the measures, either declined being candidates or were overwhelmingly defeated. Perhaps the most desperate and determined contest was in the State of New York. Philip Schuyler was one of the first Senators from that State, and having drawn the short term, his seat became vacant in March, 1791. He was a candidate for re-election and Aaron Burr was his competitor. Both branches of the Legislature were confessedly Federalist, and Schuyler was the leader of that party in the State. But Burr, skillfully seizing on his unpopular vote for the assumption measure, wielded it against him with dexterous and terrible force. The high character of Schuyler, his honor and his integrity, his great experience and large and liberal views, supported by the powerful interests of the Renselaers, and aided by all the tact and skill of Hamilton, were counted as nothing in the storm raised by the astuteness, the ingenuity and the duplicity of his consummate political opponent.

Jefferson never forgave either himself or Hamilton for the part he had been induced to take on the assumption measure, regarding it as the great political error of his life, and bitterly complained that he was made "to hold a candle" to a scheme the object of which he was unaware, and in which he took no concern. It may well be doubted whether one

with an unconcealed hostility to a system under which \$60,000,000 had been funded, and theorizing upon the novel and surprising question, whether a nation could be bound for its debts for a longer period than nineteen years, and by letter actually undertaking to convert Madison to the proposition, by whom he was powerfully refuted, could at all appreciate the character or the measures of a man engaged in the more onerous and practical task of devising means for the gradual if not speedy payment of the National debt.

Alexander Hamilton was perhaps the most remarkable man called into the councils of this Government. For thirty years, from the age of seventeen, he bore a leading and conspicuous part in the affairs of America. A life not without its errors and mistakes, and, indeed, with some passages to him of bitter memory and deep regret; yet he served his country, both in the field and council, with an ability and a singleness and purity of purpose never surpassed. As a soldier and a scholar, and ranking as the foremost orator of his day, as a jurist, a legislator and a political economist, holding the slender and flexible threads of a finance or a revenue system with "a firm and instructed hand," he certainly remains the most unique character in our own history, while eminent foreign writers have not hesitated to class him with the great statesmen of ancient or modern times. Accepting a position in the Cabinet of Washington, he became his trusted and confidential adviser; and while proposing a funding and creating a revenue system, and devising a plan of a National Bank, he also organized the Treasury Department; and not only the great outlines, but many of the minute regulations of all these remain and are in full operation to-day. He retired from the Treasury after an inquiry into his official conduct, in which a majority of the Committee were his very decided political if not personal enemies, and the investigation, after the strictest scrutiny, not only completely vindicated his honor and his integrity, but proved a mortifying disappointment to his accusers. Although in a private station, he continued to shape the policy of Washington's second administration; and with the exception of the Alien and Sedition Laws, he originated many of the leading measures of the administration of John Adams. He died at the age of forty-seven, and his death was a public calamity.

THOMAS HENRY



## EBENEZER STEVENS

LIEUT.-COL. OF ARTILLERY IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

Ebenezer Stevens, son of Ebenezer Stevens and Elizabeth Weld, his wife, both of Roxbury, Mass., was born at Boston the 11th of August, 1751, o. s. [August 22d.] On both sides his parents were of unmixed English and Puritan stock. When his first ancestor on the father's side emigrated from Cornwall in England is uncertain, but the name of his grandfather, Erasmus Stevens, appears in 1714 as one of the founders of the New North Church in Boston. It was in an offshoot from this church, "the new Brick," that Ebenezer was christened by the Reverend Thomas Foxcroft, as appears by its records. His mother was a descendant of the Reverend Thomas Weld, one of the first of the non-conformist clergymen who fled to Holland to escape the persecution of Laud, and later crossed to the Massachusetts Colony, where he was called to the church in Roxbury in 1632.

The last half of the eighteenth century was a period of severe distress to the American Colonies, which the wars of a half century had greatly impoverished; especially to those of New England, where life with an ungrateful soil and a rude climate was a severe struggle even to the more favored of fortune. Young Stevens was not of these. He received hardly more than the rudiments of education, and sought his livelihood in mechanical pursuits, for which he early developed a remarkable natural tendency, which proved later to be not only a promoter of his personal fortunes but of great advantage to the cause which he espoused.

Decision and strength of character are rapidly developed in troublous times. Stevens had just completed his fourteenth year when the first Tree of Liberty was christened in the Stamp Act days, and hardly twenty when the Boston massacre startled the continent. Such were the scenes which moulded his character and toughened the fibres of his manly resolution.

At an early day he showed a military disposition, and joined Paddock's company of artillery. As it was here that the future artillery officer received his first lessons in military service, a word concerning this famous corps may not be deemed an unreasonable digression. The "Train," as this company was called, was organized in 1763, and passed in 1768 under the command of Lieutenant Adino Paddock, who

was a "complete artilleryman" and a competent officer. In the year 1766 a company of British artillery bound for Quebec, finding it too late to enter the St. Lawrence, put into Boston and wintered at Castle William. From these Paddock's men derived instruction in the art of field artillery. Major Paddock bought two brass pieces, to which two more were later added, and the company was taught the manœuvres in the open field. By this practical training it became a military school which later furnished many excellent officers to the Revolutionary army. Indeed, it may be claimed that it was the nucleus of this famous corps which won encomiums from their enemies and proved themselves not unequal to their French allies in every engagement in which they were combined. Paddock's company was composed almost entirely of mechanics, many of whom were active members of the organization which, under the name of Sons of Liberty, had affiliated the bold spirits of all the Colonies in a joint resistance to the encroachments of the Crown.

The Dartmouth, the first of the fleet of tea ships intended for the colonies, arrived in Boston harbor and anchored off the castle on the 28th November, 1773. The vessel was ordered to Griffin's wharf by the town committee, of which Samuel Adams was chairman. Paddock's company was called upon by the same committee to guard the tea and prevent its landing. Paddock, whose sympathies were with the Royal authorities, refused his consent, but at a company meeting the charge was accepted and undertaken by them, First Lieut. Jabez Hatch taking the command. Stevens was one of those who volunteered on this service. Early in December two other vessels, the Eleanor and Beaver, also arrived, one of which was ordered to the same wharf, and the other to the north end of Hancock's wharf. On the night of the 16th the custom officials, under the influence of Governor Hutchinson, having refused to clear the vessels on their homeward voyage until they should be discharged of the tea, an immense town meeting was held in the old South Meeting House, at which it was estimated that not less than two thousand persons were present. The meeting adjourned till the afternoon to hear the report of their committee as to whether the collector would clear the vessels. Spirited addresses were made, and the assemblage, which had swelled to the number of seven thousand, was detained till dark, when no reply being received from the collector the meeting was dissolved. Stevens was present at this meeting, and the account of the destruction of the tea now given is in his own recollection of the affair, as taken from his words at a later period by one of his sons: "I went from the Old South Meeting House just after dark; the party was about seventy or

eighty. At the head of the wharf [Griffin's wharf] we met the detachment of our company on guard, who joined us. I commenced with a party on board the vessel of which Hodgdon was mate, and as he knew me, I left that vessel with some of my comrades, and went on board the other vessel which lay at the opposite side of the wharf; numbers of others took our places on board Hodgdon's vessel. We commenced handing the boxes of tea on deck, and first commenced breaking them with axes, but found much difficulty, owing to the boxes of tea being covered with canvass—the mode that this article was then imported in. I think that all the tea was discharged in about two hours. We were careful to prevent any being taken away; *none of the party were painted as Indians*, nor, that I know of disguised, excepting that some of them stopped at a paint shop on the way and daubed their faces with paint."

This is not the accepted story because, perhaps, of the natural tendency in the human mind to give more credence to poetry and romance than to dry fact. Yet no testimony can be more absolute than this of an actor in the scene. The authority for the story of the Indian disguise is a contemporary account published in the Massachusetts Gazette, which says that "just before the dissolution of the meeting a number of brave and resolute men, dressed in the Indian manner, approached near the door of the assembly and gave the war whoop, which rang through the room, and was answered by some in the galleries." Hutchinson, in his History of Massachusetts Bay, says that "about fifty men had prepared themselves and passed by the house where the people were assembled to the wharf where the vessels lay, being covered with blankets and making the appearance of Indians." Bancroft follows these accounts, and adds that "each of them held a hatchet." In the Traits of the Tea Party, made up from the recollections of Hewes, himself a participator, we find that "the disguise was hastily prepared and was after all but the work of a few moments," and it is added on the recollection of Pierce, who was also present, "that they arrayed themselves in a store on Fort Hill," and that the number of persons who assumed the Indian disguise was probably not more than fifteen or twenty. It seems more probable that the idea of a disguise was an after thought, and intended to deceive the authorities and lead them to the belief that it was too complete to allow of identification for arrest and punishment.

The Hodgdon mentioned by Stevens in his account was Alexander Hodgdon, later Treasurer of the State of Massachusetts. Stevens was at this time courting his sister, and was naturally desirous not to compromise himself or his friend.

The Boston Port Bill closing the Port of Boston followed immediately upon the information of the destruction of the tea reaching England. Several regiments of the King's troops were ordered to Boston and General Gage placed in command. In the reminiscences from which we have just quoted, Stevens says that the last time that he served with his company (the artillery company) was when they received General Gage, who arrived from New York. This was on the 13th May, 1774.

Soon after, in consequence of the stagnation of business consequent upon the closing of the Port, and apprehensive perhaps that his participation in the destruction of the tea might be visited upon him, he went to Providence, where, on the 11th October he married Rebecca, the daughter of Benjamin Hodgdon of New Hampshire, the sister of the mate of the tea ship we have mentioned. He here entered into business, building houses and warehouses, probably in connection with John Crane, also a member of Paddock's company, who had left Boston at the same time as himself. He was thus engaged when the news of the battle of Lexington reached Providence. He at once abandoned his business, and with his comrade, John Crane, began the organization of a company of artillery. His commission, still preserved, is wholly in manuscript. It is given entire as a curious specimen of the manner in which the revolutionists waged war in the King's name.

“ By the Honorable the General Assembly of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England in America, To EBENEZER STEVENS, gentleman. Greeting: WHEREAS, for the preservation of the Rights and Liberties of his Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects in this Colony and America, the aforesaid General Assembly have ordered fifteen hundred men to be enlisted, and embodied into an army of observation, and the Committee of Safety have appointed you, the said Ebenezer Stevens, First Lieutenant of the Company of the Train of Artillery, belonging to the said Troops, YOU are therefore hereby in his Majesty's name, George the Third by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, &c., authorized, empowered, and commissioned to have, take, and exercise the office of First Lieutenant of the Company aforesaid; and to command, guide and conduct the same or any part thereof. And in case of an invasion or assault of a common enemy, to infest or disturb this or any other of his Majesty's Colonies in America, YOU are to alarm and gather together the Company under your command or any part thereof, as you shall deem sufficient, and therewith to the utmost

of your skill and ability, you are to resist, expel, kill and destroy them, in order to preserve the interest of his Majesty, and his good subjects in these parts. YOU are also to follow such Instructions, Directions, and Orders, as shall from Time to Time be given forth, either by the General Assembly, or your superior officers. And for your so doing this Commission shall be your sufficient warrant. By virtue of an Act of the said General Assembly, I, Henry Ward, Esq., Secretary of the said Colony have hereunto set my Hand and the Public Seal of the said Colony, this Eighth Day of May A. D. 1775, and in the Fifteenth year of his said Majesty's Reign.

HENRY WARD."

This Commission, it will be observed, bears a date only nineteen days later than the battle of Lexington. John Crane was the Captain of this Company. The Rhode Island troops were placed under command of General Greene, and were marched as fast as raised to the general camp then forming before Boston. The arrival of the Rhode Island artillery from Providence is noticed in a newspaper of the day in flattering terms "as a fine company with four excellent field pieces." The company moved first to Jamaica Plains, the Country seat of Governor Barnard, and was afterwards stationed at Roxbury, although the rest of Greene's brigade was posted at Cambridge. The return of its numbers of the 21st July gives a total force of 96.

At the time of the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17th, 1775, Stevens' company was posted at the Neck to protect the line of retreat. During the siege of Boston it garrisoned the fort at Roxbury.

At the close of the year 1775 the Rhode Island Company was disbanded; Crane and Stevens were commissioned in the artillery regiments raised by Massachusetts in the beginning of the year, and afterward transferred to the regiment organized by Congress, on the Continental establishment, under the command of Colonel Henry Knox, which was enlisted for one year, Crane with the rank of Major and Stevens as Captain. His commission, signed by John Hancock, President, and Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, and dated the 11th January, 1776, is still in existence.

The expedition to Canada under Montgomery by the way of the northern lakes, and by Arnold by the Kennebec and the valley of Chaudiere, had not been successful; Montgomery had fallen on the last day of the year and Arnold was in command. Strenuous efforts were made to strengthen the army in Canada. In March, 1776, Stevens was ordered northward on a march to Quebec with two companies, his own and that of Captain Eustis and a party of artificers. The marching orders run as follows:

"Camp at Cambridge, March 28, 1776. Instructions for Captain Ebenezer Stevens, commanding two companies of the Regiment of Artillery on a march to Quebec. You with the companies under your command are to make the most expeditious marches into Canada, there to join the army under Major-General Thomas, in order to conquer and entirely subdue the enemies of Liberty and America in that province. Your route will be through NUMBER FOUR in the Province of New Hampshire to Crown Point, where you will draw what provisions you may think necessary for your future progress. It is a matter of great importance that the mortars, shell, &c., which you have in charge, should reach the camp before Quebec. If, therefore, any of the teams should fail you must procure fresh ones from the country people, and give an order for the pay on the Quartermaster-General or his assistant up that way or to this camp, whichever shall be the most agreeable. You are to take particular care that your men are well covered in the night, and likewise that they observe the strictest discipline.

"HENRY KNOX, Colonel; Regiment of Artillery."

Washington advised Arnold of the dispatch of these companies on the 3d of April. It was on this march by Charlestown, New Hampshire, then called Number Four, where the party crossed the Connecticut river, that Stevens first displayed the energy and fertility of resource which were his distinguishing traits. The winter of 1775 to 1776 had been one of extreme severity, and the country was covered with heavy snow. Stevens cut a road across the Green Mountains to Otter Creek, a distance from river to river of forty miles. The two mortars which he had carried with him weighing four tons each, his progress from the camp to Charlestown was twenty miles a day, but such was the obstacles to be overcome that he was twenty days in making the remaining distance. Arrived at Otter Creek he built rafts and descended to Atterbury's Falls and thence to New Haven Falls, dragging his mortars and baggage at one of these portages a distance of eight miles. On reaching Lake Champlain Captain Eustis was dispatched to Crown Point for boats, which were procured and brought up the creek. In these bateaux Stevens proceeded to St. Johns, landing first at Point-au-fer. At St. Johns he found pilots and pushed on to Chamblee and the Three Rivers, where he met an express bringing intelligence that Thomas had left the plains of Abraham on the 6th of May. The date of Stevens' arrival does not appear. General Schuyler, writing to Washington from Fort George, April 26, mentions among other forces transported to Canada, Captain Stevens' company with the "mortars and shells."

There were no military movements, and the artillery was busy in preparing ammunition. On the 25th May General Thompson wrote from the camp at Sorel to the Commissioners sent by Congress to enquire into the State of the Army: "Captain Stevens goes up to provide some articles wanted for the artillery, and will return as soon as possible. One thousand weight of lead, fifty quires of cartridge paper, and fifteen pounds of thread wanted to complete the troops here to twenty-four rounds per man." The arrival of reinforcements from England and the prevalence of small pox in the American forces were the immediate cause of the raising of the siege of Quebec and the precipitate withdrawal of the Continental Army. Towards the end of May further reinforcements arrived from England and a rendezvous was ordered at Three Rivers. Here General Sullivan, on whom the command devolved after the death of Thomas, who fell a victim to the small pox, determined to attack their advance guard. An expedition was organized which left Sorel the 6th of June with eighteen hundred men in fifty boats, followed the next day by Stevens with his companies of artillery. He was, however, from the difficulty of landing his guns, ordered back by General Thompson, and took no part in the engagement which followed. Thompson was defeated with heavy loss, and himself fell into the hands of the enemy. The British followed in pursuit. A fragment of a journal kept by Stevens at this period (June 7) gives as the reason for the artillery not being landed, that in the opinion of General Thompson the "ground proved bad." He adds that he "was ordered back with his company without going on shore, which was not agreeable." In the same journal he states that he reached the camp at Sorel at ten o'clock of the forenoon of the next day. In his entry of the 9th he says: "that, on receipt of information that the enemies' troops were on their way to Sorel, the drums beat to arms in camp, got the cannon out of the batteaux, mounted them in the battery; camp in great confusion. The next day early, in a council of war, a retreat to St. Johns was decided upon. The artillery was again reembarked, and by ten o'clock in the morning was on board the batteaux and under way for Chamblee above. They arrived next day at noon." On the 10th he writes: "the whole army was employed in getting their guns, equipments and stores over the carrying-place." Here there was a false alarm of an attack and great confusion. The provisions were opened to the troops, the trunnions were broken from the cannon; and Stevens relates "one fine eighteen pounder was lost in the rapids. In transporting the cannon and stores the men were up to their waists, and obliged to drag the batteaux by bodily strength up the rap-

ids. After working all that night, the next day, the 12th, Chamblee was fired, three new gondolas also burned, and two thirty pounders which had been got partly across were thrown into the rapids. The sick were put into the boats and at nine o'clock the march was begun for St. Johns, with two four pounders, four companies of artillery and two thousand infantry. So close was the pursuit that the British entered Chamblee as the rear guard of the Americans left it. The retreat was now regular and the body entered St. Johns at six o'clock the same day. On the 13th news of the capture of Thompson arrived. On the 18th a council of war was held, and the retreat resumed by batteaux to the Isle aux Noix, which was reached at midnight. Burgoyne the same evening arrived in St. Johns. From the Isle aux Noix the army retired to Crown Point, where General Sullivan arrived the first of July. He had been superseded in command by resolution of Congress, which on the 17th June had assigned Major-General Gates to the command of the army in Canada. Washington's instructions to Gates of the 24th June invested him with full powers as to the appointment of his officers. At the same time he was directed to consult with Colonel Knox concerning the artillery, and with Major-General Schuyler, whose headquarters were at Albany, as to the provisions and stores.

Gates made his headquarters at Ticonderoga, where the summer was passed in a reorganization of the army, which was decimated by the small pox, and the building of a fleet of low galleys and gunboats by which Arnold proposed to hold possession of Lake Champlain. It is not necessary to enter into the details of the gallant action between Arnold's flotilla and Carleton's superior force, in which the American vessels were all captured or burned between the 11th and 13th October. On the 14th Carleton landed at Crown Point, the master of the Lake; two hours distant lay Ticonderoga, an easy prey, but Carleton, not prepared for a further offensive, returned to winter quarters in Canada, and allowed the golden opportunity of a junction with Lord Howe's forces to slip by, an opportunity never to return. On the reorganization of the army by Gates, Captain Stevens was appointed, on the 15th September, "to take command of all the artillery on the west side of the Lake, and to encamp on the *French* lines (Ticonderoga) with General St. Clair's brigade."

While awaiting the attack of Carleton the artillery was busily engaged in preparation. In eight days they made carriages for forty-seven or more pieces of cannon and mounted them. The defences were also strengthened, and surrounded with redoubts and abattis.

A Committee of Congress, which visited the Northern Department



about this time, gave to Stevens the rank of Major, and he is so styled in the General Orders of October 22d. On the 18th November, the main body having left Ticonderoga, Colonel Anthony Wayne was directed in General Orders to take command of that post and of the garrison of Mount Independence. A second Committee of Congress was sent in November to examine into the condition of the Northern Department. At their instance Generals Schuyler and Gates called for calculations and estimates for supplying the army. Among the reports submitted to Congress appears "a Calculation of Ordnance and Ordnance stores wanted for the Army of the Northern Department," made by order of the Honorable Major-General Schuyler, dated in camp in Ticonderoga, on November 30th, and signed Ebenezer Stevens, Major of Artillery.

The time for which Colonel Knox's regiment enlisted expired with the year 1776. The augmentation of that arm of the service had been urged upon the Commander-in-chief by Knox in the summer of 1775, and a plan drawn by him had been submitted to Congress, which in July, 1776, authorized another battalion to be raised, and requested Washington to recommend proper officers to compose the corps. Nothing was done, however; for in November Knox again urged the increase of the force. In December, however, under the authority of a resolution of the 12th of that month, conferring extensive powers on the Commander-in-chief, Washington directed three battalions to be enlisted, and recommended that Colonel Knox be appointed a Brigadier-General of Artillery. Later in the same month the appointment was made by Congress; three regiments, or as they had been called, battalions, to be raised, and Washington was empowered to appoint the officers and establish their pay. Later a fourth regiment was ordered. These four regiments were assigned as follows in the orders of State quotas: Harrison's to Virginia; Lamb's to New York; Crane's to Massachusetts; Proctor's to Pennsylvania. Early in December, Colonel Baldwin, the engineer officer in charge of the works at Ticonderoga, and Major Stevens obtained a leave of absence from General Gates. On their way down they called upon General Schuyler, then at Saratoga, who authorized them to purchase at Boston or elsewhere what supplies they needed, and particularly empowered Stevens, who had recommended a Commissary of Ordnance and Master of Laboratory, to engage proper persons for such service, and offer the same pay as those serving under the immediate command of General Washington. General Ward was requested to give all possible aid to Stevens, who was to recruit as many men as possible for his command.

He appears to have at once started eastward upon this mission, in which he was, however, not left long in quiet. On the 18th January, Knox, then at Poughkeepsie, informed him by letter that it was the wish of General Washington that all the cannon at Albany not wanted for the defense of the North River be sent to Pennsylvania; that so soon as the ice should break up in the river, the artillery and stores should be sent to New Windsor. Knox further directed him to confer with General Lincoln, and send immediately to Springfield all the damaged small arms which could not with the utmost certainty be repaired at Albany. Knox was undoubtedly not aware that Stevens had been despatched to Boston, as he requested him to write to him at Boston, whither he was himself going, and added that it was probable he would see him in Albany on his return.

Schuyler also seems to have missed his service, and ordered him on the 21st January to return immediately to Albany, where, he adds, "your presence is absolutely necessary." On the 3d February, General Ward, pressed by Schuyler for reinforcements, directed him to forward all the men he had recruited to Ticonderoga, by way of Bennington and Skenesborough, and urged him to the "most vigorous exertions at this critical juncture."

The recruiting of men and the purchase of the articles and stores designated in the return of November 3d occupied all of Stevens' attention during the winter. On the 10th March, Schuyler directed him to apply to Gen'l Knox, supposed to be in Boston, for any deficiencies in the estimate, and to make him a return of any other necessities for the artillery department, and called upon the Selectmen and Committees in the several towns to facilitate the conveyance of the stores.

Besides the recruiting of the artillery, Stevens had undertaken to fill up a company of artificers, which was placed under command of Captain Noah Nichols. Detained in Boston by these various duties, he received a letter from Knox written at Morristown the 31st March, conveying to him a demand for ship guns. He was requested to apply to General Heath and Captain Bradford for aid, and also to procure in Boston such supplies as were needed by the medical department of the Northern army.

On the 16th April we find him returned to Ticonderoga, where he is officially addressed as Major Commanding the Artillery; the same title was used by General Knox, in a letter from Morristown, dated the 1st May, in which he asks for every information which may benefit the service; acquaints him with the measures taken to fill General Schuyler's call for artillery, and advises him as to the establishment of pay for the Conti-

mental artillery, by which to govern himself in making up his returns. On the 24th May Knox again writes from Morristown, acknowledging a letter from Stevens of the 24th April, with Returns. In this letter Knox directs him to apply at Springfield for all supplies except round and grape; advises the sending of tons of grape and a great number 4, 6, 12 and 18 pound shot to Albany, and informs him that he had a furnace just going to blow for casting of various kinds, and would order about twenty tons more of grape shot to Albany for his service. He adds: "I am happy to hear from you and General Wayne that the detachment under your command behaved in a soldier-like manner," expresses his regret that owing to the "difficulty of recruiting" he could send him no more artillery men, and the hope that Gen'l Gates will furnish what additional number might be required.

On the 16th May, Wilkinson, then on Gates' Staff, wrote to General Gates from Ticonderoga, whither he had been sent to take post: "This garrison is considerably obliged to Major Stevens of the artillery, an active, honest and industrious officer; he directs the laboratory and will in a little time, if supplied with paper, fix ammunition enough for the troops. Your last campaign established a company of artificers under his direction, which you will now observe included in his return; they are an excellent set of hands, and will alone I think be able to prepare the wood work necessary for mounting the artillery destined for the post, but unless iron is furnished this will be of no consequence." On the 31st the same officer advises the arrival of ten pieces of ordnance which Major Stevens "tells me will be mounted in five days." At the close he requests additional large iron, as Stevens had already used all at the post.

In an original "Return of the Officers' names and the time of their appointments to the corps of artillery commanded by Major Ebenezer Stevens, dated June 20, 1777," his appointment as major is set down at 9th Nov., 1776. This corps included three companies and a company of artificers. This appointment appears to have been informal, perhaps contingent on the raising of the men. On the 22d May, however, he received his official promotion. On the Journals of Congress it is recorded under that date as "Resolved, That Captain Stevens of the artillery have a Brevet of Major, he having had that rank before his present appointment as a captain, and being a worthy, good officer as Gen'l Schuyler represents." This brevet was enclosed to him with a letter of congratulation by Schuyler on the 3d June. On the 20th of the same month the company of artificers was definitely established by Stevens, and approved by General Schuyler, then at Ticonderoga, in person.

How much the exertions and abilities of Stevens were appreciated at this period, appears from a letter of Samuel Phillips Savage, the Presiding Officer of the Massachusetts Board of War, who wrote to him from Boston the 30th June, in reply to a request for an Official Return, the nature of which does not appear: "It gives me pleasure to open a correspondence with a gentleman so well knowing in the matters of the army as Major Stevens, and if my weakly endeavors to support it, will give you any satisfaction, I shall feel happy."

While Schuyler was making every endeavor to strengthen his line against the invasion, Burgoyne was slowly accumulating his forces for a crushing blow. Leaving Montreal the latter part of June, he reached Crown Point on the 1st July, and the 4th opened fire upon Fort Ticonderoga, where St. Clair was in command. St. Clair had expected an attack from the lake, and had thrown up breastworks to strengthen his position, but soon found the post untenable. General Phillips, who commanded the British engineers and was familiar with the ground, ordered a battery of artillery to be dragged to the top of Mount Defiance, which overlooked the fort.

It is of tradition, that Stevens had, months before, expressed his fear of this danger, and the impracticability of taking cannon up the height being asserted at the officers' table, he settled the point in his own practical way by having a piece dragged up at night, and firing a salute in the morning from the top of the hill.

When on the 5th the enemy was observed in possession of this commanding situation, a retreat was hastily ordered. Stevens was confined to his bed at this time by illness, but continued to give directions to his men. A large part of the cannon were safely embarked on batteaux, those left behind spiked, but the trunnions were not knocked off for fear the noise would alarm the enemy. The retreat was almost immediately discovered and pursuit begun. In his report to General Knox of the retreat, Stevens says: "My orders were executed in such a manner, that had not the enemy pursued in so hasty a manner, I should have saved a very considerable quantity of stores, some small cannon, and the two eight-inch howitzers, which I had just got completely mounted; but at Skenesborough all fell, and I have only now to lament their fall. From that place we retreated to Fort Ann, where we had a brush which was much to our advantage; from thence to Fort Edward; after a short stay to Fort Miller, then to Saratoga;" where we find him on the official returns of the 19th July reported as sick. His was not a spirit long to endure confinement, and he was again busy at Stillwater on the 12th August,

reorganizing the artillery and preparing to repel a sudden attack. His requests to General Knox show that the work had to be begun almost anew. During this month he appears to have been occupied chiefly at Albany in the various duties of the artillery and laboratory department; when the time for action arrived, he joined his command in the field.

The precise service of the artillery during the series of actions which culminated in the surrender of Burgoyne on the 19th October has never yet been described. Nor has any account of the artillery service during the American Revolution been written. There is abundant testimony from both American and English sources to its great value. But for its efficiency Burgoyne would have broken through the toils which were laid for his army.

Wilkinson, the Adjutant-General of General Gates, describing an action of the 10th says: "The commanding officer of artillery, Major Stevens, gallant, vigilant and ready to improve every advantage, ran a couple of light pieces down on the plain near the river, and opened a battery upon the batteaux and watering party at the landing, which soon dispersed it; but he drew the fire of the enemy's whole post upon him from the heights, which obliged him to retire after the loss of a tumbril, which was blown up by the enemy, and caused a shout from the whole British army."

The precise and accurate Gordon, in his account of the deliberations by Burgoyne on the 13th says: "There was not a spot of ground in the whole camp for holding the council of war, but what was exposed to cannon or rifle shots. While the council was deliberating, an eighteen pound ball crossed the table." Chastellux confirms the story, and adds that the council adjourned to the woods.

By a return of ordnance and stores in camp near Stillwater, September 24, made by Stevens, and preserved among the papers of General Gates, the following appears to have been the American artillery force: 1 Brass nine-pounder; 1 Brass six-pounder; 10 Brass four-pounders; 3 Iron six-pounders; 5 Iron four-pounders; 2 Iron three-pounders, in all 22 guns. It is probable that this was somewhat increased later by guns from below the Highlands. The force by Wilkinson's return of October was 360 men.

The train captured from the British was a great acquisition to the army. By Stevens' return it consisted of 2 twenty-four-pounders; 2 Brass twelve-pounders, and 6 Brass twelve-pounders, taken 7th October, near Stillwater. 2 twelves; 12 sixes; 4 threes; 2 eight-inch howitzers;

5 royal ditto, taken October 17, at Saratoga, in all 38 pieces; with implements and stores complete for the pieces, &c.; five hundred stand of arms and a great quantity of muskets, cartridges, and a number of ammunition wagons, including forges, &c.

The efficiency and gallantry of Stevens were too marked to escape notice and reward. On the 7th January Knox acknowledges his return of the cannon and stores at Albany, "a most noble park indeed," and says: "I have a high esteem for you which is founded on the universal character given you, of a brave and vigilant officer, and have ever considered it a credit to claim connection with you."

The winter of 1777 to 1778 was passed at the Northward in making preparations for the next campaign. The defense of the Highlands was an object of chief solicitude, and strenuous exertions were made to get the cannon down the river from Albany to Newburg and Fishkill. Stevens' duties were by no means confined to the field or garrison; his mechanical skill rendered him equally valuable in the laboratory. In March, Mr. Troup, who had inspected the works at Albany, wrote to Gates, "I went with General Conway this afternoon to view the laboratory and park of artillery. The regularity conspicuous in both drew my admiration, and I believe Major Stevens is one of the few officers in our army who does not consider method as altogether idle and superfluous."

At this time Stevens was in sore perplexity. Notwithstanding his services he was informed that Colonel Crane considered him as of his command. He represented his dissatisfaction to James Duane, who visited his post at Albany in April, and threatened to resign and join as a volunteer rather than consent to such a degradation. Duane wrote to the President of Congress, commending him in the highest terms: "the conduct of this young gentleman in the field and in conducting the public works, is so distinguished as to entitle him to favor and applause. I trust as Major Stevens has undergone severe service without any promotion, that a suitable attention may be paid to his merit. He declares that he is entitled to retain his present rank as a separate command."

On the 3d April, 1778, Congress "resolved that Major Ebenezer Stevens, in consideration of his services and the strict attention with which he discharged his duty as commanding officer of artillery in the Northern Department during two campaigns, take rank by brevet as a Lieutenant-Colonel of foot, and that he be commissioned accordingly."

About this time he received from Massachusetts the offer of a brigade of infantry in the State Line, but preferred his own corps even with the inferior rank. On conveying to him the news of his brevet,

Gates informed him that he had been assured by General Knox that there were "the best expectations of your [his] being to succeed to the Lieut.-Colonelcy of one of the established battalions of artillery," and in the meantime he was to command the whole artillery of the Northern Department.

In the beginning of the year 1778, an expedition into Canada under the command of the Marquis de Lafayette was contemplated, and Stevens was fixed upon to accompany it in command of the artillery. Lafayette proceeded to Albany to take charge of the force supposed to have been provided, but finding that no preparations had been made in the department, abandoned the undertaking. It was on this occasion that his acquaintance with Stevens, which later grew into a warm personal friendship, commenced. A letter of Lafayette tendering his aid in getting the cannon down the river as ordered by Congress, compliments him for "his well known activity and zeal on every occasion." This work occupied the summer, during which Stevens was on the North River. Late in the fall he was joined at New Windsor by his wife, who but a few weeks before had given birth to a son. The occasion of the christening was a gala day in camp. The infant was placed upon a cannon, and General Gates standing as sponsor, received the name of Horatio Gates Stevens. This infant was destined to a long life. He survived till 1873. For his name's sake General Gates left to him in his will the gold medal awarded him by Congress, his sword, and the famous portrait by Stuart, which are still in the possession of the family.

On the 24th November, Congress again resolved "that Lieutenant Colonel Stevens of the artillery, now holding that rank by brevet be appointed a Lieutenant Colonel of artillery, and that his commission bear date from that of his brevet, and that he be entitled to take command on the first vacancy that may fall in the artillery. Washington enclosed his commission to him on the 17th December, and assigned him to the regiment of Colonel Lamb, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Lieut.-Col. Oswald. When his orders reached him he was stationed with his command at Fort Arnold on the Hudson.

He joined Lamb's regiment on the 22d December and appears to have commanded it on the march from White Plains to the artillery camp at Pluckemin, in New Jersey, of the fatigue upon which he advises Col. Lamb in January following.

During the winter of 1778-1779 the main body of Lamb's regiment was chiefly stationed at Pluckemin. Colonel Lamb, whose health had been entirely broken by the Quebec campaign, was on furlough; the

command wholly devolved on Stevens. In March, Lamb being appointed Surveyor of Ordnance, at once entered on the duties of that station, and no longer interfered with the regiment. It is proper here to say that Lamb and Stevens were warm personal friends, and their families on intimate terms. One interesting incident of this period is related in a newspaper of the day. "Trenton, March 10, 1779. The anniversary of our alliance with France was celebrated on the 18th ultimo, at Pluckemin, at a very elegant entertainment and display of fireworks, given by General Knox and the officers of the corps of artillery. It was postponed to this late day on account of his Excellency General Washington's absence from camp. The entertainment and ball were held in the academy of the park. The fireworks, which were conducted by Colonel Stevens, were arranged on the plan of a temple of one hundred feet in length and proportionately high. The temple showed thirteen arches, each displaying an illuminated painting. The centre arch was ornamented with a pediment larger than any of the others, and the whole edifice supported by a colonnade of the Corinthian order. \* \* \* When the fireworks were finished, the company returned to the academy and concluded the celebration by a very splendid ball."

In July the army moved, and the artillery park was ordered to Chester, and thence to New Windsor, near West Point, where the army headquarters were established. On the 22d October, Knox charged Stevens with a confidential mission, that of proceeding to Hartford to construct three fire ships. They were to be of 150 tons burthen. Twenty thousand dollars were placed in his hands for that purpose. In November, news arriving of the repulse of Count d'Estaing at Savannah, the fire ships were no longer needed, and their construction was arrested.

The winter of 1779-1780 is known as the hard winter. The intense cold united the island of New York to the mainland and rendered the Hudson passable even for artillery, but the sufferings and privations of the army were such that no advantage of it could be taken. The army was in winter quarters at Morristown. The families of some of the officers accompanied them, among others those of General Greene and Col. Stevens. In Washington's correspondence of the month of January, there is a letter which relates to a dispute between Captain Rochefontaine and Stevens as to the possession of quarters, of which Greene as the Quarter-Master General had dispossessed the former to the advantage of the latter, no doubt because of the delicate health of the wife of Stevens who had with her an infant son. At this very period Washington complained to Greene that he had himself been



for two months in quarters where "he had not a kitchen to cook a dinner in, although the logs had been put together some considerable time by his own guard, and that there was not a place in which a servant could lodge with the smallest degree of comfort."

In March the army moved up to Middlebrook in Jersey, and encamped in huts. This movement was made to cover the important posts in the Highlands which were threatened by the strong occupation of King's Ferry by Sir Henry Clinton. In June Lamb was ordered to West Point, Stevens remaining in chief command of the regiment which moved with the army. He was at Preakness in July.

The French army under Rochambeau arriving at Newport in July, Sir Henry Clinton moved to attack them, and Washington at once determined to take advantage of his absence and attack New York. On the 15th July he informed Knox of his purpose, and ordered a movement of all the cannon and stores necessary for a siege to the North River. The troops moved from Preakness on the 29th, and crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry the 1st August, and found the main body there collected. For several days the army was in marching order, the "artillery horses constantly in harness, and those belonging to the officers kept in readiness; every man and every horse (says Thatcher, an eye witness) taught to know their place and their duty." Sir Henry Clinton took the hint and suddenly returned to New York, and Washington having effected his object, recrossed to the Jersey shore. Batteries were erected at Dobb's Ferry and other points, where Stevens appears to have made an ineffectual attempt to prevent the descent of the river by the vessels of the enemy.

Early in the campaign Colonel Lamb had been ordered to take charge of the post at West Point; and either here or at New Windsor Stevens joined him. He was at West Point when Arnold made his escape. Towards the close of November the Marquis de Chastellux visited the Camp at New Windsor and was received by General Knox, at the head of the artillery. Washington was present. The Marquis says "the artillery was numerous, and the gunners, in very fine order, were formed in parade, in the foreign manner, that is, each gunner at his battery and ready to fire."

Soon after Arnold's desertion Sir Henry Clinton entrusted him with a detachment and sent him to Virginia, where his operations were intended to create a diversion in favor of Cornwallis. Learning that he had made Portsmouth his base of operations, Washington determined to cut him off if possible. A plan was concerted for an expedition, co-o-

rating land and naval forces. A detachment of twelve hundred men was put under marching orders on the 15th February, and the Chevalier M. Destouches was requested to protect the operation with a part or the whole of the French Fleet. The expedition was placed under the charge of Lafayette on the 20th. Washington's instructions directed him to march by way of Pompton to the head of Elk. Colonel Stevens was selected to accompany the expedition as Chief of Artillery. On the 18th February he was ordered to Philadelphia with instructions to obtain from the Board of War the necessary ordnance and stores, and have everything in readiness in five or six days after his arrival. The ordnance called for consisted of four field pieces, six pounders; three twenty-four pounders; one eight-inch and three five and a half inch howitzers, with ammunition and a travelling forge. In addition to these pieces, Knox sent him on the 25th, by Washington's express permission, the two eight-inch howitzers belonging to the park of artillery, which were carried to him "concealed in a wagon."

The expedition was to arrive at the head of Elk about the 6th March. Lafayette marched with his accustomed celerity. The 23d of February he reached Pompton and making a feint upon Staten Island moved rapidly to Philadelphia, where he arrived 2d March. There he was joined by Stevens with his artillery, which consisted of four companies. The command reached the head of Elk the 3d, and was at once put on board boats for Annapolis. This was not in accordance with Washington's views. Probably his instructions of the 27th, written from New Windsor, which forbade Lafayette leaving Elk river until he had "certain knowledge of the French squadron being in the Chesapeake Bay," did not reach him until too late. Destouches sailed from Newport the 8th March with his whole fleet. Admiral Graves followed with the British fleet the next day. The weather was heavy. When Destouches reached the mouth of the Chesapeake, he found the English squadron at anchor. After a short but ineffectual action, he returned to Newport. The English held the Bay, and the position of the Marquis soon became critical. A letter written by Stevens (1790) to Jeremiah Wadsworth and Jonathan Trumbull, a committee of Congress, gives an account of the manner in which he was extricated.

"In the spring of 1781 I commanded the artillery on an expedition to Portsmouth in Virginia, with the Marquis de Lafayette. The division halted at the city of Annapolis in Maryland. Our little fleet consisted of 90 sail of river craft; the British hearing of our being there sent two twenty-gun ships and blocked up the harbor. We remained there six

weeks, several councils of war were held after the Commander-in-Chief had ordered us to head-quarters, and it was thought impracticable to retreat by water; a majority were for returning by land, and officers were sent out to procure teams to remove the artillery and stores. They were out ten days and returned without being able to procure them. Another council was held and I proposed to return by water to the head of Elk, by removing those ships out of the Bay. My plan was thought impracticable, but Governor Lee, my friend, told the Marquis if the vessels that I took were lost he would pay for them. The Marquis then told me to go on and he would assist me. I fitted two sloops of about sixty tons burthen, with ten eight-pounders each and a travelling forge in their holds, and raised an awning upon their decks; the whole was done in three days. Manned them with two hundred volunteers each, and sent them out about ten o'clock in the morning, and drove the enemies' ships from their moorings, and thus opened the passage for our detachment, which arrived at the head of Elk by water that night. I do not know what would have been the consequence had we returned by land and left our little fleet and siege artillery behind, but it was thought by Governor Lee that our vessels would have fallen into their hands, and the defenceless city been plundered and burned. If Congress had known of it they might have honored me with a mark of their approbation. The Marquis wrote the Commander-in-Chief that time respecting my conduct. This I had by letter from General Knox."

Washington writing from New Windsor on the 11th, gives Lafayette "credit for the manœuvre by which he removed the British ships before Annapolis."

In a letter to Ben. Stoddert, Secretary of the Navy, written 15th August, 1798, Stevens again referred to this exploit. The subject on which his opinion was invited was the defence of New York harbor, for which the State had resolved to build galleys or gunboats. Stevens then said: "That he was confident galleys or heavy floating batteries could never be managed in this harbor on account of the velocity of the tides. I fitted out," he says, "several galleys in the Northern department in '76 and '77, and they were lost as fast as they were equipped. I have seen floating batteries which mounted twenty 24-pounders. It is next to impossible to move them, and should the enemy gain ground the men desert them and they are made use of against themselves." Hence, referring to the action at Annapolis he says: "I conclude that bodies which are easily managed are preferable to those which are unwieldy though of superior force." He preferred gunboats to galleys, and later sent a

sketch of one 50 feet long, to carry one 18 or 24-pounder in the prow, and a 12 or 18 in the stern, to be manned by twenty-five to thirty men.

In a letter addressed on the 2d April, 1781, to Stevens, then at Philadelphia on his return to camp from the expedition, Knox says, "I lament your being disappointed of an opportunity of exhibiting before the French and Mr. Arnold; especially after the great exertions you have made of which the Marquis has written in the handsomest terms to the Commander-in-Chief." This is the letter already referred to. In April, Lafayette was directed to leave his heavy artillery at Baltimore, and his lighter pieces with General Wayne. He reached Susquehanna Ferry on the 15th. Washington having authorized him to allow of the return of Stevens, the delicate situation of his wife requiring his presence, he proceeded to New Windsor, where he was again in command at the Park of Artillery. On the 17th of the same month, Knox leaving New Windsor for a time to accompany Washington, informed him that the command at the Park will devolve on him as the senior officer, and directs him to accelerate the preparations for "the opening of the campaign." On the 3d July, Knox again addresses him, ordering him "to have the Park and all its apparatus put in the most perfect readiness to embark." He says: "the matters with which you are herewith charged are so complicated and extensive as not to admit of particular instructions," and in fact they included the preparation of the artillery, the laboratory, the direction of the artificers, and experiments with new mortars at different elevations, besides the care of the ordnance and stores. Meanwhile, Washington had moved his head-quarters first to Peekskill, then to a point between Dobb's Ferry and White Plains, where the American and French troops went into camp together.

On the 2d July, Washington informed Knox of his movement towards Kingsbridge and of a proposed attempt on the British posts on York Island, the success of which was to be made known by signals. In such case Knox was ordered immediately down, "leaving Colonel Stevens to put everything in readiness to follow." On the 11th of July, Stevens was ordered to move the Park of Artillery by water to King's Ferry, thence by land to camp. This demonstration against New York prevented any reinforcements to Cornwallis, who was held in check by Lafayette in Virginia. Lafayette on his retreat to the head of Elk, had been ordered to reorganize in Baltimore and resume the offensive in Virginia, where Cornwallis hoped to find him an easy prey.

The arrival of a large body of Hessian recruits changing the situa-

tion at the northward, Washington decided upon a Southern campaign. On the 12th August he wrote conjointly with Count de Rochambeau to Count de Grasse, then at the mouth of the Chesapeake, requesting him to "send up the Elk River at the head of Chesapeake Bay, all the frigates, transports and vessels proper for the conveyance of the French and American troops down the Bay, and on the 19th, leaving the Northern department in charge of Major General Heath, moved the allied army in two columns, crossed the Hudson between the 21st and 25th, and marched rapidly to Trenton. The heavy cannon, ordnance, stores and ammunition, were already forwarding on the 2d September. Arrived at the head of Elk, the French and American armies learned of the blockade of the passage of the Chesapeake by the French fleet under the Count de Grasse. The forward movement on the 25th was renewed, and the troops transported and landed at Williamsburgh, where a junction was made with the forces under Lafayette. Cornwallis hesitated at Yorktown until retreat was impossible. The combined armies opened their trenches on the 1st October, 600 yards distance from the enemy's works. In the afternoon of the ninth, the redoubts and batteries being completed, a general discharge of artillery was begun by the Americans. The next morning the French opened their batteries on the left. The next night a second parallel was established only 200 yards from the British lines.

On the 14th the enemies redoubts on the left, which were troublesome to the beseigers, were carried by assault. These works being taken into the second parallel greatly strengthened the attack. In spite of a successful sortie of the British, the allied forces were so industrious that their final batteries were completed on the 16th, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of that day, the British position was covered by nearly one hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, and their works so destroyed that scarcely a gun was visible. On the 17th, the anniversary of the surrender of the capitulation of Burgoyne at Saratoga, Cornwallis sent a flag to open negotiations for a capitulation, and the posts of York and Gloucester were finally surrendered on the 19th of October. The news spread like wild-fire throughout the country, and it was everywhere felt that American Independence was finally achieved.

Knox was present in person in command of the artillery on this occasion; but the immediate command fell in line of rotation upon Colonel Lamb, Lieut.-Cols. Stevens and Carrington and Major Bauman. Washington applied the match to the first gun on the 9th; the last gun was fired by Lamb and Stevens' regiment on the 18th. It is related of Ste-

vens that, when cautioned by Knox against too free a use of powder and ball, he replied that the General need have no concern, his friend the Marquis would supply all deficiencies.

In this siege the Americans had 15 field and 23 siege guns, 24 and 18 pounders, and 21 mortars and howitzers. The French 36 field pieces and 36 siege pieces. The artillery captured from the British numbered 214 pieces, field and siege. Both the British and French were amazed at the skill with which the American artillery was handled, the more as all the officers except Bauman were native born Americans.

Washington congratulated Knox on the conduct of his command in general orders on the 2d, and Knox in brigade orders, by request of the Commander-in-Chief, thanked the corps, and said "the skill so conspicuously manifested in the management and direction of the cannon and mortars, have convinced our noble allies, and brought home to the feelings of our enemies, that the officers of the American artillery have acquired a respectable knowledge in their profession." Each of the officers was complimented by name.

In January, 1782, Stevens was at Burlington recruiting his regiment and preparing for the spring campaign. The command was again stationed at West Point during the summer, and was not again called out in service. On the 10th May he was one of those officers who "in the cantonment of the American army on the Hudson river, instituted the Society of the Cincinnati," of the New York branch of which he was later Vice President.

In July, 1783, he was ordered by Benjamin Lincoln, Secretary of War, to erect Magazines and an Arsenal, to replace the old State Magazine burned by the British. In October his wife died at West Point, leaving him with three children of tender age.

He was present when the Army of the Revolution was disbanded, and entered New York with his command on the 25th November, the day of the evacuation by the British. Here he established himself in business, and soon married Lucretia Ledyard, the widow of Richardson Sands. This lady was the daughter of Judge John Ledyard, of Hartford, and sister of the gallant Colonel William Ledyard, who was killed at Groton, Conn., in 1782. By this lady Colonel Stevens had a large family, all residents of New York.

When it was proposed to divide the United States into four great military departments, Washington offered to name Stevens to one of them, but he declined further military service. He was one of the largest and most successful merchants of his day, his enterprise building up

an extensive commerce with foreign ports, especially those of France. He was besides the Agent of the War Department, and at different times Agent for the French and English governments. He was Member of the Assembly in 1800, Alderman of the Third Ward in 1802, and Major General of the Artillery of the State of New York.

He was one of the founders of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, instituted in 1789 "to connect in indissoluble bonds of friendship American Brethren of known attachment to the political rights of human nature and the liberties of the country." He was also one of the founders of the New England Society, organized in 1805, and was its President from 1817 till his death.

In all military affairs he was consulted by the General and State Governments. He was one of three commissioners charged with the defences of the City of New York when a rupture with France was expected, and their execution was under his personal direction.

He was the acknowledged representative of the officers and soldiers who survived the war, and was constantly called upon by them to seek redress or relief from Congress, and on all public occasions he was one of the principal military figures.

The person of Colonel Stevens has been admirably portrayed by Trumbull in the large painting of the Surrender of Burgoyne at the Capitol of Washington. The life size figure is drawn in a graceful attitude, leaning upon a cannon on the extreme left of the scene. He is again introduced in the picture by the same artist representing the Surrender of Cornwallis. He is here seen in the distance at the head of the artillery, of which he was the field officer on the day of surrender.

After a career as a civilian, as striking for its display of energy and judgment as his service as a soldier, he died at Rockaway, whither he had been taken from his summer residence, Mount Bonaparte, Hallett's Cove (now Astoria), on the 22d September, 1823. He was buried from his residence in Warren Street, New York, on the 23d September, and was followed to the grave by the Society of the Cincinnati in mourning badges, and a large concourse of the citizens by whom he was known and honored as one of the brave band which asserted and gained the liberty of America.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

## A BUNDLE OF OLD LETTERS

## I

*Communicated by Jeremiah Colburn*

New York, ye 21 Aprill, 1746.

JACOB WENDELL, Esqr.

Sr.—As commissioners are now appointed on the part of this Province, and others are Likely to be appointed for ye Western Governments, so that this may happen to be nearest the Center, if so I hope to have the pleasure of Seeing you, and could I have beene assured of that—as itt was offered mee in the house would have beene one, but as Mrs. Richard Enjoies so Little health, do not chuse any Imploy that should call mee from home. The Occasion of this Letter is as you have often Desired mee to Look out for Chapman for yr house, I have at last meet with two Compettetors, and in that case itt frequently happens that one can gitt the full Value of the Comodity to be sold and often more.

Mr. Abraham Leffers Daughter is Married to Peter Cloppen who is a Sadler and keeps Iron Mongery ware, and Mr. Leffers that Lives in and has bought Vanderhuels house has treated with mee abt your house, but as a Prudent Purchaser, when I had told him yr price of £750 or thereabouts, asked Leave to have the Premises Examined before he Made any offer, to which I consented and then acquainted the Present Tennant of itt, that workeman would come with some other Persons to view the house in order to Purchase the same, which gave him the allarm; he keeps a large Iron Monger shop, and would be verry Loft to remove, as when once a shop is knowne to the Country, itt is a Loss to remove—

upon which he told mee he would give 20 or 30£ more than Mr. Leffers should offer, if I would tell him what that was, but that I refused, however Mr. Leffers' workman Examined the house and gave but an ill acct of itt, and sett forth abundance of Repairs wanting more than I Conceive necessary, as also the Vast Expence itt would be to make alterations in itt, in so much that He was Induced not to Exceed 450£ or the Extent from which I can Learne from the Son in Law would be £500 Downe—whereupon I called of Williams in a few Dayes and told him now was his time to offer, for that I had an offer made mee, and I supposed he had consulted his friends according to what I had advised him of Last time we treated—he againe offered 25 or 30£ more, but I told him that I was not satisfied with, but Insisted he should offer a sume, as Last he Did which was £550: and before we parted I gott him up to £600 in three Payments, that is £200 in hand and £200 the 1st May 1747, and £200 ye 1st May 1748: and to give a Bond and Security for the Performance on Mortgage the Premises which you like best. Now uppon the whole was the house myn, I cannot help thinking I should Stand in my own Light if I did not Imbrass the present offer, and that for three reasons, the house is old and certainly soone will want a thorough repaire which will Exceed above £100. Our taxes will also Dayly Increase considering the Warr, and the Expence wee are at with respect to Albany alone this Yeare will Exceed £10,000, which is to be Leveyed on Reale and Personal Estate, and what would You suffer ware wee



to have a Vissett from an Enemy. I can assure you I would Jump at the like offer in Proportion for my Reale Estate, at this time; the House of Cromelins with the Store house on the warfe the other Day was sold for 850£ at least 20 p centt worse bargaine for the Seller; however Leave You to consider your owne Intrest in the case, and perhaps youl write mee and say I know you allowed yr brother a much Grater consideration, which I know to be true, but am of opinion if you Slipp this oppertunity, I feare youl have Leasure to repent, and not meet with the Like offer againe, so advantagious, and its the oppinion of severall that I have spoke to, that he has offered more considerable than itt is worth, I Desire your answer for if he cannot hitt now, and unless you give him a Lease he Perposes to Look out Ellsware.

Pray Sr. Lett mee know if Ever an End will be made of Edmund Taterwell's Affaire, his poor familie is in a manner a Starveing, I have advanced him a small matter, I hope yr familie is all well to whom yr leave to remember mee as also to Cousyn John, I am heartily sorry for his Loss which I Look on the Greatest he could have meet with.

I hope sone to receive the ballance of Capt Griffiths money in such Goods as will answer, Suger Loaf at the rate you sent itt will not. I am,

Sr Yr most Humble Servt,

PAUL RICHARD.

*Superscription*

For Collo Jacob Wendell, Esqr.

Mercht in Boston.

per Capt Milkin.

## II

*Communicated by the late James W. Beekman.*

New York, Octobr 13, 1753.

MR. ROBERT SANDERS.

Sr—Your always agreeable favour of the 1st instant pr. Benthuyse we Recd with the 48 cask flour and the hogsd of beaver; the flour we have according to your order shiptd on board Capt. Danel Seymour for Caracoa who sails to-day. Inclosed you have bills of lading for the same; we have wrote the needfull to Diedenhon about it. Your hhd we have put on board Capt. Bryant, and shall consign it to Mr. Lubenrood, and write him as you desire, unless your letter to him comes in Season. Believe we omitted informing you of the death of Mr. Storke, who is certainly dead. We have no letters since of Mr. Champion but expect to hear from him Daily pr the Dover. We make no Doubt but Mr. Champion will continue the business as usual, and perhaps take in a new partner. We are exceeding sorry to hear you have so bad account of your Ginseng in London, but must say it was what we feared from the begining, we wrote you a few days ago pr Col. John S. Lansing to which Referr. We shall as you desire return Mr. Bogert thanks in your behalf, as you desire for his present of limes. Mr. Hamilton the Govr. of Phila. has not sent us any morey for your account as yet. When he does shall take care to receive it and Credit you as you Desire.

Sr we must now acquaint you of the most odd, shocking and most meloncolly affair that perhaps ever happened in this province, it is as follows: On Sunday afternoon lasi being the 7 instant, between

the hours of two and three o'clock in the afternoon, arrived here from Sandy Hook in the man of war's barge and landed at White Hall Sir Danvers Osbourne Baret the then Governour of this province where he was Reced by the Genm of his Majesties' Council of the Corporation, and many of the principal Genm of the place, who all Expressd all possible Demonstrations of joy, from which place they Conducted him in great honour and gladness to his majesties' fort George: The next day being Munday, our new Govr. was observed in the morning to walk all over the town with several Genm with him, about 10 o'clock our old the then yet Governour Clinton came to town from Long Island where he has been all summer; at his arrival the governours Greeted each other kindly. Munday the Council had prepared an Elegant Entertainment for the new governour att a tavern where the old governour Clinton was also asked but Refused to go; Munday afternoon the new Gover— was also observed to walk about the town which he admired for being much larger and fuller of stately houses than he expected to find; on Tuesday there was nothing done till the afternoon, when word was given that the newe gov Commission was to be read in form. The next day being Wednesday the 10 instant, so that preparation were then ordered to be made; an Elegant Entertainment was ordered for him by the Corporation, so on Wednesday morning the two governours being in the fort where the Council were ordered to appear, when his Commis's was Read in the fort, then he proceeded from thence to the City Hall where it was again Read, in his way to which place as well as in

his return he was attended by the Council Corporation, all the officers of the militia, and all the genm of the place, as well as by all Ranks of People, that never was there so great a Concourse of people seen before, never such loud acclamations, nor never did a people Express so much joy on a Like or any other occasion; in the afternoon he din'd with the Corporation as before recited, but he Complained about 4 o'clock that he was not very well, and so went to his lodgings at Mr. Jos. Murray's; he was not able he said to go to the Common to see the Albany and our Bonfires, where was many Cannon Loaded to fire; however, the Council and other Gentlemen went which answered much the same, and this was the end of Wednesday. Thursday past off without any thing Remarkable;—but now to our mighty and great surprise, on fryday, about 8 o'clock in the morning, this Gentleman, Sir Danvers Osbourn, our governour, was found in Mr. Joseph Murrays Garden, where he had hanged himself with his own handkerchief, and is Dead: he was bled by the Doctor, but all in vain; what Reason Can be Assigned for this we cannot tell, but believe he must have been Disordered in his senses before he came from England; however, cant tell what to ascribe this strange and unaccountable accident to.

James DeLancey, Esq., was Declared immediately thereupon Leut Governour in his Room, by virtue of a Commission Deliverd him by Govr Clinton the morning that Govr Osbourne's Commission was Read, so that in less than 48 hours we have three Governours.—Wereas your Gensing turns out so badly in London, &c., we are very willing to ship this hogsd

and some more parcels that you may [ ]  
to send down Gratis. Bryant's Bill of  
Lading shall be sent you in our next;  
have nothing more at present. Saluting  
you and all yours, we remain,

Sr Your Affecte Kinsmen

ROB'T & RICH'D RAY.

*Superscription.*

Robert Sander, Esq.,

Merchant in Albany.

pr Capt. Benthuyse.

### III

*From the original in the N. Y. Historical Society.*

Upper Falls, July the 11th, 1755.

Dear Brother—This is now the Second  
time of my writing to you, altho I have  
not never heard one word from you, nor  
never had one Line from you, altho you  
Promised to write to me constantly. I  
am now att what with you they call the  
carrying place; it is one hundred and  
fifty mile to the Nor west from Albana;  
theair is too Companies of us, Capt. Wil-  
liams' and Capt. Doughlass Companies,  
one hundred and four men in Each com-  
pany, and theair is too companies up  
above us att Swago, and the Rest of the  
Redjement are Exspected every Day up  
to us, and Governour Shirleys Redje-  
ment is we hear got now to Scanacktoda,  
and will in 7 or Eight Days be with us,  
and five hundred men Raided by York  
are got within too Days' march of us,  
that when we are all come together theair  
will be too thousand and five hundred  
men of us. I am in a very good way now  
to make money, for I have twenty Eight  
Pound a month, and it is paid to me  
Every weak, that if you are not Prudent  
if I live to come home I shall have the  
most money; and I have too holland

Shirts found me by the King, and too  
pair of Shoes, and too pair of Worsted  
Stockings, a good Silver Laced hat, the  
Lace on my hat I could sell for four  
Dolars, and my cloaths is as fine Scarlet  
Broadcloath as Ever you Did see. A  
Serjant here in the King's Redjement is  
counted as good as an Ensign with you,  
and we never Dare to be seen but with  
theair holand Shirts Pleated, and one  
Day in Every Weak we must have our  
wigs or hair powdered, and in a cap I  
dare not never be seen without it is when  
I am a bed. I Dont Know how things  
will turn Sartainly, but att Present you  
may Exspect to see me in the fall if I am  
a Live; but if you have not Listed I De-  
sire once more of you not to inlist if you  
can go waiter to any man that you pleas,  
for I have found what the Difference is  
between a Serjeant and a Waiter, for a  
waiter has no more wages than a Soldier  
and no better cloaths. Here I must con-  
clud this Scroll now with Desiring once  
more the favour of a Line or too att  
Least from you, that I may know whether  
you are a live or not, and so I Remain,  
your Ever Loving Brother,

JAMES GRAY.

if you write to me you must Subscribe  
your Letter,

To James Gray, att the Upper falls,  
Serjant in Capt. Williams Company.

*Superscription.*

To Mr. John Gray, att Fort Masachu-  
setts.

### IV

*Communicated by John Schuyler.*

Saratoga, May 3d, 1778.

Dr Colonel

I thank you for your favor by Mr.  
Fonda, and for the intelligence you have

given me. I had a hint some time ago that Gates would take the command in the highlands as soon as all was prepared, he has the luck of reaping harvest sown by others.

I hope to be down on Wednesday. My compliments to Mr & Mrs Rensselaer. adieu

I am Sir Sincerely Yours &c  
&c &c PH. SCHUYLER.

Col Varick

V

*Communicated by T. Bailey Myers.*

Portsmouth, Sept 14, 1779.

Sir

I received your kind letter the day Col. Jackson's regiment passed through the town. I at first designed to send the miniatures by him, but as he marched directly on it was not in my power; the only mode of conveyance is that you point out, which I follow but fear some accident may befall it. The bill you enclosed is full sufficient for the performance, thank you kindly for that and every favour. I am sensible your own good taste will discover many faults, but sir, your candor will plead an excuse; the painter is young and needs the encouragement of every gentlemen and the instruction of all who have taste. Experience which teaches fools wisdom will teach me to improve, and the kindness of my friends will point out my faults; pray sir, without any reserve, write whatever you find amiss. I hope I shall improve by any hints you'll please to communicate. I want much to make some attempt in Oil Colours, will you kindly give me any instruction about the paints, method of mixing them, where I can pro-

cure anything necessary and what you think best. I write freely, because sir, you are pleased to encourage me; shall I hope to enjoy a share of your correspondence, pray indulge me. I know no way a person in my situation can obtain a total degree of knowledge of mankind, but by conversing with gentlemen of taste, who are constantly conversant with men and things. I cant promise anything in return but a greatfull heart which I hope will always be found in the heart of

Sir your obliged friend and

humble servant,

JOHN PARKER, junr

John Armstrong, Esqr.

A. D. Camp,

Gen. Gates' Quarters, Providence.

VI

*Communicated by the late James W. Beckman.*

12 June, 1780.

Yours of the 3rd May I received only the 5th instant, we are happy to learn you were all in health; may Almighty Goodness keep you all so untill we once more meet and enjoy the inheritance of our Forefathers. The Frowns of that Blessed Power has (for causes hidden from us) greatly distressed us, insomuch that we live in a Melancholly Day. But we hope and pray, that in the midst of these his awful Judgments, he will be pleased to remember mercy. A number of the Enemy said to be come from So Carolina (at which place they have raised the siege), came over to Eliz: Town Point last Tuesday and Wednesday, they advanced as far as Connecticut Farms; in their way they wantonly and crully Burnt 14 or 16 houses, barns, shops &c., and in-

humanly murdered Parson Colwals wife by shooting in the left breast. They intended to march off hand to Moriss Town, being informed that General Washington's army was dispersed to the Southward and Northward, and that the Militia declared they would not fight. But they were convinced of the contrary to their sorrow and loss, for only one Brigade of 1500 of Gen'l Maxwell's men with a handful of militia, drove them into Eliz: Town from whence they retreated to the Point, where they have made redoubts and entrenched themselves, and have not stirred since, except now and then a few of their light Horse have rode about the Town and back again, our men continually popping at them; it is supposed and own'd by the Prisoners that they lost, killed, wounded and taken, five hundred men. I believe we have 40 killed and perhaps 50 or 60 wounded. General Washington with our army now consisting of upwards of Ten thousand men are encamped on Short hills just above Springfield. Men from back of Philadelphia and all points of the country, daily and hourly coming in our Camp, so that in a few days we shall have a most formidable Body. Our People are in high spirits, and wish and want the Enemy to come out of their hole and to have a fair chance at them. The Enemy's numbers are considered to be between 5 and 10,000 men. Several Diserters as well as Prisoners have sworn before our Gen'l that Charles Town was Evacuated by the Enemy on 20th May, and that they came with others from thence, and immediately after their landing on Staten Island, were ordered over to the point to join Gen'l Kniphausen—it is said Tryon, that son of Vulcan, was

with them and that made them Burn so—they have, however, made our militia a great compliment, by saying they fought more like Devils than men. What they further mean to do is uncertain. We are credibly informed that Congress have declared to have had late accounts that a French Fleet may be momentary expected on our coast. May Infinite Mercy speed it and send them to our wanted relief.

I shall write you again shortly. In the meanwhile, I am, &c.,

AN AMERICAN SON OF LIBERTY.

6,000 men are expected this day from Pensilvania under Gen'l Dickinson to join Gen'l Washington.

To James Beekman, Esq., at Kingston, Esopus.

## VII

*Communicated by Frank Moore.*

Navy Department, May 6th, 1814.

Sir.—I had the honor of receiving your favor of the 19th ulto., and very desirous, but unable to answer its object in the affirmative. I was willing to avail myself of whatever favorable circumstances a short time might produce to justify the immediate construction of the vessels in contemplation. I regret that a deliberate view of our Naval plans and operations which cannot be dispensed with, and which are of great magnitude and extent, particularly on all the Lakes, precludes the adoption of the plan at this time; because the present resources of this Department will be absorbed by other branches of the Naval Service.

I was desirous of possessing an approximate estimate of the cost of the engine, and all the machinery connected

with it, which would have enabled me to calculate the cost of the vessel and armament, completely equipped.

The estimate of everything excepting the propelling apparatus is perfectly simple, and may be attained nearly.

I understand that the cost of Steam Engines and Machinery of various power is in proportion to the squares of the diameters of the Cylinders; if this axiom is correct, all that is required is the cost of any one Engine, but of this I am not possessed. The estimate, however, which you have made of the aggregate cost of the vessel, completely equipped for service, I cannot reconcile to any idea I have of the cost of a vessel of the proposed dimensions and description; without Masts, Rigging, Sails, and all the multiplied objects of vast expense, which enter into the engagement of, and constitute so great a part in the cost of a Ship of War. The *Hull* of one of our new 44's built of the best materials, upwards of 1500 tons Naval tonnage, including all the materials of Wood, of Iron, of Copper (except the sheathing), of Lead, and Paints, with workmanship in all those branches, furnished complete, and delivered afloat, cost by *contract* about 95,000 Dollars.

The form of your Model appears well adapted to the purpose, except the depth, which might be considerably reduced, by extending the horizontal dimensions of the vessel, in proportion to the diminution of the displacement by the reduction of the depth; and as the pressure of Water is as its altitude, an equal column near the surface is separated with less power than at a greater depth. Indeed the draught of water may read-

ily be reduced to six feet, provided the space necessary for the Boiler and Cylinder would be sufficient.

The height of your vessel above the surface greatly exceeds that which is necessary for the elevating of the Battery, or the working of the Guns; the wheel might work through the upper deck, and still be protected from the shot of the enemy.

I conceive a serious inconvenience will arise from the thickness of the sides being greater than the length of the longest gun, from the breast of the carriage; consequently the concussion of the explosion will be within the embrasure, and must, by repeated discharges destroy the Breast Work.

You will pardon these suggestions; they are merely offered to be obviated by the fertility of your genius, and that in the event of the future construction of this vessel, we may render her form and properties as perfect as possible.

The Keels I conceive to be an unnecessary appendage, increasing the draught of water without use. If strength is necessary, that can be attained by stout Keelsons inside; and, if lateral resistance is the object, the vertical plane formed by the interior sides of the vessel or still better sliding Keels will answer that end.

The principles and practice of Naval Architecture, having been a favorite study and pursuit, may apologize for the criticisms, upon a subject on which you have bestowed so much thought, but it is the province of genius to elicit perfection from the objections offered to its suggestions. I am very respectfully,

Your Obedient Servt,

W. JONES.

Robert Fulton, Esq., New York.

## VIII

*Communicated by Frank Moore.*

Nov. 5th, 1814.

To James Madison Esquire

Dear Sir.—On Saturday morning, 29th inst., the steam frigate was safely launched, amidst the acclamations of many thousand anxious and now well pleased spectators. She draws 8 feet 2 inches of water, which is 6 inches less than I had calculated. She moves easy and appears to have removed from every mind all doubt of her success. She is prepared for and will carry 32 long 32 pounders, served with red hot shot. I have the pleasure to inform you that thus far she corresponds to my calculations and meets my entire wishes. Her speed from the steam engine will I think be at least four miles an hour. If so, all nautical men agree that her advantages over the enemy's vessels will be numerous and important. I do not hesitate to say that from calm reflection the impression on my mind is that this invention practiced to its utmost powers must produce a total revolution in maritime war and the political relations of the United States with Europe. But this opinion will be proved either correct or erroneous in six or eight weeks, when her machinery shall be finished.

Thus having in prospective a vast object, and resting the following proposal on my success, I will with a frankness which I am certain you estimate more highly than any circuitous measures submit to your contemplation the means which perhaps may be most prompt and efficient for calling into action all the benefits of this new system of maritime war.

It is reported that Mr. Jones intends to resign. If so, and I succeed, might I not be useful in his situation for twelve months? If I do not succeed so as to evidently establish a principle from which will emanate a new epoch in nautical affairs advantageous to our country, I would by no means propose for myself a situation which required much energy of mind and great labor. But with success I should like to have the power to organize and carry my whole system into the most useful effect in the least possible time, for which purpose it is better to have the power to arrange and command than to spend months or years in the slow conversion of minds not occupied on or embracing the whole subject.

In the present state of the war our enemy with not more than 15,000 men to land from their cruisers on our coast, keep 100,000 of our Regulars and Militia under arms to guard our Cities and Vulnerable points, which causes much embarrassment to the treasury and loss of productive labor to the farmer and Artisan. Should I treat the subject as a political economist, I would say 100,000 men at 50 cents a day each on an average equal \$50,000 a day or per annum \$18,250,000.

Interest on this sum at 7 per cent. . . \$1,277,500  
 The productive labor of 100,000 men  
 at 60 cents a day each for 300 working day in the year—lost equal. . . 18,000,000

Total sum lost to the nation per annum \$19,277,500  
 That is 18 expended in resting on arms or non-productive labor, which might be advantageously applied in productive labor if arms were not required, and 18 millions of valuables which would have been produced by labor well applied.

It follows that nine-tenths of this expense on land forces could be saved if the Coast and harbors were well guarded. And it appears a reasonable conclusion that if we construct vessels which have Locomotion independent of wind or tide which can take any position in a calm and destroy vessels in that state of weather, a prudent Enemy would not risk to come into our waters to land troops or hope to reembark them if repulsed, when one hour of calm or light breezes would subject his whole fleet to destruction.

Hence if 20 Steam Ships were constructed at \$250,000 each.....	\$5,000,000
The interest on it at 7 per cent.....	350,000
300 persons to each vessel or 6000 at one dollar a day each equal \$6000 a day or per annum.....	2,190,000
Loss of labor of 6000 men who might be employed in the merchant service at 60-100 each per day.....	1,080,000
Total per annum.....	\$3,620,000
Instead of.....	\$19,277,500

But on this subject my Ideas extend further than our waters. When we prove steam vessels of war to be superior to vessels with sails, France, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia and Turkey, who are minor maritime powers, will use them in their narrow seas against England and each other, while in the British Channel, the Baltic and Mediterranean such attacks on the present vessels will be their annihilation, yet steamships cannot act on the Atlantic. Consequently that and every other extensive ocean must be free, for they are now deprived of freedom by vessels, all of which are constructed and come from narrow seas, where steam vessels can act to advantage.

To this may added that when France again contends with England 40 steam vessels which would only cost 10 millions of dollars, stationed at Boulogne or Calais would convey 120,000 troops to England in 7 hours in a calm when British ships could not act, which coercion on England would produce moderation in her demands and more equality of maritime rights. Such is my view of this subject; if it meets yours and there is to be a new appointment, I hope it will comport with your arrangements and the interests of the nation to suspend decision for a few weeks. Not ambitious of office, I offer my services only on the condition that the Acts will enable me to be useful to my country; having thus explained, as to a friend whether presiding over America or retired to the calm retreat of Philosophy, whatever may be your conclusion, I shall feel that it will proceed from your better knowledge of political circumstances and of men more useful and I shall be content esteeming and respecting you as I ever have.

Please to accept of my wishes  
for your health and happiness  
R. FULTON.

## IX

*Communicated by Samuel W. Francis.*

MR. MONROE.

Dear Sir.—I leave town at three o'clock to return west, will speed to New York. I inclose you the terms of a contract concerning the transport of troops on the Ohio and Mississippi, which is much cheaper than can be done by any other means. Mr. Dallas informed me that you conceived the plan important to Government, and any fund



could be applied to transport, he could furnish it in treasury notes, which I am willing to receive, if therefore, you approve the principles of the contract the papers can be made out here and sent to me at New York to execute. I have now only to say my whole heart and exertions are with the administration. All I ask is find me funds and give me the protection the arts and my exertions merit. The case of Dr. Thornton is very simple, if he is an inventor, a genius who can live by his talents, let him do so, but while he is a Clerk in the office of the Secretary of State and paid by the public for his services, he should be forbid to deal in patents, and thereby torment patentees, involving them in vexatious suits, he should have his choice to quit the office or his pernicious practices. My good sir I expect this justice of you.

I am, with sincere respect,

ROBT. FULTON.

Washington, Decem. 27, 1814.

## JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE OF CHARLES CLINTON

FROM IRELAND TO AMERICA 1729

A Journal of my voyage and Travels from the County of Longford in The Kingdom of Ireland To Pensilvania in America, Anno Dom 1729.

I Took my Journy from The County of Longford on friday The 9th day of May; Came to Dublin ye 12th Ditto. Enter'd on Ship Board The Ship Call'd the George and Ann ye 18th. Sett Sail the 20th.

Came to Anchor at Glanarm on The

24th, where Mattw. McClaughry and his wife and 2 of his family went on Shoar and Quit Their Voyage.

Sett Sail from Glanarm on ye 25th, and Came to anchor at Green Castle in The Lough of Foyle the 26th, where we stay'd till ye 29th; then Sett Sail in Company with The John of Dublin, bound for Newcastle in The Same Country.

Ditto Came In Sight of Loughsully [Lough Swilly] ye 30th: Sail'd by Torry [Tory Island] and Horn-head.

On the 30th at night a Strong winde arose yt Continued to ye first of June at Evening which Loosened our bowsprit with Hazard of our masts.

June ye 2d we had a fair breeze for Our westerly Course.

On the 3d ditto my Daughter Kattn. & Son James fell Sick of The measles.

A Strong Gale of westerly wind Continues to ye 10th ditto.

James Wilson's Child Died ye 5th.

On the 7th met ye Mary from pensilvania from wh She Sail'd to us in 5 weeks and 5 days.

On The 8th ditto a Child of James McDowel's died and was thrown overboard.

On the Tenth ye winde came to East and be South.

On ye 11th changed more Easterly and Continues fair and Seasonable.

On the 12th the winde Blew north & be East, a fresh Gale by which we Sail'd 40 Leagues in 20 hours—and found we were in 49° 20 north Latitude by observation.

The wind Changed on ye 14th to ye South, and So Continued to ye 15th, being Sunday morning; one of ye Serv'ts

aboard belonging to one Gerald Cruise threw himself over Deck & was Drown'd.

On ye 15th do. my Daughter Kattn fell Sick of ye measels.

A Serv't of mr. Cruises's Dyed on ye 17th and was thrown over Deck. the wind Came to be S & Continued a violent fresh Gale to ye 18th.

The 19th & 20th we had a south be west wind, on the 21st being Sunday we had a perfect Calm in Latt 27° 30.

A Serv't of mr Cruise's Died, on Monday a Child of James Thompsons Died.

On Tuesday ye 23 Child of John Brooks Died; we had a fair wind on ye 22d. 23d then another Child of James Thompson's died.

On the 28th a Child James majore Died and one of Robt. Frazer's.

We now have w: n: w: wind.

Tuesday ye 1st of July a fair wind.

July ye 3d a Child of John Brooks Died.

A Child a Daughter of Will mcCalihan's Died.

Do a Child of John Brooks Died.

July ye 5th Came in Sight of the Island of Corvo and Flores [Azores] which Belongs to the portegees the Lye in the Lattd of 40°: 09 north and 32: 23 west Longitude. A Child of James McDowel's Died July ye 7th.

Ditto Robt. Todd Died.

A Return of the persons that Died on board of ye George and Ann.

James Wilson's Child; James McDowel's Child; a Serv't of mr. Cruise's, another Serv't of his, another Serv't of his; a Child of James Thompson's; a Child of John Brooks'; a Child of James McJore's; a Child of James Thompson's; a Child of Robt. Frazer's; a Child

of Thom Delap's; a Serv't of Cruise's; a Child of John Beatty's; a Child of John Brooks'; a Girle of Robt. Frazer's; a Child of Alex Mitchell's; a Son of James majore's; Robt. Todd; a Son of James McDowel's; a Serv't of Cruise's, another Serv't of Cruises; a Child of Walter Davis; John Darbie; Thom Cowan; John McCay; a Son of Rob't Frazer's; another Son of his; a Son of Chris Beatty's; a Brother of Will Hamilton's; Will Gray; my own Daughter on 2 of August at night; a Child of James Majores; a Daughter of widdow hamilton; James Majore's wife; Thom Delap's wife: Alex Mitchell; a Child of James Thompson's; Walter Davis his wife; Widdow Hamilton; Rob't Gray; a child of widdow Hamilton; Walter Davis; Jane Armstrong; a child of Jam majores; An Other Servant of Cruise's; William Gordon; Isabel mcCutchan; My Son James on ye 28th of Agust: 1729 at 7 in ye morning; a Son of James majores; a brother of And'w McDowell's; two Daughters of James McDowells; a Daughter of walter Davis's; Robert frazer; Patt mcCann Ser't to Tho. Armstrong; Will Hamilton; James Greer Ser't to Alex mitchell; Widdow Gordon's Daughter; James mondy died thursday 11th of 7br; a Ser't of mr. Cruise's; a Son of John Beattys; Fran. Nicholson; a Sister of andw McDowel's; A Daughter of John Beatty's; two of mr. Cruise's men Ser'ts; Margery Armstrong; A serv't of mr. Cruise's; Two of John Beatty's Children; James Thompson's wife; James Brown; a Daughter of James McDowells; a Daughter of Thom Delaps; a Ser't of mr. Cruise's; a Child of widdow mitchell's; John oliver's wife; James ma-

jore's Eldest Daughter; John Crook a Sailor; Jos. Stafford; John McDowell; John Beatty; andw McDowell's Sister; James wilson's wife; James McDowell's wife; Sarah Hamilton will Ham'tn's Sister; Thom Armstrong died monday ye 29th of 7br; John Beatty's wife; Isabella Johnston; Edw'd Norris; margt McClaughry; widdow Frazer's Daughter; Andw McDowell's Brother; Jos. McClaughry; mattw McClaughry; a young Sister of andw McDowell's; Thom Delap and his Daughter Katherin; James Barkly—

Discover'd Land on ye Continent of america ye 4th day of 8br 1729.

NOTE.—The Charles Clinton, whose journal is here above printed, was the founder of the family of Clintons distinguished in the annals of the State of New York.

EDITOR.

## DEATH OF DIEGO VELAZQUEZ.

FROM NOTES TO SERVE FOR A HISTORY OF CUBA, BY DON FRANQUILINO SANDALIO DE NODA.

*Communicated by Señor Hilario Cisneros.*

This interesting fact in our history seems to be enveloped in the clouds of the confused chronology of the olden time. I devote these few lines to establish in a measure the certain date of this event, with all the more satisfaction because the materials gathered by the Historical section of the Royal Society, and published in 1830, in the first volume of its Collections, have left the said date an uncertain problem.

I believe that Velazquez' died at the close of the year fifteen hundred and twenty-four (1524), that is, two years later than the date fixed by Senor Sirgado in his ninth note to the Key of the New World. The Historical section in-

serted on page 453 of the first volume of its Collections, an engraving of a sepulchral tablet, the inscription on which states that Velazquez died in 1522.—Upon it, notwithstanding its injured condition is clearly to be read in its centre, HIC JACET . . . DIDACUS VELAZQUEZ. not so the close, upon the fragments of which put together with difficulty, these middle words can hardly be distinguished YVIT IN ANNO . . . OM. DXXII . . . and according to the engraving end in a crumbled border. It is by no means improbable that the stone cutter cut the figures IIII,<sup>2</sup> and that the two last characters perished in the crumbling away of the stone. So also he might have cut the figures IV, and the loss have occurred in the run of the lower stroke of the V; although the first supposition seems the more probable from the appearance of the sketch. Likewise with all due respect to the author, the sketch may not be exact because of gross errors and carelessness in the inscription itself. In fact, the Society interprets it (and correctly) DEI OMNI POTENTIS AC SUI REGIS:<sup>3</sup> MIGRAVIT IN ANNO A DOMINO M D &c., but how to fill up with a single A the space which the fracture occupies after the word *Omnipotentis*, a space sufficient for four letters? how leave blank so much stone after the word REGIS and believe that five letters are wanting from the word *Migravit* in the space of the fracture, which according to the drawing affords room for no more than two? How read the seven from the word *domino* in the lower fracture, capable only of taking three letters, and abbreviate it as you choose, yet something will be still wanting to fill the smooth place which

divides vertically in two the top of the shield? Nevertheless, the Society has imagined nothing. It has only given a reading which the middle words preserved naturally suggest; thus attributing to the drawing these difficulties, and noting in passing those which are to be found on the stone itself, Valdez copied it in his history, wherein it reads, if my recollection serves:

DEI OMNIPOTENTIS (*here the stone is broken.*) CUI REGIS, (*here also broken.*)<sup>a</sup> IVIT, ANNO DOMI—M. D. XXII.

This IVIT is a part of the word MIGRAVIT.

In the drawing, the border of the stone appears to be injured as far as the date; and it would not be strange that a part of it should still remain.

This investigation would appear unnecessary and absurd if it were not directed to ascertain the truth of history which this curious monument appears to contradict.

If we examine the facts which present themselves, it will appear that the most striking contradictions will be harmonized.

The ninth note to the *Llave del Nuevo Mundo* refers to this circumstance, speaking of Velazquez. \* \* \* "His death was in the year 1524;" and Arrate quotes from Herrera, third decade, Book 7, Chapter II, and also cites Ynca's *Historia de la Florida*; and he was not in error since the following Chapter, paragraph 2d, reads thus: "In the year 1523 or 1524, after the death of the Adelantado, the King granted permission, &c., without naming any person," and Sirgado and Acosta confirm the quotation of Herrera. (Memoirs Volume I, pp. 294, 303, 305.)

The Society in regard to this last statement of Arrate, quotes an interesting document which reads as follows: "There is mention in a history written by a learned pen immediately after the death of Velazquez about the year 1521," (Idem page 309.) No authority is quoted in its support; but this profound author is of such weight in the historic balance that his assertion is an almost irrefutable proof.

Acosta in his eulogium on Diego Velazquez (Idem page 303) asserts that his dispute with Cortez was brought to judgment the 15th October, 1522; that Velazquez was informed of the decision in May, 1523, and that this chief died the following year. He quotes Herrera also—3d decade.

Everything tends to confirm the idea that his death took place in 1524, and we have besides the testimony of Arango, which ascribes the change of 4 to 1 to an error of the scribe or of the printer, because of the similarity between these two figures in the greater part of our old manuscripts; Why then has the date 1522 been preferred? Only because of the stone to which we have made reference; upon the testimony of which the present Cuba Court-guide assures us that the death of the Adelantado happened in 1523. I take the liberty to correct this passage of Arango, because this most faithful writer quotes history with which it can alone be reconciled by the aforesaid correction. Sirgado somewhat to the discredit of the famous inscription tells us that the year of the death of Velazquez "Herrera assures us was the year 1524; Fernando Pizarro de Orel-

lana 1523, and Captain Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo the same year." These are the words of Oviedo:

*"This Adelantado Diego Velazquez was one of those poor hidalgos who came over the second voyage to this island of Hispaniola. \* \* \* Later in the year 1524 having resolved to go in person to make complaint of Cortes to the Emperor \* \* \* death the final disposer of quarrels crossed his plans and his days were ended. \* \* \* and so died the Adelantado Diego Velazquez. (Memoirs, volume I, page 362; Chronicle of Oviedo, book 17, chapter 20.*

This time agrees with that given by the same author in the chapter following, in which although not fixing the date he establishes it by enlarging upon various occurrences which took place on occasion of the resistance of Cortes to the expedition of Garay, the date of which is known from the letters of Cortes, of which he makes brief mention. It also agrees with that given by Herrera and, what is more, with the report of Cortes to the Emperor not only at the time, but also in its enchainment with the events which followed.

May it not be said that all these authorities confound themselves in one, since Arrate and Acosta both refer to Herrera, and he, writing eighty years after the occurrence, refers to others of necessity; thus Oviedo appears to be the only one who was contemporaneous, yet still easily disposed to accept facts from sources not very worthy of faith (Memoirs *ibid.* page 376); and finally that a monument erected in honor of a hero is more authentic than the pages of subsequent historians.

I maintain that although the modern Acosta is not named, although the laborious and close student Arrate be not held of much account, yet the wise man in whom the Monarch placed his confidence, who wrote with the archives under his eyes, and whom America held as first among her historians, should have surely more weight than a few fragments of broken stone. And even if it be conceded that he was in error, is it likely that Oviedo, an ocular witness, who, moreover, wrote his chronicle by order of his Sovereign was also in error? What! because he accepted certain facts which were misrepresented, shall he on this account wrench them from their chronological base and scatter them through another era? Of what service this stupid and insignificant anachronism to him? And further, how alter a date without confusing and upsetting all those of the succeeding events which it will include in its change, so many of which are important in the history of the conquest. But let the reader not yet form his opinion: I propose carefully to examine and collate other authorities of even more importance, because they are official documents brought to the high notice of his Majesty by the greatest enemy of Velazquez.

On the 15th of May, 1522, Cortes complained to the Emperor of a conspiracy to deprive him of his command and his life, and "to place the government of the land in the hands of Diego Velazquez;" the movement was a failure, but the friends of Velazquez were not discouraged. This affair in which the devoted Solis suffered accusation, imprisonment, sentence and execution all in a night; in

which the same Cortes confessed himself to have been at once the party injured, and the judge who pronounced the sentence of death; this affair which was so discreditable to Cortes; could he have had the audacity to suppose it directed by a person who never existed, thus adding to the wickedness of the case, the imposture of the accusation? This is incredible. (See Cortes' Carta de Relacion, page 316.) The most enthusiastic admirer of the Marquis del Valle must admit that he has here opened a fair field to his enemies; and he was not so senseless as to furnish materials to his own prejudice.

Temijtitan was captured the 13th August, 1521, and later took place the submission of Catzol (Catzul-tzin) King of Michoacan; then followed the discovery of the Southern Sea and the description of it; and on the 30th of October, he (Cortes) sent orders from Cuyoacan to Sandoval to conquer Guatusco, where he arrived *twenty-five days later*, that is, the 24th of November. *Fifteen days after*, that is, the 9th December, he asked permission for its colonization; and the foundation of Medellin in Fujtebeque was ordered. Others on the testimony of Cortes may stretch the date to the end of January, 1522. Oajaca (Huaxacac) conquered, the rebuilding of Temijtitan was begun.

After this Cortes conceived the idea of establishing a colony in the river of Páaneo near Tampico, and the expedition was already dispatched thither when the news came of the arrival of Cristobal de Tapia at Vera Cruz; which following all these precedent dates we must believe to have been in January or Feb-

ruary, 1522. Twelve days later the Governor of Vera Cruz wrote that Cristobal de Tapia after delivering his credentials immediately marched to the east; his stay in New Spain I believe to have been of a month's duration, or nearly so.

*On the thirty-first of January, fifteen hundred and twenty-two* Alvarado left *this city* (that is to say, *Cuyocoan*, for *Segura* was only a town) to conquer Tujtepec forty leagues beyond Oajaca: a difficult enterprise, because his force only numbered forty horses and two pieces of cannon. On the 4th of March Cortes received dispatches from him with advices of a happy termination of the conquest; in virtue of which he established on the Pacific Ocean a naval station for the construction of four ships. After the *fifteenth of May*, when the third Relation was sent to the King, Segura was transferred from the frontier (*Tepeaca*, *Tepeiacac*) to Tujtepec or *Tututepec*; and while Cortes was yet engaged in the conquest of Panneo a disturbance arose in the new Segura. This pacified, there took place the second rebellion of Tujtepec on the border of Panneo; which being suppressed with terrible loss to the natives, there arrived at Espiritu-Santo (the river of Guazacoalco) Juan Bono de Quejo, who was well known to Oviedo, proceeding from Cuba by order of Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, *with the advice and consent of Diego Velazquez* (Idem, page 338). The Relation does not inform us of this date; but, considering the proceeding movements which I have purposely indicated here, I presume it to have been in August or September. Nor yet is it found to be fixed by the arrival of a ship by which Cortes knew

that Velasquez and Garay were conferring in that island with Admiral Colon against his interest and planning an expedition to Panneo; but I conjecture that it was at the beginning of the year fifteen hundred and twenty-three, because hardly had the said expedition arrived ere the Royal decree arrived also, by which Garay was warned "not to meddle with the said river nor with any place which Cortes had founded, his majesty being content in its being in his 'Royal Name.'" This was either the letter which was published in Cuba in May of the same year (*Herrera and Acosta citing the fact*), or in consequence of it, but before the government of Cortes was in judicial contention; I believe that I have a fact by which this date may be conjectured, noting in passing that I think the arrival of the pilot Bono to have been later even than the period which I have indicated. Nor yet are reasons wanting for the belief that in the middle of the year 1523 Velasquez sent to Garay from the island a "three masted vessel, in which came sundry friends and servants of Diego Velazquez" (Cortes, page 352), since in January, 1524 all the reports which the arrival of the Governor gave rise to had already ceased. They found the expeditions of Olid and of Alvarado on the point of starting; but in view of the Royal decree after the arrival of the said ship Garay crossed to Mexico; his son died in the revolt of Panneo and he himself was killed in a quarrel on the continent, all the Spanish garrison of Tamiquil perishing except a Jamaica Indian; Panneo reconquered, Cortes dispatched Olid to Hibueras now Honduras; the expedi-

tion sailing from the harbor of Chalchicoaca, near Vera Cruz, on the eleventh day of the month of January, in the year of 1524 (*Cortes, page 368*) and destined for Havana, arrived at Honduras." Can it be pretended that he occupied the whole of the year 1523 in two trips to Panneo! Alvarado sailed for Guatemala the 6th of December next preceding the departure of Olid, and on the 12th of January arrived at Teguntepeque: this may serve to estimate the time consumed in the other expeditions;

As the Relations of Cortes, after the manner of the commentaries of Cæsar, were written in the midst of the expeditions they narrate, there is hardly any other than a chronological order, and on this account many dates are omitted; those which he cites from time to time serving as inference for those which are intermediate. Thus on page 374 he says that the ships which he constructed on the Pacific were to sail in June; and on page 384 he writes that this was in July, 1524; and on page 399 he concludes this Relation, dating it in October of the same year. In chapter 14 of the fourth Relation, page 372, he speaks of the expedition which Rangel again conducted to Zapotecas, sailing from Temijtitlan the fifth of February of the year 1524; later Gonzalo Salazar arrived at San Juan de Chalchicoaca with advices from Velazquez and Cortes, announced to the Emperor that he had been placed in relation with Olid in these terms: "Arrived two days since Gonzalo Salazar, Agent of Your Majesty at the port of San Juan of this New Spain, from whom I have learned that in the island of Cuba, where he stopped,

Diego Velazquez, Lieutenant Admiral there, had concluded an arrangement with Captain Christobal Olid whom I sent to colonize Hibueras in the name of Your Majesty and that it was agreed between them that he should hold the land for the said Diego Velazquez, &c." Although this was but a vague rumor which Cortes could not have really credited, and though it does not prove the truth of the accusation, yet it proves the existence of the person accused; and very fully does he speak of him and what he thought he would do in the future up to the close of the chapter. Then follows another with political and economic observations, and the Relation immediately closes with the date, Temijtitlan the 15th October, 1524.

So far I have confined myself to extracts from the Letters of the Relation of the Captain-General of New-Spain to the Emperor and King. I have extended it even to the point of tediousness, to give all the quotations which affect Velazquez, and to show the precedent and subsequent military operations in order clearly to manifest the inevitable connection of the one with the other, and the impossibility that all these dates are erroneous, as might be supposed if we only found a single event cited alone. It must be remembered also that Hernando Cortes always wrote his dates in letters and not in figures, except on one single occasion, the beginning of the second letter. But the enchainment of events and dates from 1521 to 1524, and his interest in presenting to the Emperor every thing in his power to destroy Velazquez, are evidence that this latter was alive at the beginning of the last named

year. Cortes thought of sending to Cuba to sieze the Governor, and wrote to this effect to the Emperor in October of the same year (*Ibid. page 389*), and it would be madness to suppose that he formed such a project against an individual dead two or three years before, and whose death by reason of his high command and his proximity, could not fail to be known to the court of Culna within thirty or forty days, considering the constant communication of Vera Cruz and Santesteban (Tampico) with Havana and Trinidad; which were the constant supply ports for the troops of New-Spain.

Finally, the conqueror of Otumba complained of this adversary and manifested his anxiety to cut off this source of all his troubles; which proves that he was alive when he wrote, which was in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-four; to which Oviedo, Herrera, Arrate and Acosta have likewise given testimony.

Are further proofs necessary? It would be necessary to revise all the chronicles of the Indies, to upset all the archives of Hispaniola which are preserved in the Royal Court of Puerto Principe. What is alleged against their correctness but an obscure stone, its date injured and in part illegible, which far from denying that to which history bears witness, leads us to suppose that its numeration may be continued in its border? Cast a look upon the engraving and say in good faith whether it is impossible that two II should follow in the broken border, where close proximity to the last letter leads one to fear that one may have been destroyed which went further. It may be replied that these are gratuitous suppositions. Nothing of



the kind. They supply a most plausible reason for the discordance between this funereal monument and the historic dates. Of little consequence is to us whether the unhappy conqueror of the *Island of the nine kingdoms* died in this or any other year. But it is of importance that the world shall see that in writing history we search after truth without regard to authorities, which to-morrow may prove to be fictitious. I would ask of any one, who opposes to me the inscription, where it is established in what year it was made? More need not be said. This is not a matter for passion, but merely for the establishment of the truth. I believe that the stone is authentic; that it was made for Velazquez; but made IN ANNO A DOMINO MDXXIII, and if anything else be read there, it is because of time and the carelessness of those who should have watched over the monument. In this manner history and the monument are of accord without need of new Alcazabas impostures, nor of calumnation of the chroniclers. I have said *I believe* on the evidence of the thing itself which is not self-contradictory, but if the doubt be pushed to the end, have I not finished with all the difficulties which may arise? May not this disputed stone have never been placed over the remains of the Adelantado? May it not have been raised long after his death to adorn the place of his sepulchre? May not the inscription have been dictated by an ignorant master, without sufficient information? The impossibility of this must be proved before this date can be accepted as incontrovertible. Historians and critics have had grave doubts concerning the

epitaphs of Ataulp and of Pepin; and it would be nothing strange that in the beginning of our little stone monuments that should be renewed which happened to the first of the Goths and the first of the Carolingians. But I have good reasons for my belief in the said Cuban stone. Its inscription, rude and incorrect as it appears to us, is in such entire harmony with the ideas of the period, that it carries with it the seal of its authenticity. If the date is uncertain it is for the reasons indicated; and I should have been as it were blinded, but for the other lights on the question. It is not to be supposed that a blind and servile admiration for all that relates to Cortes could bring me to pile up all the subterfuges and sophisms Solis has in honor of this hero. I admire the conqueror of Tlajcala and of Culna, but I find in the life of this emulator of Caesar actions which, if necessity warranted, the heart must still refuse to approve, and I am not imposed upon either by the partial chronicle of Gomara or the studied phrases of Solis. And it is not the respect with which his unheard of achievements impress me, but the force of his testimony as a man, as an ocular witness, who wrote in the sight of his enemies, face to face with historians of his time, which leads me to my opinion, and at the same time the want of any proof to the contrary; since the only one which appears has not, unfortunately, the necessary weight. To him who is too eager to criticise nothing is invulnerable, but since Sirgardo, in the note we have cited, supposes that which I believe, I do not hesitate to say to the Historical Society that it may assert with

impartiality that the *Adelantado Diego Velazquez* was alive in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-four.

<sup>1</sup> VELAZQUEZ.—The name is thus spelled in the chronicles of the time. It should be written Velasquez as patronymic of Velasco, Vasco Blasco or Blas, which are all one.

<sup>2</sup> The tomb of Cardinal Ximenes of the same year as the death of Velazquez was inscribed in the same manner. It reads: F. FR. XIMENEZ CAR. FOL. ARCH. HISP. GUB. AFFRO. DEBELL. HANC SS. CORPORIS XPTI CUSTODIAM FIERI JUSSIT, & SEDE JAM VACANTE PERFECTA EST. OPERRIO DIDACUS LOPEZ DE AYALA ANNO DNO M. D. XXIII.

<sup>3</sup> The copy by Valdez reads:  
ETIAM SUMPTIBUS, HANO  
INSULAM DEBELLAVIT, AC PACIFICAVIT  
HIC JACET NOBILISSIMUS, AC MAGNIFICENTISSI-  
MUS  
DOMINUS DIDACUS VELAZQUEZ INSULAREM JU-  
CATANI PRAESES,  
QUI EAS SUMMO OPERE DEBELLABIT IN HONOREM  
DEI OMNIPOTENTIS AC . . . (here the stone is  
broken)  
CUI REGIS D . . . (here also) IVIT IN  
ANNO DOMI MDXXII.

## NOTES

EARLY LEGISLATIVE RECORDS OF KENTUCKY.—Probably no State in the Union has lost by fire all the printed records of its earlier legislation except Kentucky; certainly the legislative "Journals" and volumes of "Acts" of no other State have so often been the victims of the destroying element.

The first permanent state house or capitol of Kentucky—i. e., the first one built for the purpose, was in 1793-94. In some one of its various rooms or offices were stored all the volumes printed by the "Printer to the Commonwealth," except such as were promptly distributed

by order of the Legislature, in the years of their publication respectively. On November 25, 1813, this state house and these volumes were destroyed by fire. The second permanent state house was built in 1814-16, and ten years after, on November 4, 1824, it was burned, and all the accumulated volumes perished in the flames.

On December 12, 1825, at 3 o'clock P. M., a church building or meeting-house near the site of the burnt capitol, and in which the House of Representatives was at that very hour holding its sessions, caught fire in the roof, and was burned down, carrying with it the printed volumes of the twelve-month preceding, and many of previous years which the State had recently secured by purchase from individuals.

In the five years spent in preparing my recent "History of Kentucky," 2 vols., 8vo, 1,600 pp., I labored at great disadvantage in endeavoring to supply a connected sketch or outline of early legislation in Kentucky, because of the repeated and sweeping destruction by fire of the volumes issued by the state printer. I know of but three volumes, or years, in existence (and they in private hands), of the legislative "Journals" for the first twenty-two years of the life of the State of Kentucky, 1792-1814. Of the "Acts" passed at each annual session, I have in my private library a volume for each "year of the Commonwealth" from the beginning, June, 1792, to 1830—except the 7th, 8th, 9th, 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th years, or 1797, 1798, 1799, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806. I have purchased these from individuals, as I have been able to find

them; and would be glad to complete the set, if those wanting are in existence. The Kentucky State Library has none of the volumes earlier than 1810.

For the first four years, 1792-1795, both inclusive, John Bradford was "Printer to the Commonwealth." He was the first newspaper editor and publisher in Kentucky, and (excepting one at Pittsburgh) the first west of the Alleghenies, having begun the *Kentucke Gazette* at Lexington on the 11th day of August, 1787, nearly five years before Kentucky became a State and was admitted into the Union. The matter intended for that number was set in type on board of a covered flat-boat, then called a "Kentucky boat," while descending the Ohio river to Limestone (now Maysville), or else at Limestone while waiting for pack-horses to transport it over the great "buffalo trace," *via* the Lower Blue Lick Spring, to Lexington. It was called the *Kentucke Gazette* until the number of March 14, 1789, when it was changed to the *Kentucky Gazette*, in consequence of the Legislature of Virginia requiring certain advertisements to be inserted in the Kentucky Gazette.

Mr. Bradford was succeeded as public printer by James H. Stewart, editor of the *Kentucky Herald*, at Lexington, the second newspaper established in the State (1795). In 1799 William Hunter was elected printer to the Commonwealth, and so continued for ten years. He had established the third paper in the State in 1797 at Washington, Mason County, called *The Mirror*, which he removed in 1798 to Frankfort and changed the name to *The Palladium*. He continued pub-

lishing at Frankfort until 1825, when, desiring a life of less care, his friend, Hon. Amos Kendall, procured him a clerkship in the office of the Fourth Auditor of the U. S. Treasury at Washington. This he filled until his death in October, 1854, aged 84. He was elected a member of the Legislature of Kentucky in 1824, a mark of respect from his fellow-citizens of Franklin county which he remembered with pride.

William Gerard, alone or in partnership, had the public printing for the years from 1809 to 1817. His partner in the latter year was Amos Kendall, afterwards celebrated as a Democratic editor and as Postmaster-General of the United States. Mr. Kendall had a share in the public printing until December, 1825, when he was defeated by Jacob H. Holman. A turn in the political wheel took him to Washington, and his life was thenceforth much more eventful. At his death he left a large fortune, which cannot be said of any other man who ever held the honorable position of public printer of Kentucky. He accumulated but little at the printing business.

RICHARD H. COLLINS.

*Louisville, Ky.*

RUSSIA AND TURKEY.—In the height of the struggle between these powers, the following extract of a letter from John Jay to Gouverneur Morris is of interest, as showing how the possession of Constantinople by Russia was looked upon a century ago.

"Passy, 24 September, 1783.

"Dear Morris. \* \* While there are knaves and fools in the world, there will

be wars in it; and that nations should make war against nations is less surprising than their living in uninterrupted peace and harmony.

"You have heard that the Ottoman and Russian Empires are on the point of unsheathing the sword. The objects of the contest are more easy to discern than the issue; but if Russia should extend her navigation to Constantinople, we may be the better for it. That circumstance is additional motive to our forming a treaty of commerce with her. Your commercial and geographical knowledge render it unnecessary for me to enlarge on this subject."—*From Jay's Life, Vol. II, p. 131.*

HISTORICUS.

HARRISON'S WIT.—President Harrison was a man of ready wit and repartee. On the occasion of his inauguration the striking resemblance to him of a New York gentleman then in Washington was observed by a bystander. To which the President instantly replied: "That was natural enough as their fathers were brothers-in-arms." The fathers of both were revolutionary officers. J. A. S.

WEBSTER VS. HAYNE.—In his great argument on the Foote resolutions Webster said that he had slept on his adversary's speech "and slept soundly." Nevertheless he admitted that he awakened in the middle of the night, and turned over the pages of murdered Macbeth to be sure of his quotation on "the ghost of the coalition." This settled, he slept and slept soundly. J. A. S.

AMERICAN PORTRAITS IN SPAIN.—I visited this day the house of the agent

of the Marquis de Campotéjar, and saw some fine pictures. Among others hanging on the wall were portraits painted on glass of Admiral Hopkins of Rhode Island, John Hancock, and General Sullivan. Portraits painted on glass were common at the close of the last century.

*Grenada, March 16, 1878.* M.

AN AMERICAN ADMIRER OF SWIFT.—*Philad. March 29, 1729.* Friend Jonathan Swift—Having been often agreeably amused by thy Tale, &c., &c., and being now loading a small ship for Dublin, I have sent thee a gammon, the product of the wilds of America; which perhaps may not be unacceptable at thy table, since it is only designed to let thee know that thy wit and parts are here in esteem at this distance from thy place of residence. Thou needest ask no questions who this comes from, since I am a perfect stranger to thee.—*Swift's Works, Edited by Nichols, XVII, 261.*

PETERSFIELD.

A FAMOUS POST RIDER.—There is now living in the parish of Ripton in Stratford, Mr. Ebenezer Hurd, now in the 84th year of his age, who began to ride post from New York to Saybrook in the year 1727, and continued to ride for 48 years successively once in two weeks, and in each tour rode 254 miles.

This multiplied by 1,248, which is the number of post nights in 48 years, amounts to 316,992 miles, which is more than equal to twelve and a half times round the globe, allowing its circumference to be 25,920 miles, and is near as far as to the moon and half way back. A man might reach the sun, if he would

travel at the same rate, 14,490 years.—  
*New Haven Gazette, January 19, 1786.*

W. K.

A PENNSYLVANIA LOCAL—*Greensburg, Penn. April 16, 1803.* In order to understand the object of the following communication, it may not be improper to observe that the little village of Mount Pleasant has, by some wags, been branded with the opprobrious name of *Hell Town*; and that the citizens thereof have adopted the following mode of abolishing it. Whether it will answer the end proposed, we will not pretend to say; but we cannot help expressing a wish that the scorching which his Satanic Majesty has received may operate as a warning to his children should they attempt to disturb the tranquility of the place.

"On Monday, the 11th inst., a number of citizens of Mount Pleasant and its vicinity assembled at the hour of 9 o'clock and formed the Devil in effigy, and carried him in procession, attended by a musician playing the rogue's march. At the hour of two they burned him, attended by a large concourse of people amidst a discharge of musketry. The intention of the above was to abolish the name of Hell Town, and establish that of Mount Pleasant." *Commercial Advertiser, May 2, 1803.* PETERSFIELD.

STORMONT AT THE COURT OF FRANCE,  
1776.—

While Stormont grac'd with *ribbon green*  
Keeps France from mixing in the riot,  
Till Briton's lion vents his spleen  
And tears his rebel whelps in quiet.

*Gentleman's Magazine, 1777.*

R. E.

FIRST FRENCH PROTESTANT BURIAL  
IN QUEBEC.—On the 12th of this month died here in the 34th year of his age Mr. Joseph Senith, merchant. He was born at Cosade, near Aux, the capital of Gascony, but has resided some years past in this Province. He is the first French Protestant we have lost since the conquest of the place, and the only one that ever was admitted in it to the rights of burial.—*Letter from Quebec, Aug. 30, 1764, in an English newspaper.*

S.

INDIANS OF THE ANTILLES.—There are no more Indians in the Antilles. In the most populous of the islands there did not remain more than sixty thousand in 1508; of these more than three-fourths perished in the ten years succeeding, and the last remains were swept from the face of the earth long before the coming thither of the Portuguese, English and French. — *Repertorio Americano, Vol. III, article signed A. B., on Cristobal Colon.*

S.

THE IROQUOIS FORT, (I, 572).—The editor of the Magazine was in error in his statement that General John S. Clark located the fort attacked by Champlain on "the northern extremity of Oneida Lake." General Clark locates it "south of the east end of Oneida Lake and east Onondaga County."

EDITOR.

CORRECTION.—In the notice of Mr. Dexter's "Question of Authorship" in the June number of the Magazine, the printer appears to have substituted a word, making it appear that Mr. Dexter lost his case, instead of winning it. The latter was the sense intended. D. C.

QUERIES

FOREIGN GRAPES IN AMERICA.—In Tailfer's narrative mention is made of an effort to introduce the culture of foreign vines in Georgia in 1734. This attempt was made by "Abraham de Leon, a Jew, who had been many years a Vineron in Portugal, and a Free Holder in Savannah, who cultivated several kinds of grapes in his garden, and amongst others the Porto and Malaga to great perfection." He proposed to the Board of Trustees of the Colony to have forty thousand vines growing within the colony in three years, and to cultivate them with Vinerons from Portugal. The Trustees accepted his terms, but Mr. Oglethorpe declined to carry out their instructions, "and so that Design dropt."

Is their any earlier instance of the introduction of foreign vines in America?

CINCINNATI.

WILLIAM S. CARDELL, the author of Jack Halyard the Sailor Boy, a very popular story book of fifty years ago, lived, I think, in New York city, was perhaps a teacher there, and died in Pennsylvania. Can any of the readers of the Magazine of American History give me facts concerning him and his career?

L. C. DRAPER.

*Madison, Wis.*

TRIAL OF JOHN HODGES.—I want to know where to find "Report of the Trial of John Hodges, esquire, on a charge of high treason. Tried in the Circuit Court of the United States, for the Maryland District, at the May Term, 1815." Noticed in the Port Folio for 1815, p. 232. In this trial Hon. Wm. Pinkney

made one of his remarkably able speeches for the defendant, Jno. Hodges.

H. E. H.

NICOLL HOUSE.—Where is the present location in New York city of the now destroyed but once "Nicoll House," the country seat of a former official of the Crown?

J. B. B.

GOTHAM.—Why and when did New York city obtain the appellation of Gotham?

J. B. B.

AUTHOR OF CANDIDUS.—In Sabin's Dictionary is mentioned a pamphlet against American Independence that is there said to have produced a wonderful effect throughout America and England, "Candidus, *pseudon.* Plain Truth, &c." My copy of the Philadelphia edition is corrected with the pen, mostly in the punctuation, perhaps by the author, as the corrections are followed in the London reprint. Has any one ascribed this pamphlet to Joseph Galloway? He was in Philadelphia at the time of its publication (1776). It was his habit not to put his name to his pamphlets. In 1780 he used the title "Plain Truth" on a different subject. The internal evidence is strong. Perhaps the name Candidus was chosen in reference to Galloway's "Candid Examination," issued in 1775.

F. BURDGE.

GOUGING.—In the July number of the Magazine of American History, p. 433, there appears in the Diary of Major Beatty, then at Louisville, an account of the "barbarous custom of Gouging practiced between the brutes of the lower

class of people here; their unvaried way of fighting;" on the same page he describes these people as "Virginia Gougers." Where did this inhuman practice originate and how far did it spread?

In a book entitled "A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue, the third edition, corrected and enlarged, printed for Hooper & Co., London, 1796," occurs this definition of the word "Gouge"—to squeeze out a man's eye with the thumb; a cruel practice used by the Bostonians in America." Is this a correct statement?

RICHMOND.

Y., 1874." A work which the N. Y. Gen. Biog. Record says needs verification. Another such work has been issued, but I do not remember the title, although I have examined the book; a London publication I think.

H. E. H.

UNFAMILIAR QUOTATION.—(I. 574.) These lines were written by James Allen, and were used by John Davis in an eulogy on Gen. Washington, delivered before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston, February 19, 1800.

PETERSFIELD.

### REPLIES

STEPHEN BUTLER.—(I. 390.) In reply to Professor Butler's query I refer him to the "First Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston," just published, and covering the period from 1674-1695 with list of tax-payers. Stephen Butler's name occurs on pp. 62, 120, 142, 158. This Report says "the earliest directory of the inhabitants of the town was published in 1789," and that the writers who have treated of the local history of Boston have not been able to supply the names of the inhabitants before 1789.

For the list of vessels which brought over the early emigrants to America, I refer him to S. G. Drake's "Result of some Researches among the British Archives for information relative to the Founders of New England, made in 1858-1860. Boston, 1860." A very reliable work as far as it goes. Also to "Original lists of Emigrants to America 1600-1700, edited by John Camden Hotten, published by J. W. Bouton, N.

NEW HAVEN CONVENTION, 1778.—(I. 450.) The Continental Congress determined November 22, 1777, to reduce the quantity of circulating medium in order to support its value. They also recommended the several States to raise supplies for carrying on the war by taxation; to call in and cancel all their bills of credit (small change under a dollar excepted); and to appoint commissioners to regulate and ascertain the prices of labor, manufactures, internal produce, and commodities imported from foreign parts, and also to regulate the charges of inn-holders. The Commissioners from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware were ordered to convene at New Haven on the 15th of January, 1778. Those appointed by Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina at Fredericksburg the same day; while the delegates from South Carolina and Georgia were instructed to meet at Charlestown on the 15th of February, a month later.

The New Haven Convention met at the appointed time and prepared an act to be passed by the several Legislatures represented, in which the goods were named and an advance of from 25 to 75 per cent. allowed on the values of 1774; having finished their business the Convention adjourned on Monday, February 2d. The labors of the Commissioners were but of little service to the public, as Congress on the 4th of June following advised the repeal of the acts recommended by them.

W. K.

FIRST FIRE ENGINES IN NEW YORK.—(I. 574.) In the month of May, 1731, the corporation of New York appointed a committee "to agree with some merchant or merchants to send to London for two compleat fire engines with suction, and materials thereunto; that the sizes thereof be of the fourth and sixth sizes, of Mr. Newsham's fire engines." The committee reported in the following month that they had agreed with Mr. Stephen DeLancey and John Moore, merchants, at the rate of one hundred and twenty per cent. on the foot of the invoice, exclusive of commissions and insurance, and that the money be paid within nine months after the delivery thereof. Soon after their arrival a room in the City Hall was temporarily fitted up to secure them; an engine house was afterwards constructed near the Flatten Barrack Market Place.

Their first use was probably at the burning of a "joyner's house" December, 1732; the newspaper states that it was extinguished "by the help of the two fire engines, which came from London in the ship Beaver." On the 2d of Janu-

ary, 1733, the corporation empowered the employment of proper persons to repair and care for the engines. Anthony Lamb, the father of General Lamb, was appointed "overseer of the fire engines." After this period fire engines were built in New York, as appears from the following advertisement in the *N. Y. Gazette* of May 9, 1737: "A fire-engine that will deliver two hogsheads of water in a minute, in a continued stream, is to be sold by William Lindsay, the maker thereof. Enquire at the *Fighting Cocks*, next door to the Exchange Coffee House, New York."

T. F. DE V.

AN HISTORICAL PORTRAIT.—(I. 251, 394, 576.) The following letter, accompanying the donation of the Lafayette portrait to the N. Y. Historical Society, will prove of interest, as the statement is made that it is an original picture:

N. Y. 7th Oct. 1817.

To DeWitt Clinton, Esq.,

President of the N. Y. Hist. Soc'y.

Sir, I have the pleasure to present to the Historical Society an original Portrait of the Marquis de la Fayette, and hope it may prove an acceptable addition to the collection you are forming of the likenesses of the patriots of our Revolution; an undertaking in which I wish you all possible success.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your very Obt. & hl Servant,  
Ebenr Stevens.

G. H. M.

FULL-BLOODED YANKEES.—(I. 574.) A book published at Concord, N. H., in 1831, entitled *Reminiscences of the*



French War, gives the phrase used by General Cilley as "*true blooded Yankees*." The following is the anecdote:

"At the battle of Monmouth, when General Lee was on his retreat, Cilley's regiment checked the pursuit of the enemy, and drove them back in turn. Washington, who at that moment arrived, delighted at the gallant stand made by the New Hampshire regiment, enquired: 'What troops are these?' 'True blooded Yankees, Sir,' was the Colonel's emphatic reply."

This is a famous after dinner story in New Hampshire, generally spiced with a little profanity on the part of the gallant Colonel, to the Commander-in-Chief. Its entire improbability is acknowledged by every close student of revolutionary history; the only mention of Cilley in connection with the battle of Monmouth is a reference in a letter written by Alexander Hamilton to Elias Boudinot, describing the action. After enumerating the officers who distinguished themselves on that occasion, he wrote: "Col. Silly and Lt.-Col. Parker were particularly useful on the left." Lieutenant-Colonel Harrison, one of Washington's suite, in his testimony on the trial of Lee, describes minutely the incidents that occurred after Washington's appearance on the field, but makes no allusion to the "full-blooded Yankees."

TRENTON.

SINK OR SWIM.—(I. 48, 133.) Turning over the leaves of Walter Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel* a few days since, I fell upon the following passage in which the famous phrase of John Adams occurs. "My father's son must no longer

hold this facile and puerile course. Live or die, sink or swim, Nigel Olifaunt, from this moment, shall owe his safety, success and honor to his own exertions, or shall fall with the credit of having at least exerted his own free agency. I will write it down in my tablets, in her very words—'the wise man is his own best assistant.'"

S.

BLUE ROCK AND CRESAP CASTLE.—(I. 513.) Blue Rock was on the east side of the Susquehanna river, at or near where Columbia now stands. Cresap's residence was on the opposite or west side of the river.

I. C.

*Allegheny City, Pa.*

DESCRIPTION OF MAINE.—(I. 513.) The pamphlet referred to was written by the Hon. William Bingham, U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania, 1795-1801. It was published in 1793. Mr. Bingham having a short time previously purchased a tract of land of about two millions of acres in the "District of Maine."

CHAS. R. HILDEBURN.

ADAM'S WILL.—(I. 56.) The query of D. C. respecting the remark attributed to Francis I.; it may be found in Bernal Diaz's "*Conquista de la Nueva Espana*," Vol. II, ii, p. 135 (English translation): "The King of France sent word to our great Emperor that as he and the King of Portugal had divided the world between themselves, without offering him any part of it, he should like them to show him our father Adam's will, that he might convince himself whether he had really constituted them the sole heirs of those countries."

DENARIUS.

(Publishers of Historical works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**BARNES' CENTENARY HISTORY. ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.** By the author of Barnes' Brief History of the United States for schools. 4to, pp. 664. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York, Chicago and New Orleans. 1876.

This volume in five parts, with an appendix and two hundred and seventy-nine illustrations printed with the text, is an admirable contribution to the literature of the day, and is especially devoted to a retrospective review of the origin and progress of our American institutions. Part I, in two chapters, gives the early history of America from its prehistoric peoples to the naming of the New World after Amerigo Vespucci; the explorations and settlements from Ponce de Leon's first sight of Florida in 1512 to the close of the struggle between the English and French for the dominion of the Continent, which was finally settled by the peace of 1763; to this an additional chapter is added on colonial life. Part II treats of the war of the revolution in chapters entitled the Alienation of the Colonies; the Opening of the War; Independence Year, 1776; the third year of the revolution, 1777; the fourth year of the revolution, 1778, the fifth year of the revolution, 1779; the sixth year of the revolution, 1780; and the last year of the revolution, 1781. Part III, entitled the Constitutional period, treats of the development of the Republic; American Nationality assured, 1800-1820; Internal dissensions, 1820-1840; and the culmination of domestic difficulties, 1840-1860. Part IV relates to the Civil War, in five chapters, 1861-1865. Part V is devoted to the New Era, which in one chapter (XVIII) tells of the Decade of Reconstruction.

The appendix adds some further information concerning the Centennial Exhibition, a chronological table of the war of the revolution, and a reasonably good index.

Nothing is more difficult than to review works of this class. The author is anonymous. The publishers' names are sufficient guarantee that the work adopted by them is in every way what it should be, both in editorial preparation, in type, presswork, paper and illustrations. The Barnes' cannot afford, any more than any of our great publishers, such as the Harpers, Little & Brown, the Lippincotts, to go down the century with other than first class work. The earliest chapters recite a tale told a thousand times. In these pages it is well told, and the scope of the volume admits of interesting detail as to persons and events. The side-light thrown on history by later chapters on the earlier administrations

will inevitably challenge criticism, but criticism is not the province of such notices as we undertake to give our readers. We propose to inform historians what may be found in the books we review, rarely to pass judgment on their value, never to take sides on any historical argument. But we find no room for fault finding in these pages. They are impartial in their relation of facts, and just in the conclusions drawn, and even in the later account of the civil war we find no evidence of partial bias. The book is not philosophical, but historical, and we commend it freely as a well-prepared *digest* of the history of the country in the hundred years of its independence. From persons who have had occasion to use it as a reference volume, we have heard expressions of unlimited praise.

**THE PEQUOT INDIANS. AN HISTORICAL SKETCH,** by RICHARD A. WHEELER. 8vo, pp. 23. G. B. & J. H. ULTER, printers, Westerly, R. I.

The origin of the Pequot tribe of Indians is unknown. They have been by some supposed an inland tribe, who fought their way to the seaside and established their stronghold in the town of Groton, and by others to have seceded from the Mohegans and established their independence under the lead of Pequatte, from whom they took their name. When Adrian Block sailed eastward from Manhattan Island in 1614 he found them located in the same places which they occupied in 1633, when Rhode Island was settled by the English. Mr. Wheeler gives a rapid summary of the feud between the Pequots and Narragansetts and their respective alliances with the Dutch and English governments, and relates the origin of the contest between the Massachusetts government and the Pequots, known as the Pequot War, which ended in the capture of their fort and their terrible chastisement. In 1655 the Pequots, having refused to amalgamate with the Mohegans, Narragansett and other tribes, were assigned to residence at Misquamicut (Westerly) and Noank (Groton), and Governors set over them. Repeated unsuccessful efforts were made to christianize and civilize them. In 1766 they were preached to at the cost of 5s 8d per sermon, but few were willing to join the church, preferring the favor of their Good Spirit Kritchian. The Pequots took part with the English in King Philip's war, and did good service later in the French War, where they suffered severely. Their populous towns have now dwindled to two small houses on each reservation, occupied by four families.

ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE FIRST PARISH CHURCH IN BOLTON, JULY 4TH, 1876, AT THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, AND ALSO IN OBSERVANCE OF THE 138TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INCORPORATION OF THE TOWN, by RICHARD S. EDES, with an appendix. 8vo, pp. 57. W. J. COULTER, Clinton, 1877.

Bolton, an offshoot from the town of Lancaster, in the county of Worcester, Massachusetts, started as a separate township and set about building a meeting house, the first act of independency in those God-fearing days, in 1738. From the sketch before us it does not appear that Bolton has ever been the scene of very stirring events, but to have plodded quietly along as a thriving agricultural community, doing her duty not more nor less than her neighbors. No record remains of her contribution to the cause of American liberty, and consequently there is nothing to be said on that subject. The appendix is made up of notes, chiefly of biographical interest.

ADDRESSES DELIVERED BEFORE THE DAUPHIN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN THE STATE CAPITOL, HARRISBURG. July 4, 1876. 8vo, pp. 85.

The one hundredth anniversary of American Independence was celebrated in Dauphin County with all the honors. The addresses here collected are "The Ecclesiastical History of Dauphin County, by Rev. Thomas H. Robinson, D. D.;" "Dauphin County in the Revolution, by A. Boyd Hamilton," and "A Historical Review of Dauphin County, by William H. Egle, M. D." In Mr. Hamilton's address we find the curious fact that the county contributed, from 1775 to 1783, one hundred and fifty officers and nearly two thousand patriots to the revolutionary army; an amount which exceeds in magnitude any contribution made since that period from any part of Pennsylvania to the military service of the country. Notices are given of many of the prominent officers. Dr. Egle's review is a succinct and careful account of the county from the time when John Harris entered upon the Indian trade, at the suggestion of the Provincial Secretary, Edward Shippen, and established himself at the locality which from him took the name of Harrisburg. His capital was sixteen guineas.

THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, FROM MAY, 1751, TO FEBRUARY, 1757, by CHARLES I. HOADLY, State Librarian. 8vo, pp. 652. Hartford, 1877.

This volume brings the Records of the Connecticut Colony down to 1757. So far they have been printed *entire*. We are now informed by Mr. Hoadly that the publication will be suspended at this point for the present; a resolution which will be greatly regretted by the closer students of history. Among matters of interest in this book, are the report of the Commissioners who attended the Congress at Albany in 1754; the petition of the Susquehanna Company for permission to purchase lands of the Six Nations with a purpose of colonization; the colonization schemes of Samuel Hazard, of Philadelphia, later the Continental Postmaster; the opening of the French war; the grant to the College of New Jersey of a lottery scheme, by which to erect their buildings, which had been repeatedly refused in that province. An Appendix contains a census of 1756, lists of the shipping and answers to the Board of Trade. As usual a full index. We suggest that if this, the tenth volume, is to close the first series, that a general index to them be now published. These publications, under the admirable editorial supervision of Messrs. J. Hammond Trumbull, and his successor Mr. Hoadly, are models in this class of publication.

ORATION OF MR. JOHN W. FORNEY AT THE 101ST CELEBRATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1877, in the International Exhibition Building, Fairmount Park. 8vo, pp. 23. VALLETTE, HASLAM & CO., Philadelphia, 1877.

We are not yet through with notices of the Centennial celebration of last year, and here in the very first days of July we have the beginning of a new series, and Philadelphia leads the way. We need only say that if those to come after are as pleasant reading as this from the practiced pen of our veteran friend we shall be content. The text of this paper is the power of iron and the results of mechanical industry. The Stone Age reaches back to the prehistoric period before the mountains were upheaved. In the age of bronze we find the origin of metallurgy. That of iron still endures throughout the world. The man on horseback who rules the material world is the engineer; the horse, the iron horse, marvellous in strength and speed, of which the monster Corliss engine is the best existing type.

LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF PROTECTION IN THE UNITED STATES, delivered before the International Free Trade Alliance by W. G. Sumner, Professor in Yale College. 8 vo, pp. 64. Published for the International Free Trade Alliance by G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1877.

The believers in free trade or rather the opponents of a protective system have certainly adopted the true method of action in the alliance they have formed. The success of Cobden's League for the repeal of the Corn Laws in England, which, beginning with a corporal's guard, in a few years controlled the Ministry and directed the policy of Great Britain, is an evidence of what can be done by a corporation of earnest, determined men with right on their side. Mr. Sumner's lectures present a sketch of the origin of the American system, as the high tariff principle has been unfortunately called, and of the vacillations of our legislation. Just prior to the rebellion the country had nearly emerged from the protective period. It had certainly prospered under the mild tariff of 1844, which was hardly more than a revenue tariff. The exigencies of the war were the cause of an instantaneous change. Money was necessary, and only tariffs could supply the enormous sums demanded by the colossal contest. It is easy to find the causes of the present disorders in the industrial world, not so easy to find a cure. Certainly the tariff must be modified. Even Pennsylvania and New England have been protected to the point of ruin.

We are somewhat surprised to find merely a casual allusion to the memorial of the Committee of the Free Trade Convention, which met in Philadelphia in September and October, 1831, who were charged to propose a memorial to Congress remonstrating against the existing tariff. Mr. Sumner says it was 'clear and sound, setting forth the simple principles which are all truisms;' it was drawn by Albert Gallatin, the most able political economist and financier we have ever had in this country; its general arguments are models of lucid statement, and its conclusions, whether minor or general, are unanswerable. We commend it to all as a model in style and method, and as by far the ablest document of its character ever published in the United States. Mr. Gallatin was of opinion that no duty should exceed twenty-five per cent. of the value, and that our average of twenty per cent. was sufficiently large.

The great truism which Mr. Gallatin admirably states, is that the immense majority of any nation "pursues only such industries as are ever attended with profit," but that "it happens quite otherwise when from any peculiar circumstances the Legislature is unfortunately induced to interfere in the pursuits of industry instead of confining its care to that of providing by wise laws for the security and equal protection of the personal rights of the individual." Never were words more timely than these are to-day, when society is jarred by disorders which have arisen from the want of attention to the salutary wisdom they so admirably express.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GRAND LODGE OF THE MOST ANCIENT AND HONORABLE FRATERNITY OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. Special Communication, March 8, 1877. Quarterly Communication, March 14, 1877, and Special Communication, March 23, 1877. Ordered to be read in all the Lodges. 8vo, pp. 175. ROCKWOOD & CHURCHILL, Boston, 1877.

These Communications appear to be what in the outer world are termed meetings. At that of the 8th March, held at the Masonic Temple, A. L., 5877, the one hundredth anniversary of the organization of the Massachusetts Grand Lodge as a sovereign and independent Grand Lodge, was celebrated. From the address of the Grand Master it appears that the St. John's Grand Lodge was organized in 1733 by warrant from an English Lodge. Interrupted by the revolution, it was reorganized in 1790. We find good patriotic names among its members. R. W. Charles Levi Woodbury gives a glowing account of the part taken by the members of the Lodge in the national struggle. Paul Revere was of its number, and John Rowe, the Grand Master, was of the "Committee of Safety." The Grand Lodge met at the Green Dragon Tavern.

The Communications of March 14th and 23d are of no interest except to the initiated.

REPORTS OF FOREIGN SOCIETIES ON AWARDING MEDALS TO THE AMERICAN ARCTIC EXPLORERS, KANE, HAYES, HALL. 8vo, pp. 70. U. S. Naval Observatory, 1876.

A Government report, prepared by Professor Nourse of the U. S. Naval Observatory, reciting the presentation of the medal awarded by the Royal Geographical Society of London to E. H. Kane in 1856; that of the prize of the Société de Géographie de Paris awarded to the same in 1858; the presentation, to Dr. Hayes of the Patron's Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society of London in 1867, and of a medal by the Paris Society in 1869; and finally of the award of the Roquette Prize to Captain C. F. Hall by the Paris Society. The American flag in these expeditions to the Northern and that of Wilkes to the Southern Seas, has floated as near each pole of the globe as human energy could carry it. So says the French report, but human energy has not yet "said its last word" on this subject. The poles will yet be reached, and scientific observations take the place of conjectural approximations.

A NARRATIVE OF THE CAPTIVITY OF LUKE SWETLAND IN 1778 AND 1779 AMONG

THE SENECA INDIANS. Written by himself. (Edited by A. O. OSBORN.) Small 8vo, pp. 38. Waterville, N. Y., 1875.

A few days after the battle of Wyoming, in the summer of 1778, Swetland was captured by a party of Senecas and carried to the Indian village of Appletown in the present town of Romulus, on Seneca Lake. The narrative has no historical importance, but is interesting as a truthful personal narrative. It bears curious testimony to the savage habits of the Iroquois. Mr. Osborn contributes some genealogic notes upon the Swetland family, which was of Connecticut origin.

MINUTES, SERMONS AND REPORTS OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES IN MAINE, SEMI-CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY AND SIXTY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MAINE MISSIONARY SOCIETY. 8vo, pp. 272. 1876.

The interesting feature of this volume, which is full of statistical matter and records valuable to those directly concerned, is the discourse delivered at the anniversary, June 28, 1876, by Professor Alpheus S. Packard, of Bowdoin College. It is full of biographical reminiscences of the distinguished ministers of the organization, clerical and lay, during the half century. As these records of experience pour in upon us the extent of the labor performed last year in the gathering of observations of the past and preparation for a "New Departure" in the next century becomes manifest. Such a year of "recueillement" as the French happily term this sedate inward examination can not but be of great profit to the entire country.

FERGUSON'S ANECDOTICAL GUIDE TO MEXICO, with a Map of the Railways. Historical, Geological, Archæological and Critical. Small 4to, double column, pp. 128. CLAXTON, REMSEN & HAFELFINGER, Philadelphia, 1877.

A curious little guide book, containing invaluable information for any traveler in this direction. It is essentially devoted to the railway service, with excellent instruction as to what to see and how to see it in and about Vera Cruz and the City of Mexico.

FARRAR'S ILLUSTRATED GUIDE TO RANGELEY AND RICHARDSON LAKES. Small 8vo, pp. 127. Revised edition, 1877.

The extraordinary beauty of the lake and mountain region of Maine has until recently been known to few except by report of some returned sportsmen with catches of marvelous trout. A

charming article in Harper's Magazine for June on the Androscoggin Lakes has turned public attention towards the Pine Tree State. From this we learn the extent of this vast lake region, which would certainly be a Paradise but for the black flies. For pedestrian or sportsman Mr. Farrar's volume will prove a trustworthy and valuable companion.

HISTORICAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION IN EASTHAMPTON, MASS., JULY 4, 1876, by Rev. PAYSON W. LYMAN. 8vo, pp. 100. CLARK W. BRYAN & Co., Springfield, 1877.

It would be a mistake to suppose that this sketch alone refers to Easthampton. It concerns Northampton quite as much as her daughter. In addition to the sketch proper, published by authority of Easthampton, there is an appendix entitled the Belchertown War Record, giving an account of her services in the Revolution. The sketch shows the practiced hand of the reverend author both in its style and method of treatment.

GENEALOGY OF THE DESCENDANTS OF DR. WILLIAM SHIPPEN THE ELDER OF PHILADELPHIA, MEMBER OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, by ROBERDEAU BUCHANAN. Privately printed. 8vo, pp. 16. JOSEPH L. PEARSON, printer, Washington, 1877.

This short genealogy is announced by the author to be intended merely as a continuation of that published in 1855 by the late Thomas Balch, entitled Letters and Papers relating to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania, with some notices of the writers. The author establishes the distinction between the two William Shippens, which has already been noticed in an article in this Magazine.

GREENES OF WARWICK IN COLONIAL HISTORY. Read before the Rhode Island Historical Society, February 27, 1877, by HENRY E. TURNER, M. D. 8vo, pp. 68. DAVIS & PITMAN, printers, Newport. 1877.

This is a running account of John Greene, surgeon, who emigrated from Salisbury, Wiltshire, England, and died at Warwick, Rhode Island, in 1658; and of his descendants, two of whom in the fourth and fifth generation were Governors of Rhode Island. General Greene of Revolutionary memory was in another line of descent from the same source. There is a great deal of useful information conveyed in a simple and unpretentious manner. Dr. Turner is severe upon the "monstrous aggressions" of his Massachusetts neighbors.





Theophylact Bach

Portrait of Theophylact Bach, 1771, by Johann Heinrich Meyer

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*Wm. Byrd Esq.*

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY

ON the sixth of August the citizens of the Mohawk Valley commemorated at Oriskany with appropriate exercises the whole series of events which made that valley so famous and so ill-fated during the Revolution. One hundred years ago on the day and the place of this celebration was fought the most singular battle of the Revolution. But the battle of Oriskany, in spite of its singular features and its important relation to the campaign of 1777 in Northern New York, is one of which history has thus far barely taken cognizance. It was fought on the uttermost borders of the wilderness by rural soldiers, and the brave commander of the Americans died of his wounds before he had time to write an official account of his victory. But for the industrious zeal of such local historians as Stone, Simms, Campbell and Benton we should have lost all clew to its details. It is remarkable that we have to go to British historians for the most comprehensive summary of its effects.

In recalling the forgotten or overlooked importance of the battle of Oriskany, I have the authority of Burgoyne on the one hand and of General Philip Schuyler on the other for the inference that without the successful defense of Fort Stanwix,<sup>1</sup> there could have been no Saratoga. The whole result of the Revolution may therefore be said to have turned upon the campaign against St. Leger, in the Mohawk Valley. The historians of that year have failed to catch and dwell upon this fact. The English historians have more generally appreciated the importance of the St. Leger campaign than our own. This is natural, for in the Whitehall councils of Lord George Germain, where every detail of the expedition was carefully arranged the year before, it was understood that the success of the three-sided campaign against New York might turn upon the success of this branch of it; and Burgoyne, in his defense, did not

hesitate to hint that he might have been saved the necessity of capitulation had he received the expected succor of St. Leger. On the other hand, the Continental Congress from first to last manifested an incomprehensible indifference to the defense of the Mohawk Valley. Neither its deliberations nor its preparations indicate realization of the fact that it was the key to Albany and the Hudson. The valley was left to its fate. At the last moment, when Schuyler, apprised of St. Leger's advance and the Oriskany battle, insisted upon detaching the army of relief under Arnold, he was accused by his council of officers of thick-headedness and treason.

The miscarriage of St. Leger's expedition was due to the miscalculation of the home government which planned it. The force under his command was a picked one, but altogether too small. There were three good reasons to excuse and explain this blunder. First, St. Leger's advance was through an unprotected country and against undisciplined forces; second, it was expected, upon the positive assertions of Sir John Johnson, that at every step of his progress his army would be swelled by a rising tide of Mohawk Valley loyalists, until it should reach Albany, an irresistible force, sweeping all before it, and cutting off the last retreat of the army which held the sources of the Hudson against Burgoyne; third, the alliance of the warlike tribes of the Six Nations was relied upon as insuring a sufficient augmentation of forces and a terribly effective cooperation.

Never did a brilliant plan more miserably miscarry. Each of these three expectations failed in turn. British authorities are silent at the chagrin of the Government over this miscarriage, for it was due almost wholly to the bad judgment of the Government. St. Leger did every thing in the power of a single man to carry out his instructions. At no point in his conduct of the campaign was he open to the criticism of his superiors. The people of the Mohawk Valley execrate the memory of Sir John Johnson with hearty Dutch hatred. But they are nevertheless indebted to his over-sanguine representations and his blinded judgment for the slight preparation made to subdue their valley. The most interesting study which this subject presents may be found in the reasons why these three expectations proved to be false.

Oriskany was the first battle of the revolutionary war in which an untrained militia proved its prowess and availability. I have been much interested in tracing the antecedents of the eight hundred men who rallied to the call of General Nicholas Herkimer, followed him into the ambushade

at Oriskany, stood their ground when assailed by an invisible and savage enemy, and fought for five hours until the field was theirs. History made no record of the names of these men; but from family records and local chronicles we know that the army of General Herkimer consisted of four regiments of the militia of Tryon county, containing barely a hundred men each, and reenforced by a motley crowd of volunteers, among whom were many members of the Committee of Safety, physicians, lawyers, and at least one member of the Legislature. Officers and privates were civilians, though some had tasted of war in the French invasion of '58. With but few exceptions they were farmers, and were chiefly the descendants of the Palatines, who had moved up the valley shortly after the immigration of 1709. The privates were almost to a man land owners or sons of land owners. Frequent Indian raids had rendered the Tryon county farmers familiar with the use of arms. When called together by the proclamation of General Herkimer, July 17, they were harvesting their hay—a war process in itself. In each locality the farmers assembled in bodies, and cut and housed the hay of the farms in routine order, part of the men standing guard with muskets loaded and cocked against a sudden foray of Indians or tories as the case might be.

In the midst of this martial agriculture came the news that Fort Stanwix was invested. They knew that if they did not succor it their crops would be housed for the benefit of the enemy. They all went. Every loyal farm house was denuded of men. Among the militia at Oriskany were many old men of sixty and young men of sixteen. They went in platoons of families. There were nine members of the Snell family in the battle, of whom seven were buried on the field. There were five Waggoners, five Wollovers, five Bellingers, four Foxes, four Durckells, five Seelers, four Petries, and so through all the list. Grandfathers, fathers, brothers, sons, fought side by side and died together. When this little army, marching haphazard like farmers through the woody defiles that skirted the Mohawk river, found itself suddenly surrounded and cut in two, and heard the forest resound with the savage war whoop, it neither ran nor faltered. Picked troops never found themselves in a situation quite so terrible. When the fate of Napoleon hung upon the household troops of France they charged an enemy that was neither hidden nor savage, that neither fought with horrid yells nor scalped every man who fell. If history afforded any parallel to this feat of a handful of green levies we might forgive her for having so slighted the battle of Oriskany. It is not surprising that Lord George Ger-

main did not include the Tryon county militia in his calculations of the chances, for had he been a better student of history than he was he would have found no record like that of Oriskany.

Again, the battle of Oriskany was the first intimation, couched in such terms as to be unmistakable, of the vast error the British Government was making in its reliance upon the tory element among the colonists for the subjugation of the revolted provinces. Not before had it become thoroughly clear that the revolt was something more than a desultory struggle. The force assigned to Barry St. Leger for the expedition from Oswego was ridiculously disproportionate to its hazard and importance, save upon the single theory that it was to serve merely as a nucleus, to so attract the loyalists that they would roll down the river like an avalanche. His troops were detachments of the 8th and 34th regiments, a body of Hanau Chasseurs, and a company of "Greens," 133 strong, raised by Sir John Johnson from the very country to be invaded, and his witnesses to the tory sentiment of the valley. In all there were 1,700 soldiers, swelled to nearly three times that number of men by Indians and Canadian axemen.

But the error of judgment was not unnatural. Four hundred tories were with Burgoyne, and each one reported his neighbors only waiting a more favorable opportunity to join the King's ranks. Regiments of loyalists were raised without difficulty in the Southern part of the State. Sabine boldly asserts that the tories were in an actual majority in the New York Colony at the outbreak of hostilities. It is not surprising that the ministry should have so believed, for the sympathies of two-thirds of the men of wealth and the landed proprietors were certainly with the Crown. It was natural to suppose that the baronial lords of New York could control the political opinions of their tenantry. And so they often did. In the center of the Mohawk valley lay the vast estates of the Johnsons. Around their fortified manor house clustered a large tenantry of English and Scotch, who were loyalists almost to a man. It is one of the unwritten traditions of the Mohawk valley that Sir William Johnson died of a broken heart; that the struggle in his own mind, where generous instincts were many, between loyalty to the king who had made him all he was, and sympathy with the Colonists in a revolt against a tyranny he knew to be odious, was so severe that life gave way under the strain. Whether this tradition be true or not, it is certain that no such scruples troubled the sons and sons-in-law of the royal Superintendent of Indians. No sooner had the estates descended than

## HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY

vigorous measures went on to repress the disloyal element in the valley. The local chronicles bear evidence that there were five or six hundred tories in this Mohawk district where the Johnsons resided, and more than a hundred whigs never got together against them. But above this district, towards the head of the valley, England had planted the colony of the Palatines—not unselfishly as many historians write, but to serve as a human wall of protection for the English settlers against the incursions of the French and Indians. Already the homes and crops of the Palatines had been once destroyed. They had no special reason to be loyal to England. Unbiased by ties of blood or affection for a mother country, they judged the crisis upon its merits, and almost to a man they cast their lot with the colonists. Thus it was the Palatines who saved the Mohawk valley. There were exceptions, even among them. As Gouverneur Morris had a brother, Staats, and a brother-in-law, Dr. Isaac Wilkins; so General Herkimer had a brother, Han Yost, and a brother-in-law, Rosecrants. One was a bitter tory, and the other, like a great many of the reverend gentlemen of the revolution, was a neutral with royal sympathies. History has taken a most unphilosophical view of a scene which occurred while Herkimer's little army was marching to the relief of Fort Stanwix. The General was for delay. He seems to have had a premonition of the ambushade that was already prepared for him. But his officers at once suspected his good faith, and bluntly said so. They were thinking of Han Yost and the reverend brother-in-law. The charge of disloyalty was wiped out by Herkimer's blood not many hours after it was made. As a matter of historical fact there was hardly a man in that little band of militia who did not suspect that he was marching between two traitors. At that early stage of the valley-war universal suspicion was a military necessity. There had been no test of an individual sentiment as yet. Oriskany supplied one which lasted. After that the Council of Safety wrote no more letters complaining of the disloyalty of Tryon county, and the Johnsons wrote no more letters to the home government predicting an "uprising" in the Mohawk Valley, and I think I am justified, in view of all the attendant circumstances, in the opinion that if the battle of Oriskany had not been fought, or had terminated differently, the expected tory "uprising" in the valley would have occurred, and the whole situation of 1777 have been reversed.

In the third place, the battle of Oriskany was the first intimation to the British that their Indian alliance was not to be effective in a regular war. They entertained, not unnaturally, an extravagant estimate of the

prowess of the Six Nations. They reckoned them as even more effective than regular British troops in a campaign in a new country, with whose topography and perplexities they were familiar. The whole force of Indians who accompanied St. Leger from Oswego, upwards of one thousand in number, was at Oriskany, and the burden of the battle was upon them. They were led by Thayendanegea—Joseph Brant—Chief of the Mohawks, the ideal Indian, with the quickest wit, the strongest arm, the bravest heart of any chief in the traditions of the Six Nations. They entered the battle with the understanding that no limitations were to be set to their peculiar methods of warfare. For every scalp of a Mohawk Valley farmer brought from the field, the savage at whose belt it hung was to claim and receive a reward.

The English could make no complaint of the valor displayed by their Indian allies during the earlier stages of the battle. The English themselves were to blame, because at the crisis the red men suddenly fell into a panic, sounded the "Oonah" of retreat, and scampered off into the woods. They had been told that these "Dutch Yankees" from the valley were "pudding faces," who would permit themselves to be scalped and robbed with impunity. I am compelled to the conviction that the doughty warriors of the Six Nations much preferred this sort of an antagonist. A dozen of their chiefs were slain at Oriskany and something less than a hundred of their warriors. It was too much of a loss for Indian equanimity. To the end of the war the Indians were never again persuaded to attack an organized force, or to make a stand against an army.

But Oriskany taught the English that the Indians were not only unreliable, but actually dangerous as allies. St. Leger endeavored to terrorize the garrison of Fort Stanwix into surrender by threats that a longer resistance would exasperate his Indian allies into a general massacre of the defenseless people of the valley. He professed his inability to hold them in check when once their natural passions were fully aroused. He was nearer right than he thought. They were already in a panic, and their fear was as far beyond control as their barbarity or their cupidity. His demand for surrender had hardly been rejected before they compelled him to break camp and retreat, as he himself confesses, "with all the precipitation of a rout." Once beyond the danger, the fear of the Indians again gave way to cupidity. Deprived of the promised plunder of the garrison and the valley, they turned to and plundered their friends. The evidence is conclusive that the regular

troops suffered severely in that retreat from the unrestrainable avarice and ferocity of the Indians. A scalp was a scalp in Indian ethics, no matter what were the political opinions of the brain beneath it. Johnson had over-estimated his personal influence with the red men. It was strong enough to induce them to violate their treaties of neutrality, but it was powerless to put into them that capacity for regular war which they never possessed. In due time King and Parliament were officially informed that the Indians "treacherously committed ravages upon their friends;" that "they could not be controlled;" that "they killed their captives after the fashion of their tribes;" and that "they grew more and more unreasonable and importunate." Indeed, the influence of the Indians over their allies was much stronger than any the latter exerted. From the disastrous expedition against Fort Stanwix Sir John Johnson emerged a full-fledged Indian in his instincts, the leader of a band of assassins, attacking the defenseless homes of his old neighbors at midnight, and murdering their dwellers in their beds. He made two incursions upon the Mohawk Valley during the remainder of the war, and the Indians who accompanied him were not more expert than he in devising ambuscades or more relentless in their inhuman revenge.

If I have not placed too much importance upon these three facts which the battle of Oriskany established, the historians of the Revolution have failed to give to the engagement that position to which it is entitled. Many of them barely allude to it in passing hurriedly over the preliminaries of the Burgoyne campaign. Most of our own historians concede the claim of a British victory there, without undertaking an examination of the slender grounds upon which that claim has rested in security. Irving intimates that "it does not appear that either party was entitled to the victory;" Lossing passes it by as "the defeat of Herkimer," and Dr. Thacher as "the victory of St. Leger." There was no official report of the battle of Oriskany in behalf of the Americans there engaged, and in the absence of such a report the whole matter has been permitted to go by default. The impudent letter in which St. Leger boasted of his victory to Burgoyne has been permitted to harden into history. Fortunately it is not too late to estimate Oriskany by its results. The technical evidence of their victory resides in the fact that the Tryon County militia held the field, from which their enemies fled, and carried off their wounded at leisure. The substantial evidence is that they were marching to the relief of Fort Stanwix, and the raising of the siege of that fort was the direct result of the battle. It was the



demoralization of his Indian allies which compelled St. Leger's precipitate retreat a week later, and it was Oriskany which created the demoralization. It was Oriskany which protected the rear of Gates' army. It was Oriskany which prevented a Tory uprising that might not have been confined to the Mohawk Valley. It was Oriskany which convinced the patriots that their raw troops were not a fruitless defense against the trained soldiers of England. It was Oriskany which, in the words of Washington, "first reversed the gloomy scene" of the opening years of the Revolution.

#### S. N. D. NORTH

<sup>1</sup> An effort was made during the Revolution to change the name of the fort which guarded the carrying place from the Mohawk to Wood Creek, from Stanwix to Schuyler, in honor to the brave General of the Revolution; but the universal custom of the intervening century has preserved the original name.

## JOHN ADAMS AT THE COURT OF ST. JAMES

The presentation at the British Court of the first Minister from the Government of the United States was an event of singular interest and importance. A long and painful struggle of seven years had ended in the separation of the Colonies from the mother country, and the acknowledgment of their independence. The definitive treaty of peace, signed at Paris on the third day of September, 1783, by the British and American envoys, and ratified at last by their respective Governments, had closed the drama of the Revolution, and a new nation on this continent, with the experiment of free institutions, was now to take its place and make a history for itself among the kingdoms and empires of the World.

Dr. Franklin, John Adams and John Jay were associated in the commission for the treaty of peace, and to them had been intrusted the business of arranging the fundamental articles and settling important preliminary questions. Henry Laurens of South Carolina, the other American envoy, and but recently discharged from his imprisonment in the Tower of London in exchange for Lord Cornwallis, took no part in the treaty until just at the close of the negotiations. After it had been signed and ratified, Dr. Franklin, writing to a friend in Philadelphia—Charles Thompson—said: "Thus the great and hazardous enterprise we have been engaged in is, God be praised, happily completed; an event I hardly expected I should live to see. A few years of peace, well improved, will restore and increase our strength; but our future safety will depend on our union and our virtue. Britain will be long watching for advantages to recover what she has lost. If we do not convince the world that we are a nation to be depended on for fidelity in treaties; if we appear negligent in paying our debts, and ungrateful to those who have served and befriended us, our reputation, and all the strength it is capable of procuring will be lost, and fresh attacks upon us will be encouraged and promoted by better prospects of success. It was a memorable event in the history of this country. "The third of September," wrote John Adams on that day, 1783, "will be more remarkable for the signature of the definitive treaties than for the battle of Naseby or Worcester or the death of Oliver Cromwell."

Mr. Jay returned to America, and Dr. Franklin, after a residence abroad of more than eight years, during which time he had been employed in public affairs of the utmost importance, soon followed

him, and Thomas Jefferson was appointed to succeed him as Minister Plenipotentiary in France. Before his return, however, Franklin, Adams and Jefferson were constituted by Congress a new Commission to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce with the principal European powers; but not much was accomplished beyond eliciting from these powers evidence of their friendly dispositions towards the United States.

So early as March 9, 1785, Mr. Adams wrote from Auteuil, near Paris, to his friend Elbridge Gerry, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and afterwards Vice President of the United States, and remarked: "I think the invitation to send a Minister to London should be accepted, as it is undoubtedly our place to send first, and as the neglect of exchanging ambassadors will forever be regarded as a proof of coldness and jealousies by the people of England, the people of America, and by all the Courts and nations of Europe. It is in vain to expect of us treaties of commerce with England while she will not treat here and Congress will not treat there."

Mr. Adams, therefore, having been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of St. James, repaired to London, and on his way thither, the stage coach being crowded, he took a seat on the outside, and had for his companion an Englishman, who, not knowing his character, but supposing him to be of his own nationality, engaged him in conversation concerning the American people. He indulged in some reflections not very complimentary to the Americans, and made statements about their complexion and civilization which Mr. Adams politely corrected. "Why, what you do you know about them?" said the Englishman. "Have you been in America?" "Yes, I have," was the reply. "Well, do tell me then if it be true that they are half savage, Indians, dark or copper-colored, and of little intelligence?" "The best answer I can give you," said Mr. Adams, "is to ask you to look upon myself. I am an American, and a fair sample of the speech and appearance of my countrymen."

He was at this time, as he had ever been, on the most intimate terms with Mr. Gerry. Their friendship had been cemented by participation in the long struggle of the Colonies, they were natives of the same Commonwealth, and they had not only been placed by their fellow-citizens in official positions of high responsibility, but had been chief contributors to the spirit and measures that led to Independence. Upon his arrival in London Mr. Adams wrote Mr. Gerry, then a member of Congress, under date of June 26th, 1785, and acquainted him with the manner of

his reception, and said: "I have met with a public reception here as respectful and honorable as possible, but I am not deceived by all that into a belief that we shall soon obtain what we want. There is a reserve, which signifies more to me than many fine speeches and pompous ceremonies. I shall soon write more fully."

The fuller account to which he referred was contained in the translation of letters addressed in cipher to Mr. Jay, Secretary of State, and giving in detail his presentations to the King and Queen, and the speeches and replies which formed a part and the principal part of the ceremonies. The translation was accompanied by the following letter, never before printed, which indicates the caution of Mr. Adams in the public matters of that crisis, as well as the spirit and hopes that governed his actions:

GROSVENOR SQUARE, WESTMINSTER, July 6, 1785.

*My Dear Friend:* The inclosed Letters I send to Mr. Jay in Cypher, but as the conversations with the King and Queen have been reported by Lord Carmarthen and the Lord and Ladies in waiting on the Queen, and are become generally known, there is no longer a Necessity of so much mystery, yet you must be sensible of the Delicacy of the subject, and therefore communicate them with discretion and in confidence; if Mr. Jay should not have rec'd the originals in Cypher, you may deliver these to him when you see him, but I make no doubt he will receive them.

The Dispositions of the Ministry are either very deceitful or very good, but they are [so] watched and embarrassed by oppositions of various Parties that it will at least be long before they venture on any thing decisive. They may do something to the Purpose sooner than I expect, but I see no present hope. I am much afraid there will be a necessity that the People of all the States should follow the example of Fanueil Hall. But it cannot be too earnestly recommended to them to consider Persons and Property as sacred. There is no necessity of violating either. Petitions of the People to their Assemblies, and Instructions from them to Congress will be sufficient for all good Purposes.

With great esteem your Friend & Servant,

MR. GERRY.

JOHN ADAMS.

Mr. Adams arrived in London on the 26th of May, and was presented to the King and Queen with the customary ceremonies at one o'clock on Wednesday, the first of June, and on the ninth of the same month to the Queen. The letters containing "the conversations" are to be found in *The Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. viii, and the translation there printed must have been made from the cypher text or copied from the original draughts, as it differs in a slight degree from the translated duplicates sent to Mr. Gerry.

One is struck with the sentiments of the American Minister in the presence of the British sovereign. His appointment formed indeed a new epoch in the history of England and of America. "I think myself," said he, "more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens in having the distinguished honor to be the first to stand in your Majesty's royal presence in a diplomatic character, and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your Majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence and affection, or in better words, the old good nature and the old good humor between people who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion and kindred blood." And the King's reply was dignified and respectful, and made with evident emotion. He wished it to be understood in America that he had done nothing in the late contest but what he thought himself indispensably bound to do by the duty which he owed to his people. He was reluctant to part with his Colonies, and owned that he was the last to consent to the separation, but the separation having taken place he "would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power."

The speech of Mr. Adams to the Queen, who welcomed him to her country, was especially gracious, and after venturing upon some high thoughts, he added, "it seems to be descending too far to ask, as I do, your Majesty's royal indulgence to a person who is indeed unqualified for Courts, and who owes his elevation to this distinguished honor of standing before your Majesty, not to any circumstances of illustrious birth, fortune or abilities, but merely to an ardent devotion to his native country and some little industry and perseverance in her service."

Such was the appearance of the first Minister from the United States before the Court of St. James. It was as honorable to him as to the Government which he represented, and excited at the time much interest and curiosity among the ambassadors of the great powers of Europe. Though the requirements of courtly etiquette were not altogether agreeable to the republican simplicity of Mr. Adams and to his notions of the dispatch of public business, yet he fulfilled them all as a part of his duty, believing what he then said, that "it is thus the essence of things is lost in ceremony in every country of Europe."

E. E. BEARDSLEY

## JAMES WILLIAM BEEKMAN

The family of Beekman in New York has been traced to an early and honorable origin in Germany. An accomplished scholar, a native of Cologne, Gerard Beekman was chosen early in the seventeenth century to ask assistance abroad for the Protestant cause, and on this embassy visited England, whose sovereign, James I., it is stated by Mr. Holgate in his *American Genealogy*, gratified with the ability or spirit of the ambassador, "caused the coat of arms of the Beekman family to be remodelled, as it now is, to a 'rose on either side of a running brook,' the word beck or brook being incorporated in the name. This Gerard Beekman, on his return to Germany, being prominently identified with the Protestant cause, became a sufferer with its followers, was driven into exile, but found honorable refuge in the service of the Elector of Brandenburg. His eldest son Henry was sent by the religious persecutions of the time into the United Provinces of the Netherlands, where he found political employment under the States General. He left a son William, born at Overysse, who at the age of twenty-four, in 1647, sailed, in company with the newly appointed Governor, Peter Stuyvesant, to make his home in New Netherland. We soon hear of him as a wealthy landed proprietor in New York, Beekman street to this day perpetuating his name, and marking the area of his property. After holding several offices in the civic government, he was appointed Vice Director for the West India Company on the Delaware in 1658, where for four years, with zeal and fidelity, he kept watch over a limited region in a military and judicial capacity. Upon his retirement from this unsettled and somewhat scant jurisdiction, he was retained for a short time in the Company's service as Sheriff of Esopus on the Hudson. Subsequently, under the English rule, he was for a number of years Alderman in the city of New York, where he died at an advanced age in 1707.

Fifth in descent from William Beekman in a line of citizens of distinction as physicians and merchants, James William, son of Gerard Beekman, was born in the city of New York on the 22d of November, 1815. His mother was Catharine Sanders, and in his father's line he inherited the blood of Keteltas, De la Noy and Abeel. Carefully educated under private tuition at home, he entered Columbia College, and was graduated with the class of 1834. Upon leaving college he studied

law for a time in the office of John L. Mason, but never became a member of the bar. His father's death in 1833 left him independent in a fortune, which was greatly increased on the death of his uncle James by the bequest of a huge landed estate and country residence on the East River. On these grounds, crossed by the present Fifty-second street, stood the historic mansion erected by James Beekman prior to the Revolution, which became identified with several important incidents of that period. On the occupation of the city by the British after the battle of Long Island, the house was the residence and headquarters successively of Sir William Howe, Commissary Loring, Generals Clinton and Robertson. Andre, tradition says, slept in one of its rooms the night prior to his fatal departure for West Point. Captain Nathan Hale was tried and condemned as a spy in the ample green-house in its garden.

Previously to grappling with the onerous difficulties of the improvement of this landed property, the demand for which was now imminent with the growth of the city, Mr. Beekman having in long summer tours become familiar with the natural features of his own country from Maine to St. Louis, then the terminus of western travel, at the close of 1838 entered upon a visit to Europe, in which, as in his previous American journeys, he was accompanied by the writer of this notice. Sailing in a packet ship for Havre, we were at Paris diverted from the usual track of continental travel by the invitation of the Hon. Harmanus Bleecker of Albany to join him in a protracted visit to Holland. In that country, chiefly in a residence at the Hague, we passed several months together. Mr. Bleecker carried letters from his friend, President Van Buren, which opened to him the doors of every distinguished personage of that leisurely metropolis. The charm of this social intercourse, with its unusual opportunities for studying the manners and habits of the people, and observing the sources of the national prosperity, while making acquaintance with the numerous memorials of its illustrious history, in its ancient public buildings, its institutions and the ever-present world of art, occupied us through a winter of profitable enjoyment till spring. England and Scotland were then traversed in a comprehensive tour. At the end of the year we returned in one of the earliest steam vessels crossing the Atlantic to New York.

Soon after his arrival home, Mr. Beekman married, in 1840, a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Milledoller, then President of Rutgers College, New Jersey. The old historic family mansion on the East River was fitted up, with a reverent regard for its antiquities, for a residence; and there for a while, in the exercise of a generous hospitality, its owner

looked forth upon the march of the great city which was threatening field and garden, and in no long time approached by a newly laid out street to his very doorway. With a conservative instinct which governed the man through life, and the characteristic pluck of his race, he would not suffer any encroachments of this kind greatly to disturb the venerable land-mark. The land was cut down in front of the edifice to form a level street, but the building was supported on a new basement, and still continued, with its noble elevation, to challenge the attention of the voyager on the East River.

Before these changes in the grounds were made, while the estate was yet in its perfect beauty, it was our good fortune to accompany to the spot a distinguished visitor, who had an observant eye and keen appreciation for all its associations. This was the author, Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose acquaintance Mr. Beekman and myself had made together in our early tour in New England. Hawthorne, then unknown to public office, and but little known to the public in any way, was living the life of a recluse at Salem. The single volume of tales, which he had then published, had given, however, to all intelligent perceptions the most decided proofs of his genius. The acquaintance then formed between Mr. Hawthorne and Mr. Beekman was never lost sight of by the former, who ever held in affectionate remembrance the kindly qualities of his visitor. I had often occasion to observe this in subsequent meetings and correspondence with Mr. Hawthorne, and I mention it here as a striking proof of the worth and amiable nature of our common friend, whose character is the subject of this memorial; for Hawthorne, as any reader of his personal Diaries must have noticed, was a most fastidious and rare judge of character. On occasion of his visit to the Beekman House he was a quiet observer of its grounds and position, and of the historic treasures which its walls contained. In one of his many note books or journals, published since his death, there is a reference to the capabilities of such a scene, inspired, we think, by this very spot, for the purposes of an imaginative portrayal of a great city, devouring in its progress such old historical edifices. A pen and ink sketch of the Beekman House by Hawthorne would have been no unmeet companion to his living pictures of the old Province House in Boston.

The charm of the place, as an inviting home, was soon however to be relinquished by its owner. The ground in its vicinity being once broken, new sanitary conditions were required in the laying out of the whole region, a necessity of which a severe warning was received in the presence of the dreaded cholera. The health of the family was seriously



threatened or impaired, which led to the final abandonment of the house as a residence by its proprietor. A protracted tour in Europe was undertaken at the demand of physicians for the recovery of the health of Mrs. Beekman, which was slowly regained in a solicitous course of foreign travel, embracing a residence in Rome. In a subsequent foreign tour Mr. Beekman passed a winter in Egypt. During all these journeyings his time was liberally occupied with the study of the government of the countries he visited, the practical working of their political principles, their religious life, their machinery of education and particularly the management of their humanitarian institutions. The study of the laws of health and the means of its recovery, which had been practically forced upon his attention, led to that intimate acquaintance with remedial treatment in public hospitals, which he afterwards turned to good account in his participation in the conduct of such institutions at home.

Having now arrived at the middle stage of life Mr. Beekman became much engrossed in the difficult and costly work crowded upon him by the march of local improvement; the work of the adjustment of his considerable landed estates to the requirements of the city. This, for a number of years, fully occupied his attention; but, onerous as the task was, it was not suffered to exclude what had now become the settled habit of his life; the devotion of a portion of his time to the philanthropic and public duties of the citizen. Foremost among these he always exhibited an interest in the promotion of popular education and the work of hospital improvement. He was an earnest friend of the Public School system of this city, serving as a member of its Board of Education and carefully observant of the daily routine in its schools and academies. At the time of his decease he held the position of Trustee of Columbia College, his Alma Mater, his interest in its development having been previously shown as a member of her Society of Alumni. On the foundation of the Woman's Hospital in this city, the establishment of which he had earnestly advocated, he was chosen its first President, and held the office till his death. He gave much of his time to the welfare of this institution, which justly holds his memory in the highest regard. In the appreciative and kindly words of the Governors of the Hospital after his death: "His instincts were ever in the direction of that which is right and loving and true. He was never troubled with misgivings in any question of duty. It was impossible for him to do other than ally himself with the side of the wronged, the afflicted, the distressed. He was a generous hearted Christian gentle-





man." Mr. Beekman was also long connected with the New York Hospital as a Governor, and at the time of his death as Vice President. He took an active part in its counsels during an important period of its growth, when its final removal from its old site on Broadway and its reconstruction in new buildings, brought under practical discussion the principles of hospital management. In 1871 he delivered at the request of its officers a Centennial Discourse, reviewing the history of the institution, an important chapter of the rise and development of the city, noticeable, moreover, for its candid discussion of a true system of hospital construction. His Report of the Committee "On a Village of Cottage Hospitals" made to the Society in February, 1876, is a valuable exhibit, drawn from the experience of various eminent foreign authorities, of the advantage of numerous isolated and thoroughly ventilated buildings, of cheap construction, in adjacent, healthy rural districts, for the treatment of the sick of large communities in preference to their assemblage in vast single edifices within the deteriorating influences of city life. He anxiously urged the adoption of this change of system, in whole or in part, upon the Governors of the Hospital. Mr. Beekman was, in addition to these services, an active and efficient Director of the New York Dispensary.

• It would convey a false impression of Mr. Beekman to speak of him as a politician in the ordinary sense of the word. Though in the best signification of the phrase a public man, that is, one freely holding his time and attention, at every proper call, to be employed in the public service, he was no mere politician. Nor, while he was incapable of pursuing politics as a trade, had he devoted himself to its higher study as a science. He was, from his position in the city, naturally looked to as a guardian of its interests, while his moderate conservatism in national affairs singled him out at a turn in the State parties when the Fillmore interest was in the ascendant, for the choice of his fellow citizens as their representative in the State Senate, to which he was twice elected, serving two terms, from 1850 to 1854. This was his only tenure of public office. Apart from its incidental bearing upon national affairs, it was distinguished by an intelligent devotion to our city interests in the work of education and by his furtherance of the preliminary efforts which led to the location of the Central Park. Jones' Wood, on the East River, it will be remembered, was first contemplated as the site, and a report of the legislative committee favoring its selection was drawn up and presented to the Senate by Mr. Beekman. In the efforts at pacification previous to the outbreak of the war for the preservation of the Union,

Mr. Beekman was chosen with the late Erastus Corning a Delegate to the Peace Convention in 1861 at Washington, when he urged in vain upon President Buchanan the provisioning of Fort Sumter by running the blockade with the steamer "Star of the West."\* On the actual outbreak of hostilities the position of Mr. Beekman was unequivocal for the maintenance of the National Government. He was one of the founders of that active, patriotic institution in this city, the Union League Club, of which, for a time, he held the Vice Presidency. His attitude in the present state of our political affairs was shown within the year by his advocacy of the policy of President Hayes in reference to the civil service and his course towards the South. "My earnest conviction," he wrote to the Chairman of the meeting held in Wall street in March in support of the President, "is that true reform and national prosperity depend upon a civil service in which the selection shall be made from 'the fittest,' without reference to party. The course of President Hayes at this time deserves the support of every lover of his country, and justifies even the very high estimate I have formed of his character."

Mr. Beekman's sympathy was extended to various liberal movements abroad; to the cause of Protestantism in France, the progress of Italy to independence, the effort of Mexico during the civil war to maintain herself against the plots and armies of France and the usurpation of Maximilian. At a crisis in the affairs of Mexico he presided at the public dinner given in this city in 1864 to Señor Romero, the Minister at Washington from that country, at which were assembled a distinguished audience; Mr. Bryant, Mr. Bancroft, President King of Columbia College, Mr. De Peyster, Mr. Folsom were among the speakers. On a subsequent occasion, in 1867, many of the same guests assembled in this city to congratulate the same representative of Mexico on the final triumph of the national cause. Mr. Bryant then presided and Mr. Beekman was one of the speakers. He was called upon to respond to the toast "Free Churches and Free Schools;" alluding to the promised development of popular education in Mexico, he coupled the efforts there making with the old glorious struggle in Holland, when religion and education were joined in a union necessary and inseparable.

By no means an unimportant part of these relations to the public borne by Mr. Beekman was his cordial participation in the club life of the city. It was an exhibition of the social impulses which formed so distinctive a portion of his character. Unlike churlish John Hawkins of

\* Mr. Beekman published an account of this interview in the *Evening Post*, November 6, 1876.

Johnsonian fame, he was eminently "a clubable man." He was for more than thirty years a member of the St. Nicholas Society, and held in 1868 and 1869, for the customary period of two years, in successive elections, its office of President. In the latter year he delivered before the Society an address, entitled "The Founders of New York," which has been published. In this, in a lively, sketchy way, he introduced not merely the early settlers of Manhattan, but discussed the influence of the Netherlands upon England, and exhibited the trophies of the mother country in the furtherance of education by her pioneer national schools, promoting with the zeal of a native Hollander to the foremost position in the history of his Art, their printer, Lawrence Coster, whose first work was a Child's Primer, which made common schools possible and Luther a power in the world. Mr. Beekman was also one of the originators of and the President of the St. Nicholas Club of this city, and had long been associated with the Century Club.

Of these public and semi-public avocations, there remains but one to mention—his membership in the New York Historical Society. He was one of its oldest members of the present generation, having been elected a resident member on the revival of the Society in 1838. In 1847 he was appointed a member of the Executive Committee, and was made its Secretary. The following year he was elected Domestic Corresponding Secretary, and held that office for seven years. In 1868 he was again appointed on the Executive Committee, and held the position till his decease. In 1872 he was elected Second Vice President of the Society, and was annually re-elected to that office to the present year. He read several papers before the Society—one on "Early European Colonies on the Delaware" in 1847, another on "The History of Religious Missions" in 1849. In the former he had occasion to review the exploits of his ancestor, William Beekman, after the surrender of Fort Casimir, for the particulars of which affair he humorously refers to the "veracious chronicle of Diedrich Knickerbocker," not, however, as his narrative passes along, without a Parthian arrow discharged at the merry historian. "Peace," says he, "be with his ashes! When he wielded over the reputation of our ancestors Geoffrey Crayon's sceptre, he held it, perhaps, over the losel Yankees as a rod of iron, but to the hapless Dutchmen it became a red-hot poker!" In 1874, when the old Beekman house was taken down, he presented to the Society the drawing-room mantel and Dutch tiles, which now adorn the lower hall of the Library building. Other relics of the place found a congenial home in the new country house which Mr. Beekman erected for a summer resi-

dence at Oyster Bay, Long Island—among them the antique coach of English make, one of the first seen in New York, which had been carefully handed down in the family from his ancestor, James, the builder of the old mansion.

It was in the midst of the activities which we have spoken of, in the enjoyment of health, with the promise of prolonged usefulness for many years, that Mr. Beekman was suddenly stricken down. Prostrated by an acute attack of pneumonia, when he appeared successfully to have struggled with the complaint, his strength failed him, and he succumbed to the disease on the 15th of June, 1877, at his residence in this city. The gathering at the funeral of distinguished citizens, many of whom had been his associates in his philanthropic labors, at the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church in the Fifth Avenue, where a commemorative address was delivered by his friend, the Rev. Dr. Vermilye, bore testimony to the regard in which he was held by the community. His remains were interred in Greenwood Cemetery.

A large inherited fortune left Mr. Beekman free from the ordinary cares and anxieties of money making to pursue something of the ideal in life; and he found this ideal in the charms of society and practical philanthropy. He had nothing in him of the recluse. His enjoyments were freely shared with his family and friends. Beyond these his thoughts and cares were with the welfare of the State, that family of fellow-citizens; and the religious world, that greater cosmopolitan family of fellow Christians. He readily gave his time and labors, with his sympathies, to others. All who became acquainted with him saw that he was an eminently social man. His openness of address and easiness of approach, with a certain impressive genial bonhomie, seconded by an unfailing vivacity of conversation, rendered him the delight of his companions. His courteous respect to ladies had in it a spice of the old deferential chivalry. Firm in the maintenance of his own views where they involved points of principle and morality, he was considerate of the opinions of others where these tests were not violated.

It would be unjust to the memory of Mr. Beekman; it would be unjust to his friends to whom we speak, to close this notice without some adequate mention of his religious character. It is not to our taste, it would not be in accordance with his disposition, to parade the sanctities of life before the world; but no proper estimate or conception of the life of our friend can be formed if we omit this element of character. He always appeared to us in his walk and conversation—two old and very descriptive words—the Christian gentleman. Piety with him was a

principle and a tradition. He inherited and cherished the simple, devout Protestant faith of his fathers; and it constantly guided his life. He loved and revered the Bible, not merely as the book of all books, of the most exquisite moral type, as the acme of all literature in its delight of every æsthetic faculty, as the sum of all human philosophy; but as the divine guide to man, born beyond the world, sacred in its source, sacred in its keeping, to be cherished as the life-giving fount, the inspiration and incentive of every human excellence, the promise and support to the race of its hopes and aspirations, the companion of life from the cradle to the grave, from the lisp of infancy to the faltering tone of age. As a means of insight, of elevation, of civilization, the value of this Book in its literature, its divinity, was so transcendantly important in his view, that it was simply incomprehensible to him that any limit should be set to its acceptance. That it should be excluded from early education, that it should be denied the pupil in the Public Schools was, in his perception, as consummate an act of treason to mental and moral light and knowledge as it would be to obscure the rays of the sun in its dissemination of warmth and beauty to the world. His last, most interesting and valuable gift to the New York Historical Society was a superb perfect copy of the first Bible printed in the Dutch language of his ancestors.

Parallel with the worth of the Bible to man, he regarded and ever in his own practice religiously maintained, the observance of the Christian Sabbath, not in any Puritanical exaggeration as a day of austerity and gloom, but as a period of repose from labor and its severities, a time for cheerful family and friendly intercourse, of prayer and praise, of the opening of the mind by the best culture to the higher life of the soul. There was no spirit of exclusiveness in this, no obtrusion of personal views upon others, but a generous liberality of sentiment which respected the rights of those who, mindful of the one great end, might differ from him as to the particular ecclesiastical road in reaching it. In consonance with this feeling, though a conservative in his pursuit of the religious worship of his forefathers in the Reformed Dutch Church, and sincerely attached to its ways, at the close of his life he held a pew in the Presbyterian Church of the Rev. Dr. Hall, whose personal friendship he enjoyed. In his intercourse as a citizen he associated freely with the leaders of the various Christian Churches of the city; and we think we may safely say, was honored and respected by them all. Indeed there was a singular geniality in his disposition, which was shed like sunlight upon all with whom he came in contact. He was a bright,



quick, somewhat sententious talker, enlivening his conversation with jest and story drawn from experience and reading. He had been an observant traveller abroad and at home, and was familiar with many distinguished public men; in his active daily life, as well as from books, he had accumulated a liberal fund of knowledge, which displayed itself in the resources of illustrations and anecdote, and a certain humorous, practical way of stating a question which enlivened his conversation and occasional public speeches. So natural to him and so constant was this vein, this cheery vivacity that he carried with him, a foe to dullness and despondency, a life imparting power, in the intercourse of every-day life, that his friends realize with difficulty his sudden departure. The spirit of such a man, indeed, survives long in the recollection of his friends, not as a memory but a living presence. Verily, these are not the times in which we can afford to neglect such an example of worth, probity and moderation.

EVERT A. DUYCKINCK

## THE FAMILY OF BACHE

The name is Norman. In old English records it is written *de la Bèche* or, *de la Bache*. This word signifies a spade. A sturdy agriculturist no doubt the first to whom this distinctive name was given, and true to the original instinct the race has been always noted for its love of country out-door life. Whether the original Norman crossed the sea with the hardy band which "came in with the Conquest," or followed later to take his share in the spoils of fair England is matter of uncertainty. The two of the name, Theophylact and Richard, who emigrated in the middle of the last century to America, were the sons of William Bache, a Collector of Excise at the town of Settle, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, England. His wife was Mary Blyckenden.

Theophylact Bache, the elder of the two brothers who crossed the sea, was born at Settle on the 17th January, 1734-5, old style. He landed in the city of New York on the 17th September, 1751, consigned to the care of Paul Richard, whose wife, Elizabeth Garland of London, was a relative of the Bache family. Mr. Richard was a citizen of renown. He had been Mayor of the city, an honor the equivalent in New York of that of Lord Mayor of London, and a part maintained and dressed in the colonial days with a due sense of dignitary importance. A man of substance also was Mr. Richard, or he could not have held this exalted position in a city where the merchant magnates recognized no superiors except the representatives of Royal authority, and held at a respectful distance even the professional gentlemen, who in these latter days hold all the honors and take all the tricks. Mr. Richard died in 1756, leaving young Bache, who had already learned the mysteries of the European trade, the good will of his business, three hundred pounds currency, and entrusted to him the liquidation of his estate. For a year young Bache sold Madeira wine and Cheshire cheese, the residue of Mr. Richard's stock in trade, from the old stand in Hanover Square, then moved his store to Hunter's Quay, the new and commodious wharf where the vessels consigned to him lay under his convenient observation. The merchants in those days did not confine themselves to any one class of importation. Coals and salt, sugar and molasses, green tea and Madeira wine were staple articles, and what was known under the general title of European goods included velvets, fustians and cottons of the last print and newest styles. In addition to this varied busi-

ness, after the fashion of the day, he took interest in privateering. At least he is found associated with one of the Lispenards in the ownership of the *Grace*, a ship of eight guns. Many a rich prize was seized and brought in during the wars of the century, New York privateers venturing even to the Spanish main, and standing off and on across the "Trades," in watch for India cargoes. In 1765 the paths of peace becoming again secure, the good ship *Grace* was put into the Bristol trade, and run regularly under the command of William Chambers, a crack Captain, later famous in the tea party days.

In 1760 the enterprising young merchant made a more important and happy venture. In October of that year he married Ann Dorothy, daughter of Andrew Barclay, a wealthy gentleman, who had passed from Curacoa to New York, and there established himself as a merchant. This alliance connected young Bache with some of the best blood of the Province. His wife's family was intermarried with those of Van Cortlandt and Jay. Another of the daughters of Andrew Barclay was married to Major Moncrieff, a British officer of distinction; another became the second wife of Dr. Richard Bayley.

The younger of the two brothers, Richard Bache, was also born at Settle, September 12th, 1737, and appears to have followed early in the footsteps of the elder. The colonies were a fortunate opening for such families as those of his father. Richard was the eighteenth child. The precise date of his arriving does not appear, but he had already established himself in business in Philadelphia in 1760. Here he acted partly as his brother's agent, especially in the underwriting of vessels and cargoes. Underwriting was a profitable business in those days, three and a half per cent. being a usual charge for an Havana risk. The policies were engaged to be of "as much force and effect as the surest writing or Policy of Assurance made in Lombard street or elsewhere in London." In Philadelphia Richard Bache connected himself by marriage with one of those characters whose single lustre is sufficient to shed perpetual light upon its most distant alliances. On the 3d October, 1767, Richard Bache married Sarah, sole daughter of the illustrious Franklin, a woman of rare accomplishments and great beauty. Thus early did these two youths secure for themselves and their posterity a firm place in the great colonies into which they were adopted. It was from Franklin that the late distinguished Chief of the Coast Survey, Alexander Dallas Bache, inherited his talent for observation and discovery. One of his most interesting tracts, published in the *Journal of the Franklin Institute* in 1833, was entitled "An Attempt to fix the Date

of the Observation of Dr. Franklin in Relation to the Northeast Storms of the Atlantic Coast of the United States." Dr. Franklin was the first to observe and establish the fact that northeast storms begin to leeward, and are often more violent there than farther to windward, which he stated with his usual perspicuity in 1749. The meteorological notices which warn mariners and farmers of weather changes with an accuracy now proverbial, practically originated with Franklin. A most curious instance of their value was seen when travelers, intending to return from Europe a few days since, were known to postpone their departure on the telegraphic announcement of the great cyclone which recently swept over our southern coast, and then diverging crossed the Atlantic.

On the resignation by Franklin of the office of Postmaster-General under the Crown, the headquarters of which Department were at Philadelphia, Richard Bache succeeded him in this position.

During the troubles which preceded the revolution it is to be supposed that both brothers were in accord in their sentiments. Theophylact was foremost among the New York merchants who openly resisted the aggressions of the Home Government and united heartily with them in the Non-importation agreements which, originating in New York in 1765, proved sufficient in their rigorous enforcement to compel the repeal of the Stamp Act. It was when in 1770 new encroachments of the Ministry were met by new determination not to trade with the mother country until all grievances were redressed he was again one of the committee chosen to see to their execution. So also when in May, 1774, a Committee of Correspondence was raised upon the news of the closing of the port of Boston, he was a regular attendant upon its meetings and a willing promoter of the first Continental Congress, to the measures and recommendations of which he faithfully adhered. When, however, the drums of Lexington awakened the Colonies from their dreams of reconciliation the attitude of the two brothers was different. While Richard, under the influences of the commanding and energetic genius of Franklin and the not less powerful attraction of his charming and intellectual wife was naturally drawn to the patriot cause, Theophylact, whose sympathies were all English and whose alliance was with a family as English as his own, stood aloof from the contest.

He seems to have had little disposition to public life, and to have carefully avoided taking any part in the bitter struggle. He was a genial, hospitable, warm-hearted gentleman. His tastes were domestic, and his only pleasure outside his own large family circle was his love of field sports and an "old country" attachment for his dog and gun. Warned

that he had incurred the suspicion of the Committee of Safety he left the city, but in a frank, manly, open manner wrote to the Committee of Congress that "since the unhappy dispute begun he had not contravened any order of the Congress, Continental or Provincial; that such was not his intention." He added his firm hope for a reconciliation, and that this once happy country might again enjoy the blessings of peace.

His later course was consistent with these professions. Returning to the city during the British occupation he distinguished himself by his kindness to the patriot prisoners, not confining his good offices to his own friends or fellow citizens alone but including all in his generous philanthropy. To this Captain Alexander Graydon, of the Pennsylvania Line, captured in 1776, bears pleasing testimony. "Whatever was the motive" he writes in his interesting memoirs, "the behavior of Mr. Bache was altogether free from intolerance and party rancor; it was more, it was hospitable and kind. His table, his Madeira and his purse were placed at the service of the unfortunate officers, even of those who were unknown to him personally or through their connections." He was also one of the Vestry charged with the care of the city poor by the British authorities.

In 1777 he was chosen President of the New York Chamber of Commerce, the fifth in the order of distinguished merchants who held this post from the organization of this first American commercial corporation in 1768. After the war he resumed his mercantile relations with Great Britain, and in 1803 took his son Andrew into his house. His old prosperity, however, had deserted him. In this he shared the fate of most of his compeers who were engaged in trade in the troublous period which followed the French revolution, when the commerce of neutral nations fell a prey to the barbarous navigation restrictions imposed by France in the "Milan decrees" and followed by England in her "orders in Council." He died in New York on the 30th October, 1807. His stature was Norman in its great size, and his instincts were large and generous. In every way he was a noble example of the English race.

By his wife Ann Dorothy Barclay he had a numerous issue. His name was continued in the line of his sons Paul Richard, Andrew and William. There are many descendants in the female line in the families of Bleeker, Satterthwaite, Lisenard and McEvers.

The portrait which prefaces this sketch is from a crayon head taken by the French emigré St. Memin, now owned by Mr. Thomas Wilkinson Satterthwaite, of New York, a grandson of Mr. Bache.

The descendants of the Philadelphia branch are quite numerous, and the name is now almost recognized as a Pennsylvania name. The whole souled patriotism of Sarah Franklin, popularly known by the endearing household name of Sally Bache, and her rare personal charms have been continued in her posterity. Her children were noted for what has been termed "their robust beauty," and of their attachment to the nation her father did so much to form no further proof is needed than the statement made by Mr. Parton, the accomplished biographer of Dr. Franklin, that of one hundred and ten descendants living in 1862 ten were serving in the Union army and not one was opposed to the national cause.

The children of Richard Bache were eight in number, Benjamin Franklin, Dr. William, Louis and Richard, all whom left issue in the male line; of his daughters Elizabeth Franklin, Deborah and Sarah intermarried with the families of Harwood, Duane and Sergeant.

In both branches this family has maintained for more than a century its reputation for intellectual and moral excellence.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

NARRATIVE BY  
CAPTAIN JOHN STUART  
OF GENERAL ANDREW LEWIS' EXPEDITION  
AGAINST THE INDIANS IN THE  
YEAR 1774, AND OF THE BATTLE  
OF PLEASANT POINT,  
VIRGINIA.

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—The subjoined sketch is believed to be the most authentic account in existence in this country of the expedition which terminated in the battle of the Virginia colonists with the Indians at Point Pleasant, Virginia, on the 10th of October, 1774. It was written by Capt. John Stuart, who was a prominent actor in the thrilling events which marked that memorable pre-Revolutionary struggle. The original manuscript of this sketch, now in my possession, bears the marks of age, and I am assured from its history previous to its reaching my hands that it is the genuine narrative penned or dictated by Capt. Stuart himself. It is given below *literatim*, except as to a few corrections in orthography and punctuation. All the historical accounts of this expedition and battle in print are based upon this narrative of Capt. Stuart.

Although General Andrew Lewis, "the hero of Point Pleasant," as he has justly been designated, was a leading actor in the events in which he figured, fame has trumpeted to the world his brave exploits with feebler tone than the deeds of many other heroes of lesser note. History has been satisfied with a few fragmentary allusions to some salient incidents in his military career. Yet these few are of such a striking character that, like the sententious aphorisms of an-

cient Grecian sages, or the renowned deeds of Spartan and Roman valor, they have been crystallized into historic gems which adorn the pages of history with no doubtful lustre. One who was deemed worthy by General Washington to be invested with the high office of Commander-in-Chief of the American army, needs no weightier testimonial to his character as a brave soldier and skillful military chieftain.

His adopted State, Virginia, whose sturdy mountaineers he led in many a bloody frontier encounter, has at last paid him the debt of honor due him, long delayed, by placing his statue in that group of statues of her most eminent sons which encircle the base of her Washington monument at Richmond.

This monument was erected at the public expense, "to serve as a memorial to future ages of the love of a grateful people" for the illustrious Washington. It is a memorial of not only the people's gratitude, but of their devoted patriotism, symbolized by the equestrian statue which crowns the structure of him who will be known in all coming time as the "Father of his country." And this marble pile commemorates besides these Spartan virtues others no less meritorious. Six allegorical figures, symbolizing "Colonial Times," "Justice," "Revolution," "Independence," "Bill of Rights," and "Finance" encircle the monument, thus epitomizing the great struggle through which Virginia, as an integral part of the American nation, passed in her march from foreign vassalage to perfect civil liberty.

Andrew Lewis, whose statue is coupled with that representing "Colonial Times,"

stands, as it were, on the very threshold of that era which was fraught with such momentous events. Like Janus, the heathen deity of Rome, his resolute arm helped to push aside the brazen doors through which the conquering colonists marched forth to victory, for in the language of the annexed sketch, "This Battle (of Point Pleasant) was, in fact, the beginning of the Revolutionary War, that has obtained for our country the liberty and independence enjoyed by the United States."

The following brief sketch of his life is chiefly drawn from Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia.

Andrew Lewis was descended from Huguenot on his paternal and from Celtic ancestry on his maternal side. He was born in the province of Ulster, Ireland, about the year 1730, and was brought to Virginia in early childhood by his father, John Lewis, who settled in Augusta county, and founded the town of Staunton. Andrew entered the military service of the colony at the commencement of the French and Indian wars, and was with Washington at the capitulation of Fort Necessity, July 6th, 1754. He was promoted to the rank of Major, and in the year 1756 commanded the abortive "Sandy Creek Expedition" against the Shawnees. He accompanied Major Grant, of the British army, on his disastrous reconnoissance of Fort Duquesne in 1758, and acquired during that campaign the highest reputation for courage and prudence. He was captured by the enemy and kept as a prisoner at Fort Duquesne until that post was abandoned by the French.

After the war Major Lewis resided on

Roanoke river, in Botetourt (now Roanoke) county. In 1774, while representing that county in the House of Burgesses, hostilities were renewed between the whites and Indians on the western frontier. Lewis was appointed Brigadier General by Governor Dunmore and assigned to the command of the forces raised in Botetourt, Augusta and adjoining counties. General Lewis marched his troops to Point Pleasant, at the junction of the great Kanawha with the Ohio, and on the 10th of October, 1774, gained a victory over the most formidable Indian force that ever assembled within the limits of the Old Dominion. The Indians were led by the celebrated Shawnee warrior Cornstalk.

Washington had so high an opinion of the bravery and military skill of General Lewis that at the commencement of the Revolutionary war he recommended him to Congress for appointment as one of the Major Generals of the American Army. It is also said that when Washington was commissioned as Commander-in-Chief he expressed the wish that the appointment had been given to General Lewis. Congress did not appoint Lewis a Major-General; a slight which elicited from Washington a letter to General Lewis expressive of his regret at the course pursued by Congress. At his solicitation Lewis accepted the commission of Brigadier-General, and was soon after ordered to the command of the Virginia troops stationed near Williamsburg. On the 9th of July, 1776, he expelled Lord Dunmore from his retreat on Gwynn's Island (on the Chesapeake, east of Mathews County). General Lewis resigned his command in



1780 to return home, being ill with a fever, contracted in the low country. He died on his way, in Bedford County, about thirty miles from his own home on the Roanoke, lamented by all acquainted with his meritorious services and superior qualities.

His remains were brought to the county of Botetourt (now Roanoke), and were interred on his farm, which lies adjacent to the present town of Salem, the county seat of Roanoke County. Like the last resting places of many of the world's worthies, the burial place of General Lewis is almost "unknown," and certainly is "unhonored and unsung." It is located on a commanding eminence about one mile from Salem, overlooking one of the most lovely landscapes in the State of Virginia. The grave bears the marks of utter loneliness and neglect. It is situated in the midst of a dense, tangled copse of brambles and bushes. The only thing to mark the spot as being the burial place of one who figured so conspicuously and honorably in the annals of our country is a large boulder-stone lying at the head of the grave and having simply painted on it the name, "Gen. Andrew Lewis." The grave was thus marked a few years since by a gentleman who at one time owned the land to which it belonged. Had it not been for his thoughtful and patriotic care, perhaps in a few years there would have been no trace of its existence. A cemetery association, composed of citizens of Salem and vicinity, who have in the last few years laid out and opened a beautiful cemetery on the outskirts of the town, have selected and set apart a lot to contain the sleeping ashes of the

dead hero. Here, we trust, at some future time a monument suited to his character and public services will be erected to his memory. WM. MC C.

Salem, Va., August 13th, 1877.

NARRATIVE.—About the year 1749, a person who was a Citizen of the County of Frederick, and subject to paroxysms of lunacy, when influenced by such Fits, usually made excursions into the Wilderness, and in his Rambles Westwardly fell in on the Waters of Greenbrier River. At that time the Country on the Western Waters was but little known to the English Inhabitants of the then Colonies of America, being claimed by the French, who had commenced settlements on the Ohio and its Waters west of the Alleghany Mountains. The lunatic, being surprised to find Waters running a different Course from any he had before known, returned with the Intelligence of his Discovery, which abounded with Game. This soon excited the Enterprise of others, and two men from New England of the name of Jacob Marlin and Stephen Suel, took up a Residence on Greenbrier River; but soon disagreeing in sentiment, a quarrel occasioned their separation, and Suel, for the sake of peace, quit their Cabin and made his Abode in a large Hollow Tree. In this situation they were found by the late Genl. Andrew Lewis. In year 1751 Mr. Lewis was appointed Agent for a Company of Grantees, who obtained from the Governour and Council of Virginia an order for 100,000 Acres of land, lying on the Waters of Greenbrier River, and did, this year, proceed to make Surveys

to complete the quantity of said granted lands; and finding Marlin and Suel living in the neighborhood of each other, inquired what could induce them to live separate in a Wilderness so distant from the Habitations of any other human being. They informed him that the Difference of Opinions occasioned their Separation, and that they had since enjoyed more Tranquility and a better Understanding; for Suel said, that each morning, when they arose, and Marlin came out of the Great House and he from his Hollow Tree, they saluted each other, saying "good morning, Mr. Marlin," and "good morning, Mr. Suel," so that a good Understanding then existed between them, but it did not last; for Suel removed about forty Miles further West to a Creek that still bears his Name; there the Indians found him and Killed him.

Previous to the year 1755 Mr. Lewis had completed for the grantees under the Order of Council, upwards of 50,000 Acres, and the War then commencing between England and France, nothing further was done in the Business until the year 1761, when his Majesty issued his Proclamation, commanding all his Subjects within the Bounds of the Colony of Virginia, who were living or had made Settlements on the Western Waters, to remove from them, as the lands were claimed by the Indians, and good Policy required that a peaceable Understanding should be preserved with them to prevent Hostilities on their Part. The Order of Council was never afterwards carried into Effect, or his Majesty's consent obtained to confirm it. At the Commencement of the Revolution, when

the State of Virginia began to assume Independance, and held a Convention in 1776, some Efforts were made to have the Order of Council established under the New Order of Things, then beginning to take Place, but it was not confirmed, and the Commissioners were appointed in 1777 to grant Certificates to each Individual who had made Settlements on the Western Waters in Virginia previous to the year 1768, and since, with preference according to the Time of Improvements, which Certificate gave the Holder a Right to 400 Acres for his Settlement claims, and the Pre-emption of 1,000 more, if so much was found clear of prior Claims and the holder chose to accept.

The following year, 1778, Greenbrier was separated from Botetourt County, and the County took its name from the River, which was so named by old Col. John Lewis, father of the late Genl. Lewis and one of the Grantees under the Order of Council, who, in company with his Son Andrew, exploring the Country in 1751, entangled himself in a Bunch of Greenbriers on the River and declared he would ever after call the River *Greenbrier* River.

After Peace was confirmed between England and France, in the year 1761, the Indians commenced Hostilities in 1763, when all the Inhabitants residing in Greenbrier were totally cut off by a Party of Indians, headed by the Cornstalk Warrior. The chief Settlements were on Muddy Creek. Those Indians, in number about sixty, introduced themselves into the People's Houses under a Mask of Friendship, and every Civility was offered them by the People, provid-

ing victuals and Accommodations for their Entertainment, when on a sudden they Killed the Men and made Prisoners of the Women and Children. From thence they passed over into the levels, where some Families were collected at the house of Archibald Clendinen (where the honorable Ballard Smith now lives). There were between fifty and one hundred persons, men, women and children, there. The Indians were entertained, as at Muddy Creek, in the most hospitable manner. Clendinen having just arrived from a Hunt with three fat Elks, they were plentifully feasted. In the Mean Time, an old Woman with a sore Leg was showing her Distress to an Indian, and inquiring if he could administer to her Relief, he said: "I think I can," and drawing a Tomahawk, instantly killed her, and almost all the Men that were in the House.

Conrad Youcam only escaped by being some Distance from the House. When the outcries of the Women and Children alarmed him, he fled to Jackson's River, alarmed the People, who were unwilling to believe him, until the Approach of the Indians convinced them. The People all fled before them, and they pursued on to Carr's Creek in Rockbridge County, where many Families were killed and taken by them. At Clendinen's a Scene of much Cruelty was performed, and a Negro Woman, who was endeavoring to escape, killed her own Child, that was pursuing her and crying, lest that she might be discovered by its cries. Mrs. Clendinen did not fail to abuse the Indians with Terms of Reproach, calling them Cowards, &c., al-

though the Tomahawk was drawn over her Head with Threats of instant Death, and the Scalp of her Husband lashed about her Jaws. The Prisoners were all taken over to Muddy Creek, and a party of the Indians retained them there till the Return of the others from Carr's Creek, when the whole were taken off together. On the Day they started from the Foot of Keeney's Knob, going over the mountains, Mrs. Clendinen gave her infant Child to a Prisoner Woman to carry, as the Prisoners were in the Centre of the Line, with the Indians in Front and Rear, and she escaped into a Thicket, and concealed herself till they all passed by. The Cries of the Child soon made the Indians inquire for the mother, who was missing, and one of them said: "I will soon bring the Cow to her Calf," & taking the Child by the Heels, he beat out its Brains against a Tree, and throwing it down in the Path, all marched over it, until its Guts were tramped out with the Horses. She told me that She returned that Night in the Dark to her own House, a distance of more than ten miles, and covered her Husband's Corpse with Rails, which lay in the yard where he was killed in endeavoring to escape over a Fence with one of his Children in his Arms; and then She went into a Corn Field, where great Fear came upon her, and She imagined She saw a man standing by her within a few steps.

The Indians continued the War until 1764, and with much Depredation, on the Frontier Inhabitants, making excursions as far as within a few miles of Staunton. An end, however, was put to the War in the Fall of that year by the march of an Army, under the command

of Col. Bouquette, a British officer, who assembled with his Regular Troops at Fort Pitt some Companies of Militia from Augusta County and other Places, which, I believe, either volunteered their services or were such as were ordered on the Frontiers to protect the Inhabitants during the War. Col. Bouquette held a Treaty with the Indians some where near Muskingum, and the Indians delivered up many Prisoners, who returned to their Friends, and a Peace was concluded which continued until the year 1774.

I do not remember of hearing it alleged by any one what occasioned the War on the part of the Indians in 1763 (being then very young); but about that Time the British Government had passed an Act of parliament to tax the American Colonies; but, on the Remonstrance of the People and the Opposition of some of the British Politicians, they repealed the Law. I have since thought that they had been urged to it by private British Agency, as it is well known they were influenced that Way to commence the War in 1774.

In the Spring of that year General Lewis represented the County of Botetourt for the Assembly, and his Brother, Col. Charles Lewis, represented the County of Augusta at Williamsburg, which was then the Capital of our Government. During the Sitting of the Assembly in the Month of April or May Government received Intelligence of the hostile appearances of the Indians, who had fallen on the Traders in the Nation, and put them all to death, and were making other arrangements for the War.

General Lewis and his brother Charles

sent an Express immediately to the Frontier Settlements of their respective Counties, requesting them to put themselves in a posture of Defense. They had, each, the command of the Militia in their Counties, at that Time. And I was ordered by General Lewis to send out some Scouts to watch the Warrior-Path beyond the Settlements lately made in Greenbrier, which had re-commenced in the year 1769. We were few in Number, and in no Condition to oppose an Attack from any considerable Force. But Succour was promised us, as soon as they could arrive from the Assembly; and in the mean Time, arrangements were made for the carrying on an Expedition against the Shawnees, between the Earl of Dunmore, who was then Governor of Virginia, and the Lewises, before they left Williamsburg; the Governor to have the Command of the Northern Division of an Army of Volunteer Militia, or otherwise Draughts, to be collected from the Counties of Frederick, Shenandoah, and the Settlements towards Fort Pitt; Genl Lewis to have the Command of a Southern Division of like Troops, collected from the Counties of Augusta, Botetourt, and the Adjacent Counties below the Blue Ridge. Col. Charles Lewis was to command the Augusta Troops, and Col. William Fleming the Botetourt Troops under Genl Lewis. The Governour was to take his Route by the Way of Pittsburg, and Genl Lewis down the Kanahway, the whole Armies to assemble at the mouth of the great Kanahway on the Ohio River.

General Lewis's Army assembled in Greenbrier at Camp Union (now Lewis-

burg) about the 4th September, 1774, amounting in all to about eleven hundred men, and proceeded from thence on their March, on the 11th Day of said Month. The Captains commanding the Augusta Volunteers were Capt. George Mathews, Capt. Alexander McClanaghan, Capt. John Dickeson, Capt. John Lewis, Capt. Benjamin Harrison, Capt. William Naul, Capt. Joseph Haynes and Capt. Sam'l Wilson. They commanding the Botetourt Companies were Capt. Matthew Arbuckle, Capt. John Murray, Capt. John Lewis, Capt. James Robison, Capt. Robert McClanaghan, Capt. James Ward, and Capt. John Stuart.<sup>1</sup> In the Course of that Summer, and not long after We received Notice of the hostile Appearance of the Indians, they came up the Kanahway and Killed Walter Kelley.

Kelley had begun a Settlement about twelve miles below the great Falls when they made the Attack, and Col. John Fields of Culpepper County was at Kelley's about to make some Surveys on military Claims, or otherwise. He had with him several of his Neighbors, and one or two Negroes. I had sent an Express to them with Advice to remove immediately, as it was apprehended the Indians were about to break out, and that they were in great Danger. Kelley, who I believe was a Fugitive from the Back Parts of South Carolina, and of a bold and intrepid Disposition, received my Intelligence with Caution, and sent off his Family and stock for Greenbrier with his brother, a young man of equal suspicious Character. But Fields, trusting more to his own Consequence and

<sup>1</sup> This Captain John Stuart was the author of this narrative.

W. McC.

better knowledge of publick Facts, endeavoured to persuade Kelley there was no Danger, as Nothing of the Kind had been before heard of, and our Greenbrier Intelligence not worth noticing. On the Evening of the same Day, and before Kelly's Brother and Family had got out of hearing of the Guns, the Indians came on Kelley and Fields, where they were taking leather from a Tan Trough, at a small Distance from the Cabin, fired on them, and Killed Kelley on the Spot. Fields ran into the Cabin, where their Guns were all unloaded. He picked up one, and recollecting it was not charged, ran out of the House into a Corn Field within a few steps of the Door, and left his Negro Girl and Scotch Boy crying at the Door. The Boy was Killed and the Girl carried off. Fields made his Escape, but never saw an Indian. Kelley's Brother gave Information that he heard Guns fire soon after he started with the Family, and expected his brother and Col. Fields were Killed. I prepared to go and see what was the consequence; raised about ten or fifteen Men, and proceeded on our Way to the Kanahway about ten miles, when I met Col. Fields naked, except his shirt. His Limbs was grievously lacerated with Briers and Brush, his Body worn down with Fatigue and Cold, having run in that Condition from the Kanahway, upwards of eighty miles, through the Woods. He was then, I guess upwards of fifty years old, but of a hardy, strong constitution. He was afterwards killed in the Battle on the 10th of October following. But a fatality pursued the Family of Kelley, for the Indians came to Greenbrier, on Muddy Creek, and killed young

Kelley, and took his Niece prisoner about three Weeks after they had killed her Father.

About this Time the Disputes between the British Government and the Colonies began to run high, on Account of the Duties laid upon Tea imported to this Country, and much suspicion was entertained that the Indians were urged by the British Agents to begin a War upon us, and to kill the Traders then in the Nation. However that might be, Facts afterwards corroborated those suspicions. The Mouth of the great Kanahway is distant from Camp Union about 160 miles, the Way mountainous and rugged. At the Time we commenced our march, no Tract or Path was made, and but few white men had ever seen the place. Our principal pilot was Capt. Matthew Arbuckle; our Bread Stuff was packed upon Horses, and Drovers of Cattle furnished our meat, of which We had a plentiful Supply, as Drovers of Cattle and pack Horses came in succession after us; but We went on expeditiously under every Disadvantage, and arrived at Point Pleasant about the 1st of October, where we expected the Earl of Dunmore would meet us with his Army; who was to have come down the River from Fort Pitt, as was previously determined between the Commanders. But in this Expectation we were greatly disappointed, for his Lordship pursued a different Route, and had taken his March from Pittsburg by Land towards the Shawnee Towns. Gen'l Lewis finding himself disappointed in meeting the Governor and his Army at Point Pleasant, despatched two Scouts up the river, by land, to Fort Pitt, to endeavour to learn the Cause of the Dis-

appointment, and our Army remained encamped to await their Return. Before we marched from Camp Union we were joined by Col. John Field, with a Company of Men from Culpepper, and Capt. Thomas Buford, from Bedford County, also three other Companies under the Command of Capt. Evan Shelby, Capt. William Russell and Capt. Harbert, from Holston (now Washington County.) Those Troops were to compose a Division, commanded by Col. William Christian, who was then convening more Men in that quarter of the Country with a View of pursuing us to the Mouth of the great Kanahway, where the whole Army were all expected to meet, and proceed from thence to the Shawnee Towns. The last mentioned five Companies completed our Army to eleven hundred Men. During the the time our Scouts were going expressly up the River to Fort Pitt, the Governor had despatched three men, lately Traders amongst the Indians, down the River expressly to Gen'l Lewis, to inform him of his new Plan and the Route he was about to take, with Instructions to pursue on our March to the Shawnee Towns, where he expected to assemble with us, but what Calculations he might have made for Delay or other Disappointments that might happen to two armies under so long and difficult a March through a trackless wilderness I never could guess; or how he could suppose they would assemble at a Conjuncture so critical as the Business then in question required, was never Known to any one. The Governor's Express arrived at our Encampment on Sunday, the 9th Day of October, and on that Day it was my lot

to command the Guard. One of the Men was of the name of McCullough, with whom I had made some Acquaintance in Philadelphia, in the Year 1766, at the Indian Queen, where we both happened to lodge. This man, supposing I was in Lewis's Army, inquired and was told I was on Guard. He made it his Business to visit me and renew our Acquaintance, and in the Course of the Conversation I had with him he informed me that he had recently left the Shawnee Towns and gone to the Governor's Camp, which made me desirous to know his opinion of our expected success to subdue the Indians, and whether he thought they would be presumptuous enough to offer to fight us, as we supposed we had a Force superior to any Thing they could oppose to us. He answered: "Ah! they will give you Grinders, and that before long," and repeating it over again with an oath, swore we would get Grinders very soon. I believe he and his Companions left our Camp that evening to return to the Governor's Camp; and the next Morning two young Men set out very early to hunt for Deer. They happened to ramble up the River two or three Miles, and on a sudden fell on the Indian Camp, who had crossed the River on the Evening before, and was just about fixing for Battle. They discovered the young men and fired upon them; one was Killed, the other escaped and got into the Camp just before Sunrise. He stopped before my Tent, and I discovered a Number of Men collecting round him as I lay in bed. I jumped up and approached him, to know what was the Alarm, when I heard him declare he saw above five Acres of land covered with

Indians, as thick as one could stand beside another. Gen'l Lewis immediately ordered a Detachment of Augusta Troops, under his brother Charles Lewis, and another Detachment of Botetourt Troops, under Col. William Fleming. These were composed of the Companies commanded by the eldest Captains, and the Junior Captains were ordered to stay in Camp to aid the others as occasion might require. The Detachments marched out in two lines, and met the Indians in the same Order of March, about four hundred yards from our Camp, and in sight of the Guard. The Indians made the first fire, and Killed both the Scouts in Front of the lines just as the Sun was rising. A very heavy fire soon commenced and Col. Lewis was mortally wounded, but walked into the Camp, and died a few minutes afterwards, observing to Col. Charles Sims with his last Words: "I have sent one of the Enemy to Eternity before me." During his life it was his lot to have frequent skirmishes with the Indians, in which he was always successful, and gained much Applause for his Intrepidity, and was greatly beloved by his Troops. Col. Fleming was also wounded, and our Men had given Way some Distance before they were re-enforced by other Companies issuing in succession from the Camp, when the Indians in Turn had to retreat until they had formed a line behind logs and Trees across from the Bank of the Ohio to the Banks of the Kanahway, and kept up their fire till Sun-Set.

The Indians were exceedingly active in concealing their Dead that were Killed, and I saw a young Man draw

out three that were covered with Leaves, beside a large log, in the Midst of the Battle. Col. Christian came with Troops to our Camp that Night about eleven O'Clock; Gen'l Lewis having dispatched a messenger up the Kanahway to give him Notice we were engaged, and to hasten his March to our Assistance. He brought about three hundred Men with him, and marched out early the next Morning over the Battle Ground, found twenty-one of the Enemy slain on the Ground, and Twelve more were afterwards found, all concealed in one Place, and the Indians confessed they had thrown a Number into the River in Time of the Battle. So that it is possible the slain on both sides are about equal. We had twenty-five Killed and one hundred and forty wounded. The Indians were headed by their Chief, the Cornstalk Warrior, who, in his plan of March and Retreat, discovered great Military Skill. Amongst the slain on our Side were Col. Charles Lewis, Col. John Field, Capt. Buford, Capt. Murray, Capt. Ward, Capt. Wilson, Capt. Robert McClanaghan, Lieut. Allen, Lieut. Goldsby, Lieut. Dillen and other subaltern officers.

Col. Field had raised his Company as I believe under no particular Instructions, and seemed from the Time he joined our Army at Camp Union, to assume an Independence, not subject to the Control of others. His claims to such privileges might have risen from some former military Service, in which he had been engaged, which entitled him to a Rank, that ought to relieve him from being subject to Control by Volunteer Commanders, and when we marched from Camp Union he took a separate

Route, and on the third day after our Departure, two of his Men, of the Name of Coward and Clay, who left the Company to look for Deer for Provisions as they marched, fell in with two Indians on the Waters of the little Meadows. As Clay passed round the Root of a large log, under which one of the Indians was concealed, he killed Clay, and running up to scalp him, Coward killed him, being at some Distance behind Clay. They both fell together on the same spot; the other Indian fled and passed our Scouts unarmed. A Bundle of Ropes was found where they killed Clay, which manifested their intention was to steal Horses. Col. Field joined us again that Evening and separated no more until we arrived at Point Pleasant, the Mouth of the great Kanahway.

After the Battle we had different Accounts of the Number of Indians that attacked us. Some asserted there were upwards of one Thousand; some said no more than four or five hundred. The correct Number was never known to us; however, it was certain they were combined of different nations, Shawanees, Winedotts and Delawares. Of the former there is no Doubt the whole strength of the Nation was engaged in the Battle. And on the Evening of the Day before the Battle, when they were about to cross over the River, the Cornstalk proposed to the Indians, if they were agreed, he would come and talk with us and endeavor to make Peace, but they would not listen to him. The next day, as we are informed, he killed one of the Indians for retreating in the Battle in a cowardly manner. I could hear him the whole Day speaking to his men very



loudly, and one of my Company, who had once been a prisoner, told me what he was saying was encouraging the Indians, saying: "be strong, be strong."

None will suppose we had a contemptible Enemy with whom to do, who has any knowledge of the Exploits performed by them. It was chiefly the Shawnees that cut off the British Army under Genl. Braddock in the year 1755, and nineteen years before our Battle, when the Genl. himself, and Sir Peter Hackett, second in Command, were both slain, and a mere remnant of the whole Army only escaped. And they were they who defeated Maj. Grant and his Scotch Highlanders at Fort Pitt in 1758, when the whole of the Troops were killed and taken prisoners. And after our Battle they defeated all the Flower of the first bold and intrepid Settlers of Kentucky at the Battle of the Blue Licks. There fell Col. John Todd and Col. Stephen Trigg. The whole of their men were almost all cut to pieces. Afterwards they defeated the United States Army over the Ohio, commanded by Genl. Harmer, and lastly they defeated Genl. Arthur St. Clair's great Army with prodigious Slaughter.

I believe it was never before known that so many Indians were ever killed in any Engagement with the White People as fell by the Army of Genl. Lewis at Point Pleasant. They are now dwindled to Insignificance, and no longer noticed, and Futurity will not easily perceive the prowess of which they were possessed. Of all the Indians the Shawnees were the most bloody and terrible, holding all other Men, Indians as well as White Men, in Contempt as Warriors, in com-

parison with themselves. This opinion made them more restless and fierce than any other Savages, and they boasted that they had killed ten Times as many white people as any other Indians had. They were well-formed, active and ingenious people; were assuming and imperious in the presence of others not of their own Nation, and sometimes very cruel.

Genl. Lewis's Army were all chiefly young Volunteers, well trained in the Woods to the use of Arms, as hunting in those days was much practised and preferred to Agriculture by enterprising young men. The produce of the soil was of little Value on the West side of the Blue Ridge; the Ways bad and the Distance too great to market to make it esteemed. Such pursuits inured them to Hardships and Danger.

We had more than every fifth man in our Army killed or wounded in the Battle, but none was disheartened. All crossed the River, fully determined to destroy the Enemy, with Cheerfulness, and had they not been restrained by the Governour's Orders, I believe they would have exterminated the Shawnee Nation.

This Battle was in Fact the beginning of the revolutionary war that has obtained for our Country the Liberty and Independence enjoyed by the United States (and a good presage of future success), for it is well known the Indians were influenced by the British to commence the War, to terrify and confound the people before they, the British, commenced Hostilities themselves the following year at Lexington, in Massachusetts.

It was thought by British Politicians that to excite an Indian War would pre-

vent a Combination of the Colonies to the opposing of parliamentary measures to tax the Americans; therefore the blood spilt in this memorable Battle will long be remembered by all the good Citizens of Virginia and the United States with Gratefulness.

The Indians passed over the Ohio River in the Night Time after the Battle, and made the best of their Way back to the Shawnee Towns on the Sciota. And after burying our Dead, Gen'l Lewis ordered Intrenchments to be made round our Camp by extending across from the Ohio to the Kanahway, to secure the wounded, under an officer, with an adequate Number of Men to protect them in safety, and marched his Army across the Ohio for the Shawnee Towns. In this Command he had many difficulties to encounter, of which none can well judge who has never experienced similar Troubles, to preserve order and necessary Discipline over an Army of Volunteers, who had no knowledge of the use of Discipline or military order, when in an Enemy's Country well skilled in their own Manner of Warfare. And it is well remembered that the youth of our Country, previous to those Times, had grown up in Times of peace, and were quite unacquainted with military operations of any kind. Ignorance of these Duties, together with high Notions of Independence and Equality of Condition, rendered the Service extremely difficult and disagreeable to the Commander, who was by nature of a lofty and high military Spirit, and who had seen much military Service under Gen'l Braddock and other Commanders.

## FRENCH COLONIZATION ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

*Advice from France.* Monsieur d'Iberville, who was sent to make a Discovery of the River *Misissipi*, return'd to *Rochel* the 29th of the last month, having performed the charge of his Commission with as good success as could be expected from him. He found the Mouth of the River very much pest-er'd by the fall of several great Trees, which hinder the entrance of great Ships, though the water was very deep. He says the Current is very rapid; however he made a shift to Row against the Stream with two Shallops, and two Canots made of the Bark of Trees, above a Hundred Leagues up the River as far as a certain place, where the same River forms a little Arm, by which he came back. Having made all these Observations, he Order'd a Wooden Fort to be built at the Mouth of the River, with four Bastions, and Garrison'd it with 24 Men. He also caus'd to be sown in the Lands adjoyning, all sorts of Grain that grow in *France*; which Grains were come up before his departure, which was the 31st of *May*. He return'd through the Straight of *Bahama*; the Advantage of this Establishment is, that the New Fort is not above 60 Leagues distant from the Southern Savages with whom the French trade.—*The State of Europe, July, 1699.*

*Advice from France.* Since the Discovery of the River *Misissipi* in *America*, there has been another more considerable made by Eleven Frenchmen, about Eight Years ago, but of which no Infor-

mation was giv'n till within this little while, as well by advice from *St. Domingo*, whither one of these Discoverers, after some Hardships, got safe with much ado; as also from *Brest* where another of these Discoverers landed about the beginning of this month. Both report, that sailing up the River *Missisipi* in *Canada*, they saw another River to the North-West which was to them unknown. They sailed up this River, and after a Navigation of about 300 Leagues, they met with a Civiliz'd People very Courteous, and by whom they were receiv'd and treated very kindly. Nor were they less surpris'd by the magnificence of the People, who made use of nothing but Gold for every thing, and made so slight of it, that they let 'em carry away as much as they could load in their Canou. But in their return they were taken by the English then at War with *France*. They add that the English not being satisfy'd with their Booty, would needs know of their prisoners where they had it: which the French not being willing to discover, they put three to the Rack, who dy'd under their Torments, without making any Discovery. That the rest fearing the same Usage, took part with the English, except the two above mention'd, who escaping different ways, yet agree in their Report. Some Geographers, to who the Court order'd that this discovery should be made, judge by the Situation of this River, that if you could ascend as high as the Spring, which must come from the West, you might afterwards find a way to go to *Japan* which they believe to be not far distant. But this may be joined together with the news of the Archbishop of Cambray, that

is to say it wants confirmation. — *The State of Europe, May, 1700.*

*Advice from France.* Our Settlement at the Mouth of the *Mississippi* will cost us much more Pains and Trouble before it is brought to Perfection. In the mean time it makes the English no less jealous than the Spaniards. The first had a design to have made themselves Masters of our Fort, and came up with two Frigates, and Three Hundred Men, but finding Two of the King's Men of War in the Road, they retreated, after they had paid several Civilities to the Commanders, and eaten with 'em several times. Another English Ship of Twelve Guns sail'd up the River above thirty Leagues beyond our Fort, but *M. d'Iberville* forc'd her to return, and at the same time took an Englishman who treated with the Savages, our Confederates. He came into that Country through the River *Oye*, which after a Course of Two hundred Leagues, throws itself into the *Mississippi* Two hundred and Twenty Leagues from the Mouth. The Englishman was sent to *Quebeck* in order to be conveyed into *England*; by his Example to make the English desist from Trading in that Country. We have discover'd Two other Mouths of the River *Mississippi*, besides that upon which our Fort is built. Now in regard to whatever we sowed in the Parts thereabout it has produced nothing, because the Ground is dry and sandy. *M. d'Iberville* has caused another Fort to be built about Thirty-five Leagues to the North-West upon good Land. 'Tis believ'd that the New Fort is not above Fifty Leagues from the Mines of

*Zacatheu*, but that Discovery being yet in its Infancy we can expect no benefit from it so soon. The same Commander had sailed very high up the River, and join'd M. *de Tonti* who gave him several skins for which he had traffick'd in his way. They were like Cow Hides of an extraordinary Bigness cover'd with wool, and which would be of great use for Coaches; but before his Departure he was to conclude an Alliance with a very numerous Nation, adjoining to New Mexico, and an irreconcilable Enemy of the Spaniards, with whom they are always at Wars.—  
*The State of Europe, August, 1700.*

*Advice from France.* 'Tis confidently reported that M. *d'Iberville* is departed this Life at *Rochel*; which if it be true, the Discovery of Mississippi is like to come to nothing. Yet there is a letter written from *Rochefort*, to a person of quality in *Paris*, which contains a short Account of M. *d'Iberville's* last Voyage. Says the Author of that Letter "The River of Mississippi might dispute in Beauty with the most Renowned Rivers in the World, were it not for a Shelf that lies before the Mouth of it, where there is not above Ten Foot Water, so that none but small Frigates and Flat Bottom'd Boats can get into it. The Banks of it are cover'd with great high Trees, embrac'd by Bastard Vines, that bear grapes very beautiful to the Sight, but no way pleasant to the Taste. The Channel of the River is twice as large as that of the *Seine*, keeping the same breadth all along. The Stream is rapid, though it be full of Windings and Turnings from the North-West for above Nine Hundred Leagues. Among others, it receives into it, Two considerable

Rivers, which the Natives of the Country call *Ouabache* and *Missoury*. The first runs a long course from the North-East, but we have only an imperfect knowledge of it. Hunting and Fishing are equally plentiful; we saw there Cows that bare Wool of a prodigious Bigness and Roe-Bucks in great Numbers, that are both delightful and profitable. Rowing up the River, we met with above Fifty Forts of Savage Nations, as well upon the Banks as in the Parts adjoining, the most numerous of which did not amount to above One thousand Men; the people are well set, and tall enough but without any Religion; and they frequently make War upon one another for the possession of Women; striving to enlarge our Discovery, we lit upon one of these Nations, who upon our Arrival were so kind as to leap upon our shoulders in Sign of Peace, and pushed on their Civility so far, as to rock us all night; but we admitted the impertinent Ceremony for fear of worse. We saw 'em throw three Children into the Fire, by way of Sacrifice, upon Occasion of Thunder, and they would have sacrific'd Seven, according to Custom, had we not given 'em to understand that such a barbarous Action rather provok'd than appeas'd the grand Thunderer. They still preserve some Remains of Ancient Paganism, as to kill a great Number of Men and Women upon the death of their principal Sovereign, to bear him Company, and it is a great Favour to obtain leave to follow the dead into the other world. They knock their old People o' th' Head, out of a Principle of Charity, and they carefully preserve their Bones in a Temple like a *Duomo*, where a

Sacred Fire burns Night and Day in Honour of their Dead. I know not how the Spaniards of *Mexico* will like our Neighborhood. They show'd themselves some days after our Arrival, with their Fire Arms in their hands, doubtless to have given us a short Summons to depart the Country, but finding us more numerous than themselves they pretended they came to pay us a Visit, which occasioned a kind Reception on our side. We had a great deal of Discourse of the Country, but all to no purpose."—*The State of Europe, October, 1700.*

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### NOTES

PAANPAACK THE SITE OF TROY, N. Y. Brodhead, in his History of the State of New York, vol. I. p. 534, referring to the several purchases of land from the Indians, by Van Rensselaer's agent Van Slechtenhorst, states:—"He (Van Slechtenhorst) had just purchased for his patroon two large additional tracts on the east side of the river; one called 'Paanpaack,' including the site of the present city of Troy, and another further north, called 'Panhoosic.'"

The name "Paanpaack," since its appearance in history, has been generally assumed to be an Indian designation of the territory in which Troy is now situated. This acceptance of the word, as may appear upon investigation, has not sufficient evidence to sustain it. The eminent historian, in the way in which he employs the term, does not directly affirm that it was an Indian title for the aforesaid tract of land. In the preparation of the History of the City of Troy, after

a protracted and careful search among the Indian records in the office of the Secretary of State, I was satisfied that the authority for the use of the word was not to be found among those valuable documents.

My next attempt to discover its origin was an examination of the local Indian language as investigated by well-known writers. This endeavor was as unsatisfactory and as fruitless as the previous investigation. These disappointments, although compelling me, at the time, to relinquish further search, and to make no mention of it in the History of the City of Troy, however, did not wholly abstract my attention from the subject. Subsequently I began to consider it as belonging to the Dutch language. Etymologically, no such word or compounded term was discoverable. Then I conceived that possibly the word was mis-spelled, and that it should be considered phonetically. Sound, as the result proved, was the key to its sense. I found quite readily that "Pont," a ferry, and "Pacht" or "Pagt," a farm, compounded into Pontpacht, a farm-ferry, was of similar tone with "Paanpaack."

Why this word should be applied to the territory in question, is easily understood. When the land above Albany began to be occupied and cultivated by the early settlers, some public crossing place, where the river was not fordable, was a local necessity. Previous to the year 1786, when the site of Troy was well-known as Vanderheyden's (farm) ferry, the old land conveyances as early as 1675 referred to roads running to the river, which undoubtedly indicate a place of crossing by boat

Since Mr. Brodhead's death in 1873, there no longer exists a mode of personal inquiry regarding his authority for the use of the word. Hence the question whether he employed it, being orally informed that it was early known as Pontpacht, and wrote it Paanpaack, or had some unknown documentary evidence which gave it as an Indian designation, is an open one. The name "Panhoosic," I think, has the same relative signification, and is also a Dutch term. Apparently it is from "Pont," a ferry and from "Woeste, Woestijne," or "Woestenij," a waste or wilderness. The two interpretations correspond with the history of the above places, for while in one was a farm-ferry in the other was a wilderness-ferry, or a ferry in a territory which was uncultivated and unsettled.

*Troy, N. Y.*

A. J. WEISE.

INDIAN AND FRENCH HISTORY IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.—In reading the interesting article in the January number of the Magazine by O. H. Marshall, Esq., in which the writer, in a review of Champlain's expedition against the Onondagas in 1615, points out a discrepancy between the text of the narrative and the accompanying map; the suggestion came to me to call attention to an error in the map (vol. 2, p. 52) in the memoirs of M. Pouchot of the war between the French and the English in 1755-60; translated and edited by F. B. Hough in 1866.

On this map the River Schatacain is erroneously laid down as the outlet of Chautaugue lake, a stream now known as the Conewango creek.

According to Pouchot, the first transportation from Lake Erie to the Ohio

river was by the Chatacain river, but the French finding the waters of that stream too shallow, preferred the route by the Rivière aux Boeufs.

Now the locality of both these streams is well established; the Chatacain creek being the stream which flows through Leboeuf lake at Waterford, in Erie County, Pennsylvania, and the Rivière aux Boeufs (of which the Chatacain is a tributary) being the stream now known as French Creek, the original Indian name being Toradakoin.

In the History of Western Pennsylvania, &c., published in 1847, by W. O. Hickok, at p. 35, is given a copy of an inscription on a medal deposited on the 29th day of July, 1749, by Louis Celeron, Commandant, &c., at the junction of the Belle Rivière (Ohio) and the Toradakoin (now French Creek) to indicate the claim made to the territory by the French Government

The name Chadacoin is differently spelled by different writers; sometimes it is written Chatacain, sometimes Schatacain, and in Pouchot's memoirs in vol. I. p. 178, an Indian chief is referred to named Chatacouen.

Indian names are often significant, and if any of your readers know the meaning of either Chatakoin, or Toradakoin, I should be grateful for the information. The French probably found Buffalo feeding along these streams, which led to names Lake Le Bœuf and Rivière aux Bœufs, as these animals came as far east as the Allegheny river within the period of the first white settlements. Lake Le Bœuf still retains the name given to it by the French, but the river, as before stated, is now known as French Creek.

A location first chosen sixteen miles east of Erie was abandoned, and in 1753, at Erie, was constructed the Fort known as Fort Presqu' Isle. Some attempt may have been made to use the Chatacoïn (now Lebœuf Creek) for navigation, but the French, soon after building the Fort on Lake Erie, constructed a road (variously stated as fifteen and twenty-one miles long) from it to Fort Le Bœuf, and carried their provisions and munitions of war in boats from thence to the Ohio river by the Rivière aux Bœufs (now French Creek), and no mention is anywhere made of transportation by Chautauque Lake and the Conewango Creek.

The French had two forts near the mouth of French Creek on opposite sides of the stream, viz.: Forts Michault, which is referred to in cotemporaneous accounts as a mean or insignificant structure, and Fort Venango, of a somewhat more elaborate character. Pouchot makes mention of Fort Michault in several places, viz.: in vol. I. at p. 132, where the French are narrated as having retreated to it from Fort Du Quesne; and in the same vol. at p. 206, where the French, in 1759, are said to have abandoned Forts Michault and Presqu' Isle, and to have retired to Detroit.

On the other hand, in the letters of Genl. Washington, Fort Venango is the only one referred to.

The site of Fort Michault, with the lapse of time, had become wholly unknown, but has lately been re-established by an old map made of it in 1753, by Judge Shippen of Pennsylvania, who, in making a draft of it, fortunately gave the points of compass connecting it with some permanent natural landmarks. An ex-

amination of these locates it with satisfactory precision, and in harmony with the few historic references to it now extant.

It will be noticed that under the French in 1753, the stream called the Belle Rivière (now the Ohio), extended northwards so as to include a part of what is now designated as the Allegheny river.

The name, Venango, according to the Rev. Timothy Alden, Editor of the Allegheny Magazine in 1816, and occasionally a missionary to the Indians on the reservation in Warren County, Pa., came from an obscene picture carved on a tree at the mouth of French Creek. The translator of Pouchot in a note says it is derived from a Seneca word, *un-num-dah*.

It would seem that a more natural derivation of this name might be found in the original Indian word for the place as given in Genl. Washington's letter to Gov. Dinwiddie, of April 27, 1754, viz.: Weningo. A rendition also given by several writers of that period.

As the French have no W in their alphabet, and use a V in place of it, and also pronounce nin very much like nan to the common ear, the transition from Weningo to Venango, under French occupancy, seems easy and natural.

According to tradition, as stated in Heckewelder's Indian Nations, two large Tribes several centuries ago emigrated from west of the Mississippi, giving to that stream the name of Namœsi Sipu, or river of Fish, from whence the present name is derived. These two tribes, the Lenni Lenape, and the Mengwe, uniting their forces, made war on the prior occupants of the country,

the Allegheny Indians, and drove them southwards out of the territory east of the Mississippi. The name Mengwe seems in time to have been corrupted into Mingo, and came into use to designate the confederate tribes known as the Iroquois or Six Nations.

That the Mingo Indians had settlements in the valley of French Creek is well known. In *Western Annals*, p. 303, it is stated that Genl. Brodhead, in 1779, was sent to strike at the Mingo and Munsey Indians upon French Creek.

Whether Mengwe, Mingo, Weningo, and Venango, spring from some common root in the Indian tongue may be an interesting subject for a philologist making a study of the aboriginal languages.

*Meadville, Pa.* A. HUIDEKOPER.

THE GERM OF OUR PRESENT STEAM NAVY.—Looking over some little books at the Navy Department the other day for another purpose I chanced upon several letters showing the beginning of our present steam navy forty years ago. From them I made some extracts which may be acceptable for your pages. Previous to 1837 we had in the navy the steam Battery Fulton Ist, launched at the close of the war of 1812-14, accidentally destroyed soon after, and the steam Galliot Sea Gull, employed in Porter's Musquito fleet, for the suppression of piracy in the West Indies. But Fulton IId, in 1837, was beyond question the pioneer steam war vessel of our present naval organization.

*Oct. 31, 1837.* The Secretary of the Navy authorizes Captain M. C. Perry "to appoint two first class and two second class assistant engineers. The

appointments to be confirmed by the Commandant of the Station." "The Engineers must receive from you" he adds, "a letter of appointment revocable at any time by the Commanding Officer of the Station, upon complaint of intemperance, incapacity, insubordination, negligence or other misconduct, preferred by the Commander of the Steamer, if proved to the satisfaction of the Commanding Officer of the Station. The Commander of the Steamer of course to have the power of suspending them from duty if necessary. The Engineers must be required to sign some proper instrument of writing, which will legally make them liable to this law for the government of the Navy, but to be exempt from corporal punishment, which instrument is to be transmitted to the Secretary of the Navy, with their letters accepting their appointments."

*Nov. 7, 1837.* The Secretary of the Navy wrote Capt. Perry, The Fulton was allowed, as recommended by the Commissioners of the Navy and approved by the Navy Department,

2 First Class Engineers at \$800 per annum each.  
2 Second " " at \$500 per annum each.  
4 Coal Heavers at \$15 per month.  
8 Firemen at \$25 to \$30 per month.

Both Firemen and Coal heavers to sign the ordinary ship's articles, and to be removable at the pleasure of the Commander of the vessel, as authorized for the reduction of petty officers and seamen. "If additional coal heavers should be found necessary some of the seamen or ordinary seamen of the vessel might be designated by the commander to perform that duty." He next writes as follows:



"Navy Department, *Nov.* 21, 1837.

"Capt. M. C. Perry, Com'dg Str. Fulton,  
New York,

"Sir: Your letter of the 16th inst., relative to the Engineers of the Fulton and their uniforms has been received.

"*The adoption of a uniform* such as you may approve, if agreeable to those at whose expense it is to be provided, meets with the sanction of the Department, and it is also desirable, as mentioned in your letter, that none be appointed Engineers but those of the very best standing. I am, respectfully, &c.,

M. Dickenson,

Sect'y of the Navy."

A letter dated *Dec.* 19, 1837, authorizes Capt Perry to employ, agreeable to his request, four firemen additional.

*Dec.* 21, 1837, the Secretary writes him "Your communication of the 17th inst. has been received, with its several enclosures, and the appointments of Assistant Engineers which you have made, as well as the measures you have taken in regard to the engagements, &c., of the Engineers, Firemen and others of the Steamer Fulton are approved by the Department."

*Feb.* 13, 1838, the Secretary writes Capt. Perry that he approves of his suggestion, and says: "I have directed Commodore Ridgely to place on board the Fulton five *apprentices* to the Navy, who are to be under the particular charge of the Engineers (one to each) and exclusively attached to the Engineers, and to be shipped and paid as other apprentices."

*Feb.* 21, 1839, the Secretary authorizes the pay of a 2d Asst. Engineer on board the Fulton to be increased from \$500 to \$600 from the 1st of March next.

*March* 1, 1839, he authorizes "the salary of such Engineers as now receive \$800 to be increased to \$900."

In this connection it may be interesting to note, as showing the rapid rise in importance of our steam navy, that just forty years after this commencement its personnel in 1877 consists of :

10 *Chief Engineers* on the active list ranking *relatively* with Captains in the Navy, one of whom, as Chief Engineer of the Bureau of Steam Engineering, has the relative rank of Commodore.

15 *Chief Engineers* with the relative rank of Commander.

45 *Chief Engineers* with the relative rank of Lieutenant-Commander.

89 *Passed Assistant Engineers* with the relative rank of Lieutenant.

4 *Passed Assistant Engineers* with the relative rank of Master.

24 *Assistant Engineers* with the relative rank of Master.

23 *Assistant Engineers* with the relative rank of Ensigns.

16 *Cadet Engineers*, Graduates.

51 *Cadet Engineers* at the Naval Academy.

#### ON THE RETIRED LIST.

5 *Chief Engineers* with relative rank of Lieutenant-Commander.

15 *Passed Assistant Engineers*, with relative rank of Lieutenant.

23 *Assistant Engineers* with the relative rank of Master.

GEORGE HENRY PREBLE.

JETTIES IN THE CONNECTICUT RIVER.  
—David Thomas, in his *Travels through the Western Country*, published in the year 1819, gives the following description of a process somewhat similar to that so successfully employed by Mr. Eads on

the Mississippi. "At Buffalo I was fortunate in finding Capt. Butler, on his way to open Grand river, where a company is formed for that purpose. Capt. Butler has made himself celebrated by opening eight bars from Middletown to Hartford, on Connecticut river, so as to admit the free passage of nine feet instead of five feet water. His plan is novel, simple, cheap and effectual. It is merely to drive in piles over a sand bar, from the opposite sides, to leave a sufficient opening, and then fill in brush. The first freshet settles the sand among it, so as to form a complete beach, and by pressure of the water through the passages, a permanent channel is forced open."

W. K.

NEW YORK JUSTICE TO JEWS.—"Hart Jacobs, a Jew, attending at the door, requests an exemption from doing duty on the City Watch on Friday nights, which is part of his Sabbath, thereupon a certificate was given to him in the words following, to-wit:

"Hart Jacobs, of the Jewish religion having signified to this Committee that it is inconsistent with his religious profession to perform military duty on Friday nights being part of the Jewish Sabbath, it is

"Ordered. That he be exempted from military duty on that night of the week, to be subject nevertheless to the performance of his full hours of duty on other nights."—*Journal of the Committee of Safety, New York, January 22, 1776.*

A.

THE WEAKER VESSEL. — Whereas, Mary, my lawful Wife, has behaved in a

very indecent Manner, refusing a virtuous Compliance with the Apostle's Injunctions to Wives; but on the contrary has made sundry Attempts to take away my Life, by stabbing me with Knives and Forks, beating me with the Distaff, Tongs and Hammer; scratching and biting me very inhumanly; and has now eloped from my Bed and Board, and refuses to cohabit with me: I therefore forbid all Persons harbouring or trusting her on my Account, for I will not pay any Debt of her contracting, after this Date. And as she has privately conveyed away a Number of valuable Articles of my Houshold Furniture, I also forbid any Person whatsoever concealing any such Articles on Penalty of the Law.

Pomfret.

Jonathan Soule.

*Connecticut Gazette, May 8, 1778.*

W. K.

FRANKLIN A TYPE-FOUNDER.—"Philadelphia, Feb. 25, 1786. I do hereby certify, whom it may concern, that the Printing Types, with which I have furnished Mr. Francis Child, contained in fifteen boxes, marked B. F., No. 9, 10, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32, 33, 38, 53, 54, 59, 60, were made in my House, at Passy, by my servants, for my use, and were never the property of any European letter-founder, manufacturer, or merchant whatsoever.

B. Franklin,

Late Minister for the United States  
at the Court of France."

F. M.

CHURCH OR MEETING-HOUSE.—In the recent discussions concerning the tower from which the Signal Lantern was hung out in Boston on the Eve of the Battle

of Lexington it has been maintained that the "meeting-houses" were not called churches, that term being generally applied to Episcopal places of worship. This is the opinion of the writer, yet I give the following for what it is worth, from Bowen's *Geography* (London, 1747) vol. II. p. 679:

"Here are ten churches of all denominations, whereof six are Independents, the most prevailing in *New England*; so that the number of its Professors in *Boston* alone, is computed at about fourteen or fifteen *thousand*. Their Churches or Places of Worship, are stiled, 1. The Old Church, because it is the mother of the rest. 2. The North Church. 3. The South Church. 4. The New Church. 5. The New North Church. 6. The South Church. The first four come nearest the Presbyterians, they recite the Lord's Prayer in the publick Worship, as well as admit Persons to their Communion, without demanding a publick Confession, or the acknowledgement of a particular Church-Covenant. The other four Churches are 1. The Episcopal Church handsomely built and adorned, whose congregation is said to consist of about a thousand members. King *William* and Queen *Mary* gave them a Pulpit-cloth, a Cushion and a Piece of Painting, which reaches from the Bottom to the Top of the East End of the Church, containing the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostle's Creed. *Thomas Brattle*, Esq., gave a Pair of Organs to it; and there's a magnificent Pew built at the Publick Charge for the Reception of the Governor, when he happens to be of the Church of *England*. Mr. *Uring* says that in 1710 when he

was here, the Church was of Wood but that another was then building of Brick.

2. The French Church. 3. The Baptist Meeting. 4. The Quakers' Meeting."

Captain Uring ("A History," &c., London, 1726, p. 111,) says of Boston: "It is very populous, and has in it Nine large Meeting Houses, and a *French* Church, and but one *English*, and that built of Wood; but I am informed, since I was in that Country, they have another building with Brick."

When Richard Devens wrote of the "N. Ch." I presume he meant Christ Church, but, according to Bowen, the North Meeting House also had the same name. D.

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A LONG ISLAND LOCAL.—*South-Haven*, February 10, 1758. For the Information of the Publick, Notice is hereby given, That the Place formerly call Setacut-South (otherwise the Fire-Place), which lies at the South Side of Long Island, opposite the Town of Brook Haven, that the new Parish thereon lately erected, whereof the Revd. Mr. Abner Reeves is Minister, has by a general Vote at the last Town Meeting obtained the name of South-Haven, Which new Name they are desired to remember in all Letters directed to these Parts for the Future.—*N. Y. Mercury*, Feb. 20, 1758. W. K.

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FIRST CANNON CAST IN THE REVOLUTION.—Died at Petersburg, 13th inst., Mr. John Marshall, founder, aged 77. He was a native of Scotland, and emigrated to America in 1768. He cast the first cannon made in the United States, during the Revolutionary War, at Captain Charles Ridgely's Works, Maryland.

He also gave the first draft of a boring mill for boring cannon.—*N. Y. Evening Post*, Sept. 22d, 1826. A. H.

#### UNIFORM OF LAFAYETTE'S COMMAND.

—A letter from camp on the 24th of April, says, "The Marquis de la Fayette has borrowed, on his own credit, two thousand pounds hard money to purchase cloathing for the troops; and the first ladies in Baltimore are busily engaged in making up shirts, frocks and overalls for them."—*Massachusetts Spy*, May 17, 1781. W. K.

THE POPHAM COLONY.—On the 13th September last, according to the *Brunswick Telegraph*, the Maine Historical Society had an interesting field day at Sheepscot. Among the "Bottom facts" referred to was the statement that upon the breaking up of the Popham Colony one ship and a fly boat remained behind with forty-five men. This ship is said to have been the "Gift of God." It is also said, on the authority of Strachey, that besides the store house, "fifty houses" were built.

The writer of this quite agrees with the members of the Maine Society respecting the importance of early colonization in that State. There is no doubt of the fact, that from the close of the colony in 1608 onward, Sir John Popham continued to prosecute his work at Pemaquid. The supposed "facts," however, have nothing to do with the matter; and, indeed, are not facts at all. The discovery, if I may employ the term, of one of the papers of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, recently found by the writer in England, affords

the means of correcting certain errors respecting the Colony. Therefore, I will say that the forty-five men referred to were those left behind the *first winter*.

Also, that there were only two vessels in the Pópham fleet, the fly-boat referred to being another name for the "Gift of God." All went home together. There being only forty-five men left behind in the colony during the winter, the reader will readily see that Strachey's "fifty houses" should read *five*. Strachey also precipitated hot discussions respecting the exploration of the Kennebec by causing the colonists to sail up stream *forty* leagues, when, according to the journal of the pilot, he should have said *fourteen*. B. F. D.

GROWTH OF CALIFORNIA.—The venerable Professor Forrest Shepherd says in a letter to one of his classmates: "The first school-house in Sacramento Valley, Cal., was built on my own land, and at my own expense, in 1849, when labor was \$16.00 per day, and lumber \$750.00 per thousand. In this school-house four Christian churches were organized the first four months ensuing, in addition to a flourishing sabbath school and day school." P. CLARK.

#### GEN. HAMILTON'S BENEVOLENCE.—

The following extract from a letter printed in the *Washington City Gazette*, in the year 1818, is worthy of preservation as showing a pleasant trait in the character of Alexander Hamilton.

"As soon as it was generally known that Philadelphia had become the seat of government, a great number of the soldiers who had served in the revolutionary army,

flocked to that city—some to apply for pensions, others for arrears of pay, but all of them destitute of money: and as it was supposed that the building occupied by the Treasury department was the depository of the public Funds, the doors were frequently besieged by that meritorious class of men. I do not know what success their applications met with from other persons; but the rule prescribed by Genl. Hamilton for his own government was this:—If the applicant appeared able to work, he gave him two dollars for present subsistence; if he showed a wound, he received five dollars; and if he lost a leg or an arm, ten dollars. In this manner did that benevolent man evince his regard for the soldiers who had fought and bled to establish the liberties of their country; and when his funds were exhausted, it was his constant practice to come into the rooms occupied by the clerks, and borrow from every one who had a dollar to lend!

After Genl. Hamilton had resigned, and was on the point of leaving Philadelphia, he placed in my hands a large number of notes for collection, under a strict injunction not to apply to the parties for payment.

To relieve my brother officers in the revolutionary war, said he, I have incurred a debt, to discharge which I shall be under the necessity of selling my house in N. Y., and as it may not be in the power of the obligors to take up their notes immediately, it is not my wish to subject them to inconvenience. After a considerable lapse of time the notes were all paid, and I have in my possession the General's letter acknowledging the receipt of the same.

"Among the very few enjoyments that remain to me"—says this old Philadelphian, who signs himself *Senex*—"at my advanced period of life, there is none which affords me so much pleasure as to observe that the opinions which, during the party spirit, had been entertained to the prejudice of this honest and enlightened Statesman, are undergoing a rapid change in his favor."

T. F. DE V.

INDIAN BILLS OF FARE.—Few lovers of cornbread and of hominy are aware that the names "Pone" and "Hominy" are Indian names. Of course most readers know that corn is Indian maize, but most eaters imagine that our methods of preparing corn for food are modern. Webster gives "*Paune*" as an Indian name synonymous with "Pone." But he defines the latter as "a kind of bread made in the Southern States, of corn meal with eggs and milk," and as an Americanism. So "Hominy" he gives as an Americanism, derived from "*auhumi-ne*, parched corn, an Indian word." Father White, in his *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam*, speaking of the *Susquehannocs* of Maryland, says: "*Victitant plerumque pulte quem Pone et Omini appellant.*" "They live mostly by a pulse or paste, which they call Pone and Omini," which, he adds, are both made from "*tritico (indico)*," Indian wheat, or corn. This was in 1633.

Again, that exquisite substitute for egg-plant, far more delicate in flavor, and far less gross in substance, which the writer always thought the invention of mother necessity in bellum days—fried squash or cymling, is as old a dish as

Omini. In the Relations des Jesuites, 1688—ed. 1869—the feast which the Cayugas set before the missionaries at Kente was “Citronilles (squashes) fricasseed with grease.” What next?

H. E. H.

NEW READINGS BY OUR TYPO.—The decline of tragedy from the good old days when Macbeth was *murdered* once a week at least at the Bowery Theatre, seems to rankle in the mind of our compositor. In our last number (I. 631) he wickedly transposed the word “murdered,” which Webster so fitly applied to the “Coalition,” and assigned it to the Scottish thane.

EDITOR.

### QUERIES

FLAMENS.—(I. 563.) In Champlain's narrative of his expedition against the Iroquois in 1615 mention is made of the “Flamens as going on trading expeditions to the fortieth degree.” Champlain sometimes spells the word Flamans, whence we infer these people were Flamands or Flemish. These were no doubt the Dutch. Hudson sailed up the North River in 1609, and several expeditions to trade with the Indians were sent out from Holland before the year 1614, when Manhattan Island was first settled. What Champlain meant by his phrase, “*d'où les Flamens vont traicter sur le quarantième degré*” (whence the Flamens go to trade on the fortieth degree) is not apparent, unless it be to the Illinois and Wabash country, which is on that parallel. The country from which the Flamans started on their trading expedition Champlain describes as seven days

journey from Cahiagué. Now Cahiagué, or St. Jean Baptiste, as called by the Jesuits, is a town in the Huron country, several degrees to the northward of the 40th parallel. Champlain informs us that the Flamans assisted the Iroquois in their wars. That the Flamans were European is certain, from the fact that those who were captured by the enemies of the Iroquois were released because they were supposed to be of the French settlement. Is there any collateral evidence that the Dutch pushed their trading expeditions as far as the Illinois as early as 1615, or is there an error in the latitude?

J. A. S.

MATHER'S SNOW STORM.—Cotton Mather, in his Christian Philosopher, published in 1721, says in his Essay on Snow, “We read of Heaven giving Snow like Wool. I have known it to give a Snow of Wool. In a Town of New England, called Fairfield, in a bitter snowy Night, there fell a Quantity of Snow, which covered a large frozen Pond, but of such a woollen Consistence, that it can be called nothing but Wool. I have a Quantity of it, that has been these many Years lying by me.” This story is not found in the American reprint. Mather was credulous, but was he imposed upon in this case? NOMAN.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY THE WELSH.—Rev. Mōrgan Jones' statement in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1740, pp. 103–105. Can any of your readers inform me who was the author of it? It is certainly one of the most successful hoaxes ever perpetrated; for nearly a century and a half it has passed almost unchal-

lenged, and has been quoted by numerous authors in support of the claim that the Welsh discovered America in 1170. Very lately it has been quoted by Mr. Baldwin in his *Ancient America, and Pre-historic Nations*; by Bancroft in his *Native Races of the Pacific States*; and lastly it is the foundation stone of that book of blunders known as *America Discovered by the Welsh in 1170, A. D.*, by the Rev. Benj. F. Bowen. The statement purports to be furnished to the *Gentleman's Magazine* by Theophilus Evans, Vicar of St. David's in Brecon. I would like to know if Evans was one of the hoaxed, or if he was only a myth, and who was the author of Morgan Jones' pretended statement. I. C.

DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN PITTSBURGH.—Amory, in his *Life of James Sullivan*, states that one of these Societies was organized at Pittsburgh after Genet arrived as Minister. I have no doubt of the correctness of this statement, but in as much as the late H. M. Brackenridge has denied that there ever was such a society in Pittsburgh, I would be glad to know what authority Mr. Amory has for his statement. Can any of your readers give the desired information? I. C.

PRONUNCIATION OF THE WORD IROQUOIS.—In a notice of the criticisms made on a little book published by Randolph & Co. on *Hiawatha*, we find a smile at "such harmonious conclusions as those of the *Herald* and the *Philadelphia Press*, the learning of the former being horrified by the provincialism of Iroquois rhyming with law, and the latter declaring that this provincialism is correct, though

shocked because Iroquois is also given as a rhyme to shore."

Which if either is right? DELTA.

FILIBUSTERS.—The following paragraph is taken from the *Monthly Mercury* for November 1697. "The pretensions of the Filibusters who were assisting at the taking of Cartagena are brought down to Twelve Hundred Thousand Livres." Is there any earlier mention of this term in America? H. S.

## REPLIES

DEATH OF DIEGO VELAZQUEZ.—(I. 622.) In the "*Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, Tomo IV. Madrid, 1844, page 232, there is one, from the Archives of the Indies, a Report, made by a certain Licentiate Baños, on the claim put forward in 1562 by an heir of the Governor to one-twentieth part of all the royal revenues from New Spain, dating from the death of his uncle, as due to him by said uncle's will, made in Cuba in 1524, together with other demands. This document is entitled: "Memorial or petition of Don Antonio Velazquez de Bazan, touching the favor sought from his Majesty as the nearest relation and heir of the Adelantado, Diego Velazquez, whose services are set forth from the year 1508 until that of 1524," &c., &c.

The Report of Baños, with all the Velazquez papers before him, admits that the will was made in 1524, and the claim, as the title of the Report states, is for revenues from 1524. The exact date of the death of the Governor is not given, but that it happened in 1524 there

can be no reasonable doubt. We are surprised that the learned De Noda, author of the article under the above heading, should not have seen this document, published over thirty years since. The paper occupies five pages in print, and contains details concerning the family of Velazquez, but nothing of historical importance.

Señor Don F. S. De Noda does not quote the *Elegias de Varones Ilustres de Indias*, by Juan de Castellanos, published in 1589, in verse, the seventh *Elegia* being devoted to an *Elogio de Diego Velazquez de Cuéllar, adelantado*, etc. The date of his death is not given, and on that account the curious poem was perhaps not quoted.

The inscription on the Governor's tomb is copied also in Warden's American or 4th part of the *Art de Vérifier les dates*, Tom. VIII, 1837, under Cuba, page 240, note, from Don G. Quintero's *Memorias de Historia, segunda parte*, . . . *Noticias eclesiásticas*, etc. He says that the marble slab on which it is engraved is broken off at the top and bottom, and that it was found on the 26th of November, 1810, while excavations were being made in the Metropolitan church of Cuba. The first portion is lost, and as a few errors and omissions appear in the printed copy, we give Warden's as divided into lines.

..... | ETIAM SUMPTIBUS  
HANC ..... | INSULAM DEBEL-  
LAVIT, AC PACIFICAVIT, | HIC JACET  
NOBILISSIMUS, AC MAGNIFICENTISSIMUS |  
DOMINUS DIDACUS VELASQUEZ, INSULARUM  
YUCATANI PRÆSES, | QUI EAS  
SUMMA OPERE DEBELLAVIT IN

HONOREM ET | GLORIAM DEI  
OMNIPOTENTIS, AC . . . . [?] |  
SUI REGIS: MIGRAVIT, ANNO  
DOMINI M.D.XXII.

Though Quintero's copy ends with the above date, it is probable that two units are missing. It will be noticed also that MIGRAVIT is given as appearing distinctly when this copy was made.  
J. C. B.

—  
THE AUTHOR OF CANDIDUS—(I. 633.)  
Rev. Charles Inglis, assistant Rector of Trinity Church, New York City, author of several clever essays against the proceedings of the Continental Congress, alarmed at the influence of "that artful and pernicious pamphlet" entitled "Common Sense," wrote an answer to it in February, 1776. The manuscript, with the statement that "it was composed by a gentleman at some considerable distance," was placed in the hands of Samuel Loudon, the well known printer, who after a careful examination decided to take the risk of its publication. It was set up and partly printed off when Loudon's advertisement in Gaine's New York Gazette drew the attention of the Sons of Liberty. They sent for the printer on the 18th of March and demanded the name of the author; being unable to furnish it, he was informed that they were determined to prevent the publication of any reply to "Common Sense"; six of their number visited his house, where they seized and boxed up the sheets. The same night about forty persons, led by Gerardus Duyckinck, entered the printing office and carried off the boxes to the Common, where they were burned.



Mr. Inglis forwarded a copy of his pamphlet to Philadelphia, where it met with better success, and was issued in April with the title of "Plain Truth; Addressed to the Inhabitants of America, Containing, Remarks on a late Pamphlet entitled Common Sense \* \* \* Written by Candidus." W. K.

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FOREIGN GRAPES IN AMERICA. — (I. 633.) Slips from English and French vines were planted in Virginia as early as 1610-19. RICHMOND.

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FIDELITY OF THE ONEIDA INDIANS TO THE AMERICANS.—The note entitled "Indian Tribes hostile to the Americans during the Revolutionary War" (I. 253) does marked injustice to the Oneidas while it is not wholly correct as to the Tuscaroras. The Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas and Jeneckaws (Senecas) threw their whole force against the Americans, and 800 warriors for the latter would be much nearer the mark. The Oneidas, as a nation, were true to the Americans from the beginning to the end of the war, and this was well understood by the Continental Congress and all officers who served in the Northern Department, although a few individuals, governed by their cupidity or their fears, joined the British. To the influence of the late Judge James Dean, who acted as Indian Agent with the rank of Major, and of the missionary Kirkland, is mainly to be ascribed the loyalty and fidelity of the Oneidas to our cause. October 25, 1776, Gen. Herkimer wrote Gen. Schuyler as to a gathering at Oswego of 600 British regulars and 22 nations of Indians, but the Oneidas were not there. A belt

was sent by these Indians to the Oneidas, saying unless they joined them they, the Oneidas, would be attacked first, "and not a child's life would then be spared."

In a letter from Robert Gates to Gen. Schuyler, dated Oct. 31, 1776, he says, "A number of Tories, among them Peter Tenbroock and Hanyost Schuyler, who had recently fled towards Oswego, were followed by the Oneidas, for which they were threatened by the Onondagas."

This is the character the Oneidas sustained all through the war. As spies and scouts they were often in Canada, even in the councils of the Confederate tribes under Brant, and often returned with the most valuable information. It was thus the fact of St. Leger's expedition to Fort Stanwix via Oswego became known to Gen. Schuyler through Mr. Dean, the Indian Agent. The Tuscaroras as the "guests" and near neighbors of the Oneidas were very much under the same influences as the latter. The assumed neutrality of the Tuscaroras was at times a pretext, but it is understood that but a very few joined the British. M. M. J.

*Utica, N. Y.*

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WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS. — (I. 572.) In reference to the remarks of Professor Butler on Wisconsin newspapers in the Magazine for September, those newspapers do not come within the period that is properly covered by Thomas' History of Printing. All that is said of them there is in a note from a high authority on such matters, and is simply this: "The Green Bay *Republican* was printed by W. Shoals in 1831 or 1832." Prof. Butler says the date should have been

1841 instead of 1831, and the name of the publisher (printer) should have been Henry O. instead of W. Shoals.

The important error of the writer of the note may have been a slip of his pen or that of his informant. There seem to have been several persons by the name of Shoals, or Sholes, connected with early printing in Wisconsin. Mr. A. G. Ellis, "the originator of the press in Wisconsin," in a letter to the Wisconsin Editorial Association in 1859, speaks of the Green Bay *Intelligencer* as having been sold in 1837 to C. C. Sholes, who became associated with his brother, C. L. Sholes, soon after which the publication of the *Intelligencer* at Green Bay came to an end. Though not started till 1833, the Prospectus of that paper was issued, Mr. Ellis says, in 1831.

Prof. Butler should correct the errors of the historians of his own State. In Tuttle's History of Wisconsin, Madison, 1875, p. 198, the Green Bay *Intelligencer* is said to have been established in August, 1836.

S. F. H.

Worcester, Mass.

FLOGGING IN THE U. S. NAVY.—(I. 543.) In your issue for September, in a biographical sketch, the following passage occurs.

"First filling the position of Secretary of the Navy ('*Fack remembering him to this day as the man who abolished flogging in the navy*')." How can this be true? I enlisted in the navy about the time Judge Upshur became Secretary, and served for three years and eight months. During the whole of that time flogging was a daily occurrence. I state this from personal knowledge. By common

report I knew of its continuance for some years afterward. C. A. F.

THE JERSEY BLUES.—(I. 260.) Captain Knox in his Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America, 1757-1760," thus describes the arrival of this corps at Amherst's camp at Oswego, 9 August, 1760:—"The Jersey Blues commanded by that brave, expert officer, Colonel Scuyler, joined the army yesterday and to-day; this is a disciplined regular corps; their uniform is blue faced with scarlet; a good body of men, and made a respectable appearance."

S.

#### OCTOBER PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Regular Monthly Meetings were resumed in the Hall of the Society, on the evening of Tuesday, October 2, 1877, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D. in the chair.

Among the large audience present, were the Hon. Morrison R. Waite, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, President of the Chicago Historical Society.

The Librarian reported a large list of additions to the library, and read some accompanying letters, among which was one from the Rev. Dr. Carter, presenting, on behalf of the Vestry of the Church of the Holy Saviour, a fine marble bust of the late Francis L. Hawkes, D.D., executed by David Richards; another from Horace J. Fairchild, Esq., of Manchester, England, with a

gift of a curious, framed certificate of membership in the New York Marine Society, issued to William Tryon, the last colonial Governor of New York, in 1774.

Among the deaths of members during the summer vacation, announced by the Recording Secretary, was that of the Hon. James William Beekman, Second Vice-President of the Society; a memorial minute of whom, prepared by request of the Executive Committee, by Mr. Evert A. Duyckinck, was read (in the absence of that gentleman, through illness) by Dr. Moore. This interesting sketch by a classmate and life-long friend of Mr. Beekman, appears at length in this number.

At the stated June meeting a memorial notice of Mr. John Lothrop Motley, prepared by the Hon. John Jay, and read to the Society, was referred to the Executive Committee, from whom a report was read, recommending that the thanks of the society be presented to Mr. Jay, and his paper be placed in the archives and a substitute submitted for the record. The substitute was read and the recommendation of the Committee adopted.

The paper of the evening was then read by Col. John Ward; the subject, "The Continental Congress before the Declaration of Independence." The basis of the essay our readers are familiar with in the Diary of Governor Samuel Ward, of Rhode Island, recently printed in full, in our pages. The value of this diary of one of the chief actors in these memorable scenes, can only be appreciated by those whose study having been turned to this period, are aware

of the extreme meagreness of the journals of the earlier Congresses. Governor Ward was for a long period Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, and had an active part on the most important committees. He died at his post before the Declaration of Independence came up for discussion. His letters, from which Col. Ward made free use, are vigorous in style and statement, and fervent in their patriotism; alone, they would justify his claim to a high place in that illustrious body of whom Lord Chatham said that "having studied and admired the master States of the world, he could declare that for "solidity and reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of different circumstances, no nation or body of men could stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia."

Rhode Islanders are justly proud of their State. No one of the old thirteen colonies can present a record of more ardent and intelligent patriotism. It has been related of Providence that when the news of the battle of Lexington reached the town every able-bodied man joined the Army of Observation, which marched to Cambridge camp. Rhode Island also was one of the first colonies to second the demand of New York for a Congress, and when the Congress was finally agreed upon Rhode Island was the first to appoint delegates.

Mr. Ward did full justice to his theme, and we wish that his paper with the original letters in full may be soon given to the public.

At the close of the address, the thanks of the Society were voted to Colonel Ward, and the meeting adjourned.

(Publishers of Historical works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

COUNT FRONTENAC AND NEW FRANCE  
UNDER LOUIS XIV., by FRANCIS PARKMAN.  
16mo, pp. 463. LITTLE, BROWN & Co., Boston, 1877.

A second title announced this to be the fifth part of a Series of Historical Narratives, the subject of which is French American history. In his preface the author informs us that the next subject of this series—to the collection of materials for which he has devoted his life since his eighteenth year—to be "Montcalm and the Fall of New France."

There is no American writer living whose works are looked for with more eagerness and read with more pleasure by a certain class of readers, which we are glad to know daily increases in number, than those of Mr. Parkman. To an ease of diction he adds a grace of narrative and a picturesque coloring which please the æsthetic sense and invest the incidents he describes with an interest which never flags. In Count Frontenac he finds a dramatic figure ready to his hand. Following his eventful career from his first military experience in the service of the Prince of Orange to his death in 1698 in his seventy-eighth year, fidelity to history alone was sufficient to insure under treatment of less competent and less experienced hands a volume of value. From those of Mr. Parkman it has come a chiselled and finished work, perfect in its proportions and the relations of its details, enlivened with occasional passages of brilliant imagery which, though in more chastened style, recall his earlier works. Mr. Parkman is rather a chronicler than a historian; not that there is any want of deduction, but that he excels in the descriptive art. He narrates with the grace and verve and abundant imagery of a Froissart, and finds in the wilderness, with its impenetrable depths, crossed here and there by the wild Indians in their trails, the scene he likes the best. Now we see the stealthy savage lurking in the thicket, or following the trail with long loping step, and again, through the vistas of the tall trees, some priestly procession with cross and banner and gown, or perchance a hot contest between the rival whites and their savage allies. We almost see the strange accoutrements, catch the flash of the falling tomahawk and hear the shrill war whoop of attack or victory. In this field and in the portrayal of the marked characters who shaped the destinies of New France on the one side, or of the rival leaders who met their courage and their tenacity with a courage and tenacity no less than their own, Mr. Parkman has no equal.

But here, as in his former works, we find one opinion constantly repeated which we cannot share. No amount of French emigration, not

even Huguenot, could have secured the domination of the French race in America. No emigration could in the last century have maintained itself in power in America without constant communication with Europe. America might perchance have been conquered in an European war, in which the maritime power of Great Britain should have been destroyed, but so long as England held the sea her colonies, established on the middle coast, were secure from other than temporary inconvenience and invasion. Nor would a Huguenot emigration, even of the extent which Mr. Parkman supposes to have been possible, but for the severe policy of Louis XIV., have been as favorable to French interests as that led by the Priests. The Huguenots would not probably have been more just or kind to the savages than their co-religionists, the Puritans. To this day the Indians prefer the impressive paraphernalia of the Romish Church, and the self-sacrificing devotion of its emissaries, to the cold doctrine of the Protestant missionary and his isolation from their habits and life. The one becomes the adopted child of the tribe, the other never loses his foreign character.

Not the least charming of the delightful chapters which make up this volume are those which, touching on the personal history of the gay and hardy Count, open to us some unknown views of the French Court.

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BATTLES BY THE REPUBLIC BY SEA  
AND LAND, FROM LEXINGTON TO THE CITY  
OF MEXICO. By HENRY W. HARRISON. Illustrated with one hundred and fifty engravings. 16mo, pp. 448. Philadelphia (1877).

A new edition of a work published in Philadelphia in 1858, which accounts for there being no mention of the civil war. The field treated is so large however that it admits of little more than a simple narrative of events. The author declared his purpose to be to present a "*coup d'oeil*" of American military history by means of lively sketches of the most important battles." Necessary condensation has eliminated much of the anecdote which would have increased the interest of the book; it is, however, still attractive enough to please the young reader. The less said about the illustrations the better.

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OVERLAND TALES BY JOSEPHINE  
CLIFFORD. 12mo, pp. 383. CLAXTON, REM-  
SON & HAFELGINGER, Philadelphia, 1877.

A collection of stories and sketches of journeyings through California, Arizona and New

Mexico, many of which first appeared in the *Overland Monthly*. The crisp, sententious style and sharp character drawing of Bret Harte renders any infringement upon his special line a dangerous experiment, but it will not be denied that the authorship of these has done her work in a creditable and pleasing manner. Her descriptions of nature are true, and her characters life-like. Now and then familiar personages and recitals seem to claim recognition, but after all in strong types there are always certain points of resemblance. Poker-Jim does not much differ from his fellows, and scenes which wind up with the crack of a revolver closely resemble each other. This kind of literature has a Jack Shepherd and Dick Turpin fascination to many readers, and can hardly be called wholesome, but it presents the truest pictures of frontier and miners' life.

A NARRATIVE OF THE GREAT REVIVAL WHICH PREVAILED IN THE SOUTHERN ARMIES DURING THE LATE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN THE STATES OF THE FEDERAL UNION. By WILLIAM W. BENNETT, D. D. 12mo, pp. 427. CLAXTON, REMSEN & HAFFELFINGER, Philadelphia, 1877.

The reverend author while expressing no opinion with regard to the Northern soldiers, claims for the South that it was essentially a religious people, and that this feature in their character strongly asserted itself during the civil war. He was Superintendent of one of the Tract Associations during several years of the war, and near its close an army chaplain, and hence had ample opportunities for obtaining authentic information. The Southern troops he claims were strictly native American, who, while they exhibited to a mournful extent the peculiar vices of their race, also manifested its respect and reverence for all the ordinances and institutions of religion. Whiskey was the giant hindrance which stood in the path, and next a wide-spread and cruel spirit of extortion; we use the author's words.

The Southern armies had noble examples in Lee and Jackson, both of whom were eminently religious men; the latter almost a Covenanter in his extreme fervor. Wherever large bodies of men are gathered together in time of excitement and danger the religious sentiment is aroused. It is sad to reflect, however, that its development rarely checks continued indulgence in the worst vices. The volume relates many touching incidents, and will no doubt be a household book in the Southern States.

THE LIFE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, by ARTHUR GEORGE KNIGHT, of the Society of Jesus. 16mo, pp. 230. The Catholic Publication Society, New York. 1877.

If we accept the opinion of this author the discovery of America was in a great measure owing to the prayers of Father Perez, the confessor of Queen Isabella, not to herself but to God that he might incline her heart to grant the request of the oft-rebuffed petitioner for the wherewithal to discover a world. It was while the holy Father was praying in the Queen's chapel, close by, that Isabella's eyes were opened and her resolution formed. The one controlling motive in the mind of Columbus is considered to have been his desire to spread the Christian faith beyond the unknown sea. There are many, not of Mr. Knight's way of thinking, who will agree with him that the heart of the navigator was sustained by the upholding hand of a higher power, but who will find it hard to accept the story of the "miraculous cross" set up by the Admiral, which not only worked miracles but although of wood, defied fire and filled up instantaneously by supernatural growth the cavities made by the stone hatchets and knives of the natives.

The advantages of the discovery of America to the old world are undeniable, but that it was of any special benefit to the new is certainly doubtful. Within ten years of the first landing of Columbus more than three-quarters of the native population of the islands had perished, and the remainder soon disappeared. Cortez repeated the same iniquities in Mexico. Our North American Indians are rapidly disappearing; Christianity has not been to them a blessing, and the spirit of its founder had little to do with the actions of the discoverers, however it may have influenced their motives.

The character of Columbus is defended with earnest zeal in this little volume, which well deserves perusal.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BELFAST, IN THE STATE OF MAINE, FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT IN 1770 TO 1875, by JOSEPH WILLIAMSON. 8vo, pp. 956. LORING, SHORT & HARMON. Portland. 1877.

This is an exhaustive work covering the history of the town at every period, each of which is treated in branches, which the author names proprietary, municipal, ecclesiastical, educational, biographical and statistical. The town of Belfast was originally settled by families of Scotch descent, who in 1719 emigrated from Ulster county, Ireland (hence called Scotch-Irish), where they were embarrassed by forced contributions to the Established Church, from which they dissented. The head of one of these, John Mitchell, was the founder of Belfast. The thrifty and enterprising character of the first settlement has been preserved. The author tells us that this community, not exceeding six thousand inhabitants, sent over eight hundred of its sons to the support of the Union cause in the late

civil war, that it has alone built a railroad costing a million dollars, and that it has twice been destroyed by fire and rebuilt.

It has been said that the potato is the greatest boon the new continent has given to the old. We learn here that these Scotch pioneers first introduced it into New England.

There are copious general and name indices. Nothing of interest about Belfast seems to have been omitted. There is a great variety of illustrations, many excellent, others by some of the wretched unartistic processes which mar so many of our best books.

**HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF PLYMOUTH, LUZERNE COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA,** by HENDRICK B. WRIGHT, of Wilkesbarre, Pa., with twenty-five photographs of the early settlers and present residents of the town of Plymouth; old landmarks; family residences, and places of especial note. Small 8vo, pp. 419. J. B. PETERSON & BROTHERS, Philadelphia.

This volume appears to be a reprint of one published in 1873. The author, whose military looking portrait prefaces the volume and who tells us in its first chapter that he "first saw the light of day in Plymouth, April 24th, 1808, has been recently elected to represent his District in Congress." His beginnings in literature are more promising than in legislation, if it be true, as we see announced, that he has just declared his intention of moving that ten millions be appropriated from the United States Treasury to be divided among workingmen. Plymouth was settled in 1768 by the grantees of the Susquehanna Company, two hundred of whom, mostly from New England, took up five townships, of which this was one. Its origin is too recent to be obscure. When the white man first visited these Wyoming lands they were occupied by the Shawnee Indians. The history of the town is traced from this period in a manner easy, entertaining and instructive. The land squabbles of the Proprietary Government of Pennsylvania and the Connecticut grantees divided the population into two parties, and resulted in what is termed the "Pennamite Yankee War," which continued till 1799, when the Legislature of Pennsylvania intervened. The Yankees were far from their protectors in Connecticut, but they held sternly to their own.

The Wyoming massacre is graphically recited. Mr. Wright fixes the responsibility for the brutal carnage where it belongs, on Butler, the British officer, and clears the fair fame of Brandt, who was taking scalps elsewhere. The biographical sketches have local interest; the photographic portraits are executed in a style more than usually good.

**ESSAYS AND REVIEWS, BY RT. REV. J. L. SPAULDING, D. D., Bishop of Peoria.** Small 8vo, pp. 355. The Catholic Publication Society. 1877.

The papers in this volume have nearly all appeared in the *Catholic World*. They are of a religious character and treat of the condition of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States and Germany. In the first chapter on the Catholic Church in the United States, the author observes the "noteworthy fact that every attempt to establish religion in this country was a failure." As the statement is in no way qualified we suppose the author to mean to establish a church. There is some difference, however, between a religion and a church. The failure to establish a church alone permitted the spread of Romanism in this country. Before the revolution, in nearly every State, Roman Catholics were under both civil and ecclesiastical disabilities. Mr. Spaulding considers us a common-place and mediocre people and as inferior to the nations of Europe. It is quite the fashion in this country to decry ourselves but such a statement as this hardly needs refutation. Through every walk of literature and of science our best men have shown ourselves the equals of the best men of Europe, and our average education as a people is immeasurably above that of either England or Germany, and this notwithstanding the enormous disadvantages to which a crude and ignorant immigration has subjected us. Bishop Spaulding has no love for Germany. He considers her as pagan and intolerant. But German policy is secular; she has not forgotten the thirty years' war, nor the murder of William of Orange, nor the inhumanity of Alba, nor yet that when the march to Berlin began assassination was preached by the priests in the towns and villages of Alsace, and the war declared to be a holy war.

We cannot spare space to review this vigorous and spirited assertion of the ultra Catholic view. We are glad to believe that it does not prevail generally in this country, and that the Catholic is not necessarily either a bigot or illiberal, but that on the contrary his faith and opinions are tempered by the influences of the free society in which he lives.

**THE REV. SAMUEL PETERS, LL.D., GENERAL HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT, FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT UNDER GEORGE FENWICK TO ITS LATEST PERIOD OF AMITY WITH GREAT BRITAIN PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTION;** including Description of the Country and many Curious and Interesting Anecdotes, with an Appendix, &c. By a Gentleman of the Province. London, 1731. To which are added additions to the Appendix, Notes and Extracts

from Letters, verifying many important Statements made by the author, by SAMUEL JARVIS MCCORMICK. 12mo, pp. 285. D. APPLETON & Co., New York, 1877.

This volume, which has attracted much attention, is a reprint of the celebrated work of the Rev. Dr. Peters, purporting to be a history of Connecticut, which in its original form is extremely rare. With all its peculiarities, and indeed notwithstanding them, it has always been a most readable volume. Its present reappearance seems by the preface of Mr. McCormick to be due to the recent publication by our witty friend, Mr. James Hammond Trumbull, of a volume entitled "The Blue Laws of Connecticut and New Haven and the False Blue Laws invented by the Rev. Samuel Peters," a notice of which we gave in the February number of the Magazine. A recent lively skirmish has been going on in the columns of the Connecticut press, with an occasional stray shot fired in the New York papers, between these two gentlemen, one of whom stands by the honor of his State, while the other vindicates the veracity of the defunct old clergyman. We intend to watch the progress of the fight, without venturing within range of the missiles. As an editor we compliment Mr. McCormick for the make up of the volume and the carefully prepared index, while we regret that he has not seen fit to separate his remarks from the appendix of the Reverend Doctor.

ACCOUNT OF ARNOLD'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST QUEBEC, AND OF THE HARDSHIPS AND SUFFERINGS OF THAT BAND OF HEROES WHO TRAVERSED THE WILDERNESS OF MAINE FROM CAMBRIDGE TO THE ST. LAWRENCE IN THE AUTUMN OF 1775. By JOHN JOSEPH HENRY, one of the survivors. 12mo, pp. 198. JOEL MUNSELL, Albany, 1877.

Mr. Munsell has done another service to historical students, particularly great at this time, when the Canada campaigns are the subject of much investigation, by reproducing the graphic narrative of Judge Henry of the terrible march of Arnold's command through the valleys of the Kennebec and the Chaudière to the attack on Quebec, and the sufferings of the troops. It is prefaced by a memoir of the narrator by a grandson, and a sketch of his life by his daughter. A good index increases its value.

THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY: ITS PLACE IN HISTORY. An Address at the Centennial Celebration, August 6, 1877. By ELLIS H. ROBERTS. 8vo, pp. 66. Utica, 1877.

The oration delivered by the eloquent and accomplished member of Congress from Oneida County on this most interesting occasion. The incidents of the battle summer of 1777, including the adoption of the State Constitution at Kingston, the contest in the Mohawk Valley, the battle near Bennington, the surrender of Burgoyne and the defence of the Highlands form a series of events of great importance in our history. Never has there been such a revival of patriotic interest in the details of the revolutionary struggle as in New York this summer and fall. It is said that over twenty thousand persons passed over the Central railroad on the occasion of this brilliant celebration. Mr. Roberts has added some valuable documents in an appendix to his pamphlet.

ADDRESS BY THE HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, DELIVERED AT KINGSTON, JULY 30, 1877, AT THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE FORMATION OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK. 8vo, pp. 23. WEED, PARSONS & Co., Albany, 1877.

Our readers will find here a careful and critical account of the Constitution adopted in the turmoil of war by the State of New York. Mr. Depew was followed by General George H. Sharpe in an interesting local description of the old town of Esopus, which we hope may soon appear in a permanent form.

THE BURGOYNE CAMPAIGN. AN ADDRESS DELIVERED ON THE BATTLEFIELD ON THE ONE HUNDREDTH CELEBRATION OF THE BATTLE OF BEMIS HEIGHTS, SEPTEMBER 19, 1877. By JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS. 8vo, pp. 43. A. D. F. RANDOLPH & Co., New York, 1877.

The citizens of Saratoga County assembled at Bemis Heights on the 19th September, to commemorate the battles which took place at and near Freeman's Farm on the 19th of September and 7th October, 1777. The gathering was very large. Addresses were delivered by Hon. Martin I. Townsend of Troy and Lieutenant-Governor Dorsheimer. The present pamphlet is the historic record presented on the occasion. In it will be found a sketch of the operations in Canada which preceded the invasion of New York, and a detailed account of the movements of Burgoyne, closing with his surrender, October 17th. It is the intention of the County Committee to print the entire proceedings.

THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON, WITH PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF MEN ENGAGED

IN IT. By Rev. A. B. MUZZEY, of Cambridge. (Reprinted from the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for October, 1877.) 8vo, pp. 19. DAVID CLAPP & SON, Boston, 1877.

A contribution by a native of Lexington of many interesting traditions, some of which have never before been printed, of this famous skirmish. Such material as this will prove invaluable to future historians.

MEMORIAL SERVICES OF COMMEMORATION DAY HELD IN CANTON, MAY 30, 1877. UNDER THE AUSPICES OF REVERE ENCAMPMENT. POST NO. 94, GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC. 8vo, pp. 31. WILLIAM BENSE, Boston, 1877.

The chief feature of this occasion, better known in New York as "Decoration Day," was the address of Daniel T. V. Huntoon. Its historic value is in a thorough sketch of the Gridley family and of Major-General Richard Gridley, to whom a monument was then dedicated. Gridley was appointed to the command of the First Regiment of Artillery raised in Massachusetts. Mr. Huntoon has gathered many valuable facts connected with the early beginnings of this arm of the service, of which no history has yet been written.

SKETCHES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CITY OF RALEIGH. Centennial Address, Fourth of July, 1876, by Hon. KEMP P. BATTLE, delivered at the request of the Board of Aldermen. 8vo, pp. 71. Raleigh, 1877.

This is another of the historical sketches elicited by the Proclamation of the United States, urging a due celebration of the Centennial of the nation. The observance of the day was quite as general we understand at the South as at the North, but we have seen but few printed accounts of the proceedings. The present pamphlet contains a condensed history of Wake County, North Carolina, and of the migration of the Capital until its final settlement at Raleigh in 1784.

HISTORY OF MADISON COUNTY, STATE OF NEW YORK. By Mrs. L. M. HAMMOND, 8vo, pp. 774. TRUAIR, SMITH & CO., Syracuse, 1872.

In this volume the capable authoress has brought together a large mass of facts relating to the discovery and settlement of this county. In the first chapter there is an account of the

aborigines. The succeeding fifteen are devoted to the history of the several towns in their order. The work abounds in personal details of the early settlers, unfortunately unavailable to the general reader for the want of an index, which we hope another edition may supply.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INCLUDING SOME IMPORTANT FACTS MOSTLY OMITTED IN THE SMALLER HISTORIES DESIGNED FOR GENERAL READING AND FOR ACADEMIES. By JOSIAH W. LEEDS. 8vo, pp. 468. J. B. LIPPINCOTT, Philadelphia, 1877.

The author in a prefatory note announces the distinction between his treatment of historic subjects and that generally adopted. He complains that the histories of wars are made the subject of school tuition to the neglect of those of peace, and he proposes to supply in a measure a knowledge of the "moral loss occasioned by a state of warfare, together with its exceeding expensiveness." The thirty-two chapters of this peculiar volume cover the entire period from the discovery to the administrations of Johnson and Grant. The cruelty of the Spaniards, the duplicity of the French, the barbarities of New England in the Indian wars, the wickedness of the Mexican war that Mr. Gallatin once termed "the only blot on the national escutcheon," and the war of secession are all treated and condemned in turn, and the moral and material losses each occasioned in their day and generation estimated. In the account of the peaceful settlement of the *Alabama* question by arbitration, we find the only cheerful, hopeful passage in the work. The novelty of the authors' mode of treatment must not be supposed to detract from the merit of this work, which we cordially commend, though we still hold to the old theory that war is often a necessary solvent, and that nations which are incapable of its sacrifices are undeserving of the blessings of peace.

THE HISTORY AND LEGAL EFFECT OF BREVETS IN THE ARMIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES FROM THEIR ORIGIN IN 1692 TO THE PRESENT TIME, by JAMES B. FRY, Col. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen. 8vo, pp. 576. D. VAN NOSTRAND, New York. 1877.

An admirable volume, which we presume will be found indispensable to every military student as it certainly is an important assistant to the non-professional in historical investigation. We call especial attention to the curious "Memorial for the consideration of the Congress of the United States," which is known as the "Corpus Christi Memorial," from its having been signed



there in 1845 by a large number of army officers. It is remarkable for its vigor of expression and the logic of its conclusions.

The volume contains a Register of Brevets from 1776 to 1812 and from 1812 to the present time.

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ADDRESS OF GOV. JAMES L. KEMPER,

ON THE FIRST AWARD OF THE JACKSON-HOPE MEDALS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE. Small 4to, pp. 26. [No imprint.] D. VAN NOSTRAND, New York. 1877.

The surplus of the money raised in England to erect a statue to General Jackson of the Confederate army was directed by Mr. Beresford Hope, M. P., to be invested in a fund for a further memorial; hence the combination of the names Jackson and Hope. The famous Stonewall has a secure place in the heart of Virginia.

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VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE, LEX-

INGTON, VA. Official register, 1876-1877. Small 4to, pp. 43. [No. imprint.] D. VAN NOSTRAND, New York.

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THE INNER LIFE OF THE V. M. I. CADET, ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AND ITS PRIVILEGES. Introductory Address to the Corps of Cadets at the Virginia Military Institute on the resumption of the Academic Exercises Sept. 10, 1866, by FRANCIS H. SMITH, LL. D., Superintendent. Small 4to, pp. 52. Lexington, Va. 1873. [No imprint.] D. VAN NOSTRAND.

This institution, from a professional chair in which Jackson marched out with a Corps of Cadets in 1861, and which lost one hundred and seventy-five of its alumni during the war of secession, went to pieces in the contest, but was again revived at its close. We are glad to note the tone of a person so authoritative as its chief officer in regard to the future conduct of the Southern people. They have returned from the appeal to arms, he said, with full purpose to maintain in firm faith their restored relations to the Constitution of the United States.

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THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY. Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 119-232. Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1877.

An admirable number and of general interest. We are especially interested in a reprint of a

diary of the Moravian Congregation concerning the Occupation of New York City by the British in 1776. Reading the life-like details, we seem almost in the presence of the events recorded. There is a Journal of William Black, Secretary of the Virginia Commission to treat with the Iroquois Indians; an Account of the Pre-Pennian epoch of Pennsylvania on occasion of the presentation of a portrait of Queen Christina to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Besides other papers of historical interest, there are five biographical sketches, prepared for the Congress of Authors.

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ADDRESSES TO THE GRADUATING CLASS OF THE U. S. MILITARY ACADEMY, WEST POINT, N. Y., JUNE 14, 1877. 4to, pp. 43. D. VAN NOSTRAND, New York.

These addresses by Professor Thompson and Mr. McCrary, Secretary at War, and by Major-Generals Hancock and Schofield will be found pleasant reading even by men not military. That of General Hancock is full of practical advice to young graduates.

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THE DISCIPLINE AND DRILL OF THE MILITIA, by Major FRANK S. ARNOLD, Assistant Quartermaster-General, Rhode Island. Small 8vo, pp. 120. D. VAN NOSTRAND, New York.

A seasonable publication now that the interest in the militia has been revived by the signal service recently rendered in behalf of law and order. We can pass no opinion on the technical merits of this little volume. There is a condemnation of the practice of shaking hands, which is sure to meet the approbation of the Commander-in-Chief of all the armies of the United States, who under all administrations is peculiarly subject to this infiction, and more especially if a military man.

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HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY, FROM ITS ORIGIN IN 1746 TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF 1854. By JOHN MACLEAN, tenth President of the College. 8vo, 2 vols., pp. 414 and 450. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, 1877.

This thorough and complete history of this famous institution of learning, more familiarly known by the endearing title of Old Princeton, will be joyfully welcomed by a large class of our people, and prove particularly valuable to the governors and professors of our educational establishments from the practical observations of the author upon the working of the different plans

of management and instruction followed since its organization, more than a century ago. Its chapters contain an account of the origin of the college, its design, the charters under which it began its usefulness and a memoir of Governor Belcher, its "Fundator Perficiens," as Mr. Maclean classically terms its first great patron and benefactor; histories of the administrations of the celebrated presidents, from Dickinson to Carnahan, with an account of the author's own inauguration. An admirable name index completes the second volume.

New Jersey and New York City are the well-known centres of Presbyterianism, in numbers, power and influence. To the citizens of New York particularly the college owes its capacity for influence in the present day. There is a Professorship of Belles Letters, founded on a donation of \$25,000 by the late Captain Silas Holmes of New York City; a Professorship of Biblical Instruction, founded on gifts to the amount of \$115,000 by the Lenox family, besides contributions to the amount of \$15,000 from Mr. James Lenox for other purposes. In addition to these, other liberal gifts by the same and by Robert L. and Alexander Stuart for scholarships and other funds, and crowning all the munificent gift of \$116,000 by the late lamented John C. Green, also of New York, for building purposes, and a further gift to pay for the last expenditure incurred of over \$10,000. Truly there is no narrowness in New York liberality.

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THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON, COMPILED FROM THE MOST RELIABLE SOURCES, AND FITLY ILLUSTRATED WITH ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS AND ENTERTAINING ANECDOTES. Colonel Seth Warner's identity in the first action completely established. By FRANK W. COBURN. 8vo, pp. 72. GEO. E. LITTLEFIELD, Boston, 1877.

This is a careful, impartial and correct account of this brilliant feat of the army which destroyed Burgoyne's hope of living on the country. We are glad to see full justice done to Colonel Warner, whose fortunate arrival on the field with fresh troops at the nick of time, (as Breyman's Yagers were about to fall on Stark's command, scattered in search of what Mr. Coburn calls "desirable property,") saved the day, and turned what might have proved a disgrace into victory.

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"UNWRITTEN LAW." AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY AT CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, JUNE 28, 1877. By

THOMAS FRANCIS BAYARD, of Delaware. 8vo, pp. 47. A. WILLIAMS & CO., Boston, 1877.

To every one who knew Harvard as it was thirty years ago, when the understood, if not openly announced, policy of the college was to discourage the attendance of Southern and even of New York students at her courses of education, the announcement of an address by Mr. Bayard before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, the highest compliment known in the University, seemed a stride in the progress of opinion. The "higher law," which found its birth in New England sentiment and its expression on the lips of a New York statesman, is a form of unwritten law. Mr. Seward would have found it more difficult to define it than to express it. The words crystallized a sentiment; gave form to a policy, but nothing more. Mr. Bayard finds something of the same difficulty in his effort to define the intangible something he terms the *unwritten law*. It must not be inferred that he refers to the common law, that combination of precedent and usage, which until superseded by statute law, is supposed to be understood by every one until he consults his lawyer, when he finds it a many sided mirror, which reflects the face of each examiner in turn. Mr. Bayard expressly says he does not mean *lex non scripta*, but the "great moral law written, as Coke said, with the finger of God in the heart of man." It would puzzle a Hudibras lawyer to "distinguish and divide" between the meanings intended by the two statesmen. Mankind is in accord upon the fundamental principle of morals, but their methods of application differ widely.

Notwithstanding this vagueness, which is no doubt inherent in the subject, Mr. Bayard's address is philosophical in its reasonings and charming in treatment. It is pervaded with that genial warmth and well-bred amenity for which this accomplished gentleman is so distinguished, and for that broad spirit which he, with many of his class, has shown since his emancipation, through the emancipation of his party, from the trammels which hampered his action in his younger days.

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THE CINCINNATI, WITH THE BY-LAWS, RULES, ETC., OF THE NEW JERSEY STATE SOCIETY. 8vo, pp. 78. New York. 1876:

Of the thirteen State Societies of the Cincinnati, which at one time gave such umbrage to our people as an aristocratic and exclusive order, only six, those of Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina remain, the rest are extinct; of these the archives of all but New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island have been lost.

This pamphlet gives the Constitution and By-laws of the Society and of the State Society of New Jersey, of which Elias Dayton was the first President, and a Roll of original and hereditary members, in which many valuable biographical details are included.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF CHOSEN FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF PASSAIC FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 9, 1877. Annual Report of the County Collector for the year 1876-7. 8vo, pp. 58, and appendix IX. Paterson, N. J. 1877.

We invite attention to the appendix, in which will be found a census of Paterson, July 4, 1827, made by the Rev. Samuel Fisher, D. D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Paterson at that time, from the original manuscript. Some of our readers may be glad to have this information.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF THE SUBSISTENCE DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY FROM JUNE 16, 1775, TO AUGUST 15, 1876. Compiled under the direction of the Commissary-General of Subsistence by JOHN W. BARRIGER, Major and Commissary of Subsistence. Second edition. 8vo, pp. 113 and Index xv. Government Printing Office, Washington. 1877.

This is quite a valuable contribution to army history. It is divided into three chapters, noting severally the various orders issued, with commentaries upon them. I. From June 16, 1775 to March 4, 1789. II. From March 4, 1789 to March 4, 1815. III. From March 4, 1815 to August 15, 1876. The Index carefully supplements the whole.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS, by M. ALMY ALDRICH, from official reports and other documents. Compiled by Captain RICHARD S. COLLUM. D. VAN NOSTRAND, NEW YORK.

This continues to be the best book on the subject. It gives a history of the services of this corps from its organization in November, 1775. Its various services on sea and land in every quarter of the globe and at home in efficient support of the national authority and of public order when their aid was invoked, are related in a manner which makes it a welcome book in circles far wider than that for which it was written. It includes a Register of officers from 1798 to 1875.

"EASTWARD HO!" OR LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF A CENTENNIAL PILGRIM, being a Truthful Account of a Trip to the Centennial City via Washington, and the Return via Niagara Falls, with a graphic description of the Exhibition itself. By DAVID BAILEY, Teacher. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 89.

The title of this volume gives a fair idea of the contents of this readable volume, in which there is much to interest though little new. It is always pleasing to note how that even which is familiar to ourselves strikes another mind. The style is that of one who, having taken an excursion ticket, intends that it shall cover all that the word implies. It is certain that these rapid *coup d'oeils* have not a value equal to that of careful examination. Let each reader who has visited Europe consider how few of the thousand churches he has seen remain impressed on his memory. Mr. Bailey recites his visit to the Exhibition in the same business like manner that he describes his journey in the cars. Everything did not please him in Philadelphia. Some of the pictures were not to his taste, but considering the atrocious character of the illustrations to his own volume we suspend our judgment. We sympathize more fully in his poor appreciation of Philadelphia heat. Who that experienced the terrors of the three days of July can ever forget it? We left the torrid place with a higher respect than ever for our patriot fathers, who had independence enough to declare anything in such a place and such weather. If this be treason, make the most of it.

GENERAL HISTORY OF DUCHESS COUNTY, FROM 1609 TO 1876, INCLUSIVE. Illustrated with numerous Wood Cuts, Maps and full-page Engravings. By PHILIP H. SMITH. 8vo, pp. 508. Published by the author. Pawling, New York, 1877.

A great deal has been done in a desultory way by Lossing and others towards the history of this historical county. The many contributions of Mr. Lossing alone to the local press of Poughkeepsie would make an interesting volume, and fill a gap much felt by students of history, and we hope to see them brought together soon.

Mr. Smith has done a good work in collecting material from various sources and bringing it together in an accessible form. The work includes an outline map, which seems to be, as the author claims, unusually complete and numerous. The wood-cuts are all the author's own handiwork. The volume is rich in personal and biographical detail, and bears abundant proof of industry and care.





*Henry White*

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# THE HISTORY OF AMERICA

## CHAPTER I

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA is one of the most important events in the history of the world. It opened up a new world of discovery and exploration, and led to the development of a new civilization.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA was made by Christopher Columbus in 1492. He was an Italian explorer who was sailing for Spain when he discovered the New World.

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*Samuel Hill*

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## MARTIAL LAW DURING THE REVOLUTION

THE interesting article on this subject (Mag. Am. History, vol. i, p. 538), by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel G. N. Lieber, of the Corps of Judge-Advocates, U. S. A., indicates how little was known about it by Judges of Courts of Record when the great Military Commission case of *ex parte* Milligan came up for consideration in the Supreme Court of the United States.

The proclamation<sup>1</sup> of martial law by the British Lieutenant-General Thomas Gage, Governor of Massachusetts, at Boston, 12th June, 1775, was in reality but an announcement of the fact that war existed, because the affairs of Lexington and Concord had already occurred, Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been taken, and the British were then actually besieged in Boston and engaged in constant skirmishes with organized regiments of American Minute men and Militia. One of the reasons ascribed by General Gage for the exercise of Martial Law was that "during the continuance of the Rebellion in Massachusetts justice could not be administered by the Common Law of the land, the course whereof had for a long time past been violently impeded and wholly interrupted."

In his answer,<sup>2</sup> 3d May, 1775, to a letter from Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, General Gage used the following language: "You ask whether it will not be consistent with my duty to suspend the operations of war on my part? I have commenced no operations of war but defensive; such you cannot wish me to suspend while I am surrounded by an armed country, who have already begun, and threaten further to prosecute, an offensive war, and are now violently depriving me, the King's troops and many others of the King's subjects under my immediate protection, of all the conveniences and necessities of life with which the country abounds."

General Gage here disclaimed having taken the offensive, although the Continental Congress by resolution, dated Philadelphia, 9th June,



1775, soon after declared that "General Gage hath actually levied war, and is carrying on hostilities against his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects of that Colony." Lord Dartmouth in an official communication<sup>3</sup> to General Gage, dated London, 1st July, 1775, said that "from the moment the blow was struck" (Lexington and Concord), "and the town of Boston invested by the Rebels, there was no longer any reason to doubt the intention of the people of Massachusetts Bay to commit themselves in open rebellion. The other three New England Provinces have taken the same part, and in fact all America (Quebec, Nova Scotia and the Floridas excepted) is in arms against Great Britain, and the people involved in the guilt of levying a war against the King in every sense of the expression. In this situation every effort must be made, both by sea and land, to subdue the Rebellion."

Here was an admission of belligerency, which made it necessary that the laws and usages of war should be applied in dealing with the armed forces of the Americans, and in the treatment of captured prisoners. Forgetting this fact, Lieutenant-General Gage confined the American officers who had been captured by his forces in a common jail appropriated for felons, but he soon received a remonstrance from General Washington, dated Army Headquarters, Cambridge, 11th August, 1775. A correspondence ensued, during which the latter, in retaliation and pending adjustment, ordered the British officers held as prisoners of war by the Americans to be confined in Northampton jail.<sup>4</sup>

All doubts as to the fact that the thirteen United Colonies of America were belligerents and at war, in an international sense, with Great Britain were soon set at rest by the proclamation<sup>5</sup> of George III. of the 23d August, 1775, which acknowledged them to be in open rebellion and levying war, and by the Act of Parliament of 19th December in the same year, by which American vessels captured on the high seas became good prize. In this we see an analogy to President Lincoln's proclamation of blockade of the Southern ports in 1861, which was, *ipso facto*, a recognition of the belligerency of the Confederate Government.

Governor Gage's proclamation of Martial Law in 1775 had been preceded by one of like tenor from Governor Guy Carleton of the Province of Quebec on the 9th June, 1775.<sup>6</sup> In this the latter announced the prevalence of a rebellion in the English colonies, particularly in some of the neighboring ones, and that an armed force had lately made incursions, carrying away troops, stores and a vessel, and were then actually invading the Province with arms in a hostile manner.

The Earl of Dunmore's later proclamation<sup>7</sup> of Martial Law in Virginia on the 7th November, 1775, from on board the ship *William*, stated, among other things, that a body of armed men had fired on a British armed ship; that an army had been formed and was then on its march to attack His Majesty's troops, and that therefore, in order to defeat such treasonable purposes and bring such traitors and their abettors to justice, and that the peace and good order of the colony might again be restored, which the ordinary course of the Civil law was unable to effect, he declared his purpose to execute martial law.

The well-contested affair at "Great Bridge," near Norfolk, Va., on the 9th of the following month, between the Americans and British, showed that war had actually broken out in the Old Dominion.<sup>8</sup> It is an interesting fact that, although Congress in the Declaration of Independence charged the British Government with having waged war against the Americans, nevertheless these several proclamations by the Royal Governors received no notice in that instrument, for the very good reason that as war existed in an international sense the very presence of the hostile forces sanctioned the exercise of martial law, without even the necessity of prior proclamation.

Much confusion has existed in the minds of writers and jurists as to what is "Martial Law." In the popular view the expression has usually, though wrongfully, conveyed the idea of the exercise of all kinds of oppression and violence by an irresponsible military force. Such conduct would, however, not only be unjust, but an abuse of power necessarily leading to protest and retaliation. There is a notable instance of this in the case of Captain Joshua Huddy of the New Jersey State Artillery, who was captured by the enemy 2d April, 1782, and carried into New York City as a prisoner of war. Subsequently, and for no legitimate cause, he was taken to Middletown Heights, N. J., and there hung by a party of Tories, 12th April, 1782.<sup>9</sup> This gross violation of the law of nations caused General Washington to protest, and demand of Sir Henry Clinton the condign punishment of all concerned. (Army Headquarters, Newburgh, 21st April, 1782.) The British Commander-in-Chief accordingly caused an investigation to be had, but the result being partial and unsatisfactory, General Washington proceeded to retaliate from among the British captives who were prisoners of war in his hands. The "lot" fell to Captain Charles Asgill of the Guards, who, after close confinement, only escaped execution by the near approach of peace and the strenuous efforts of his mother through the polite mediation of Count de Vergennes, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs. (13 No-

vember, 1782.) Congress had, by resolution of 29th April, 1782, authorized retaliation for conduct "so contrary to the laws of nations and of war," but as we have seen, General Washington, upon notification of Captain Huddy's murder, at once acted without waiting for any such authority.

A still earlier instance of retaliation was where Congress, in order to compel the British in their treatment of Major-General Charles Lee, U. S. A., "to regard the Law of Nations," directed by resolution of 20th February, 1777, that Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, 71st Foot, and five Hessian field officers, prisoners of war, should be placed in close custody. This treatment was relaxed when Lee was allowed greater liberty.

Technically speaking "Martial Law," or the laws and usages of war, may be defined to be that branch of the law of nations applicable to belligerent operations on land, just as "prize" law constitutes another branch applicable to certain belligerent operations on the sea.

Martial law constitutes a well-defined code or rule of action for the military forces of a Government waging war, and as war is theoretically if not always practically waged by civilized nations to prevent apprehended injury, or to obtain redress for wrong, it sanctions the killing or disabling by certain recognized, legitimate means of the combatant and those associated with him in actual hostility, and the destruction or appropriation of private property interfering with or required for the belligerent operations. Thus, for example, we find General Washington in 1778 (22d April), from Army Headquarters, Valley Forge, directing by General Orders the Forage Master General "to appropriate a sufficient number of wheat fields within the vicinity of the camp to serve as forage grounds."

Martial law also brings under its jurisdiction two classes of offenses for punishment by the military authorities irrespective of the status of the individual, namely—*first*, those solely known and committable in consequence of a state of war, such as being a spy, guerilla marauder, war-rebel or war-traitor, violator of flag of truce, &c., and *second*, those crimes of civil or statutory cognizance which may have been committed within the lines of actual belligerent operations, when the local courts are closed or prevented by some very good reason under the law of nations from taking jurisdiction of the case and trying the offender.

At the beginning of the Revolution the laws and usages of war sanctioned summary punishment without formal trial, when the offender had been caught in actual commission of the offense. Thus when Cap-

tain Nathan Hale, of the 19th Regiment Continental Infantry (Conn.), was by mere command of General Sir William Howe, and without trial, hanged as a spy, 22d September, 1776, General Washington could not rightfully complain of such action, however cruel, as an infraction of the law of nations as then recognized. It remained for the United States to set an example of moderation in this respect, which has since been generally imitated by Continental powers.

The manuscript order books of the American Army during the Revolutionary war are full of instances of the trials, with due solemnity and regularity, by courts-martial or military commissions, as the case might be, of spies and other offenders against the laws and usages of war. Thus, for example, General Washington, from Army Headquarters, Valley Forge, 3d June, 1778, issued the following General Orders: \* \*

"Thomas Shanks, on full conviction of his being a spy in the service of the enemy, *before a Board of General Officers*, held yesterday by order of the Commander-in-Chief, is adjudged worthy of death. He is, therefore, to be hanged to-morrow morning at guard mounting at some convenient place near the grand parade."

The Board of commissioned officers here referred to had equivalent signification to a "Military Commission," which is an international tribunal, like a "prize court," to administer a particular branch of international law, and composed of commissioned officers of the army.

It was not until 1806 that general courts-martial *as such* were given by Congress jurisdiction over the international offence of being a "spy," and to-day Section 1343 United States Revised Statutes declares that persons charged with such crime shall be triable either by a general court-martial or military commission. When, therefore, a general court-martial takes cognizance of such offense, it has to be guided in its decision by the laws and usages of war.

The case of Major John André, Adjutant-General of the British Army, is another good illustration of trial under this Code.

General Washington assembled a Board of fourteen general officers with the Judge Advocate General of the Army to investigate the charges. André's admission upon arraignment of what could have been easily proven avoided the necessity of oral evidence, and on the report of the Board, approved by the Commander-in-Chief, "that he ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and that agreeably to the law and usage of nations, he ought to suffer death," his execution followed as a necessary consequence. (General Orders Army Headquarters, Orange Town, 1 October, 1780.)

Much needless sympathy has been expressed as to his fate, doubtless due to his youth, talents and pleasing demeanor. Many even of the rank and file of the regular Continental soldiers commiserated his unfortunate situation. It should, however, not be forgotten that he enjoyed from his office the complete confidence of Sir Henry Clinton, and was possibly for that very reason intrusted with the difficult and dangerous service of arranging matters with Major-General Arnold for the treacherous surrender or capture of West Point and its dependencies. That André knew he was putting himself in unusual peril is manifest from his letter from New York of 7th September, 1780, to Colonel Elisha Sheldon, 2d Regiment United States Light Dragoons, who commanded the American cavalry outpost in Westchester County, and the subsequent injunctions of Sir Henry Clinton to him, André, not to quit his uniform." Had success followed his efforts, honors, fame, promotion, and possible pecuniary recompense would have been his. The baseness of the projected arrangement which he undertook to effect appears measurably greater from a study of the papers found upon him" by which it appears that in addition to the knowledge Sir Henry Clinton was to receive of the weakest points of defense, a mode of approach was indicated by which the brave garrison could have been most successfully attacked and slaughtered or overcome.

Although Sir Henry Clinton was justified under the laws and usages of war in *his* efforts to obtain so important a point as West Point with least loss to his own command, such justification does not extend to the spy, caught in the act, to whom a different rule is applied. André's undertaking became doubly disgraceful from the fact that he landed from the sloop-of-war Vulture, according to Lieutenant-General James Robertson and other British officers," "under the sanction of a flag of truce," and having come within the American lines in the night of 21st September, 1780, in a private and secret manner, he there bargained for a species of treachery against which no vigilance on the part of the garrison in the performance of duty would have availed. Sir Henry Clinton's act was a *governmental* one and not punishable. Major André's was an *individual* one, which could not lawfully have been commanded or required of him. In quitting the Vulture in the manner indicated and in lurking in and about the American lines in order to obtain information and in disguising himself to succeed, he became a spy, and liable to the prescribed penalty. His request to General Washington to be shot instead of hung was one, therefore, which could not be granted, because, in a military sense, such change in

the mode of execution would have been a mitigation of the sentence affixed by International Law to the odious offense of which he had been convicted.

The same rule is applicable to the International crime of piracy. No nation can lawfully commute or mitigate the sentence of a convicted pirate to imprisonment, for example, for a term of years. Lord Mahon<sup>11</sup> and some others have sought to justify André's conduct, but the decision in his case is now generally accepted as correct under the law of nations.

The resolutions<sup>12</sup> of the Continental Congress, quoted by Colonel Lieber, of 30th June and 7th November, 1775; 27th December, 1776; 8th October, 1777; 1st January, 27th February and 29th December, 1778, were merely statutory announcements of what was sanctioned by the laws and usages of war.

The United States, then struggling for national existence, had to contend not only against invasions from abroad but against civil war. No State of the original thirteen escaped becoming the theatre of hostilities at some time or other during that period. New York was, for example, the scene of belligerent operations, not only on its northern and southern but also on its western frontiers throughout the Revolution.

As courts-martial in the American service have ever been courts of special and limited jurisdiction for the trial of persons actually in the military service or voluntarily serving therewith for offenses specifically designated by statute, authority has been rarely given to them over offenses under the laws and usages of war, which may have been committed by inhabitants of the country or by persons in the enemy's service. The resolution of the Continental Congress of 7th November, 1775, exceptionally authorized *courts-martial* to try *all* persons charged with holding a treacherous correspondence with or giving intelligence to the enemy, and to sentence to capital punishment.

The present 46th Article of War for the American army as re-enacted by Congress in 1874, and to be found in the United States Revised Statutes, substantially repeats this resolution. Under it many persons, during the Revolution, were convicted and hanged in the Northern and Middle Departments of which New York formed a part. Thus, for example, we find that Brigadier-General Alexander McDougall, United States Army, appointed a General Court-Martial of thirteen members, with Colonel Philip Cortland, 2d Regiment New York Continental Infantry, as President, and Captain Benjamin Walker, 4th Regiment New York Continental Infantry, as Judge Advocate, to sit at Peekskill. On the 11th April, 1777, one Simon Mabee came before

it charged with being employed by the enemy for the purpose of enlisting men into their service and with being a spy. He was convicted and duly executed. Two days later John Williams and others were tried before the same court for "holding a treacherous correspondence with the enemy, and enlisting men into their service." Several of these were found guilty and hanged."

The Convention of the State of New York, by the several resolutions of 16th July, 1776, and 1st, 17th and 21st April, 1777, undertook to empower General Courts-Martial to "try all persons taken without the enemy's lines, owing allegiance to the State of New York and accused of *treason* in adhering to the King of Great Britain at open war with the United States, and aiding and abetting the unnatural war against them, or with enlisting as a soldier in the King's service *while owing allegiance to and deriving protection from the laws of the State.*"

Treason *per se* being a crime of civil cognizance cannot in these United States constitutionally come under the jurisdiction of a military court; nevertheless the same act which would be treason might also be a violation of the known laws and usages of war affecting the safety of the army, such as relieving the enemy with ammunition, or giving intelligence to him from the American lines, and thus render the offender amenable to trial by Military Commission."

A number of general courts-martial, so called, both regular and militia, were convened in 1777 by Major-General Philip Schuyler and Brigadier-Generals George Clinton (soon afterwards Governor) and Alexander McDougall, U. S. A., and by Brigadier-General Abraham Ten Broeck, of the militia; the latter having left the New York Convention, of which he had been President, to go on active military duty. Although thus designated as courts-martial, they were, as to many of the cases tried, in point of fact Military Commissions to investigate offenses under the laws and usages of war, and were often composed of as many as twenty members. They could not always take the oath to "duly administer justice according to the rules and articles of war," because those rules did not except in exceptional instances provide for any such offenses. They therefore took a modified oath, suitable to the circumstances, to well and truly try and determine according to the laws and usages of war.

Of this description of court was one of eighteen members, held at Fort Montgomery, Wednesday, 30th April, 1777, by Brigadier-General George Clinton's orders, and of which Colonel Lewis Dubois, 5th Regiment New York Continental Infantry, was President, and Captain Stephen Lush, Paymaster of same regiment, Judge Advocate.

This tribunal tried one William McGinnis and a number of other men and sentenced them to death for "levying war against the State of New York, being enlisted soldiers in the service of the King of Great Britain, and of enlisting soldiers for his service whilst thus owing allegiance to the State of New York."

Apparently these charges presented the civil crime of treason cognizable only in the civil courts of criminal jurisdiction, but upon looking at the evidence adduced it appears that the accused were found to have committed these overt and hostile acts within the actual military lines of the Americans, and hence were also amenable for a violation of the laws and usages of war. Others were regularly tried by the same Court under the Articles of War for holding correspondence with and giving intelligence to the enemy, voluntarily giving them aid and comfort, and were sentenced to be hung.

At another General Court-Martial, so called, of twenty officers of the militia in the United States service, which convened at Albany on the 21st May, 1777, and of which Colonel Stephen J. Schuyler, 6th Regiment Infantry, of Albany County, was President, and Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Varick, United States Army, Judge Advocate, one John Clint and a number of other persons were separately tried for the foregoing described offenses, and were sentenced capitally, or to undergo branding, fine and imprisonment, according to the nature and degree of the offense.<sup>18</sup>

Before still another so-called General Court-Martial of regulars, held the same year at Peekskill by order of Brigadier-General McDougall, and of which Colonel Henry B. Livingston, 4th Regiment New York Continental Infantry, was President and Captain Benjamin Walker, same regiment, Judge Advocate, were separately brought one John Likely and others, charged with "*treason* against the State of New York in adhering to the King of Great Britain, at open war with the United American States, aiding and abetting the unnatural war against them, declaring he had and would do it, comforting the enemies of these States and acting as a spy and agent of the enemy."<sup>19</sup> The evidence adduced shows that the prisoners had violated the laws and usages of war in the manner alleged, for which they were duly sentenced by the Court, acting as a Military Commission.

The Court, however, saw very clearly that while the Articles of War enacted by Congress 20th September, 1776, explicitly gave them jurisdiction over *some* cases falling under the Law of Nations, such as where the prisoner was charged with "relieving the enemy with money,



victuals or ammunition, or knowingly harboring or protecting an enemy, or holding correspondence with or giving intelligence to the enemy, either directly or indirectly," nevertheless the offense of being a "guerilla-marauder" or "spy" under International Law and of "treason" under municipal law were not within the jurisdiction of a general court-martial as a statutory court. The Court accordingly drew up a respectful remonstrance to the convening authority, in which, after reciting the resolutions of the Convention of the State of New York of 16 July, 1776, and 1st, 17th and 21st April, 1777, by which jurisdiction was sought to be conferred over the felonious, civil or State crime of treason; it proceeded to say that "doubts have arisen within this Court \* \* \* concerning the propriety of our determining the fate of our fellow-creatures by virtue of the above mentioned resolutions," \* \* \* \* \* for the reasons \* \* \* "that *State* prisoners should and ought to be tried by a court of this State, where they should have all the privileges of the law as freemen, and that which was once so much boasted of to be the constitution of Englishmen, viz: trial by jurymen of the vicinity and counsel, and further we fear whilst we are struggling for the sacred name of liberty, we are establishing the fatal tendency to despotism.

"That Martial-Law [*meaning military statute law,*] prescribes us an obligation by which we bind ourselves in the most solemn manner strictly to adhere to the Articles of War which the above mentioned resolutions are not a part of nor approved by the Continental Congress as an addition to the said Articles.

"Then, of necessity, we are obliged to create a new form of oath, as was done in the case of those prisoners heretofore mentioned, the propriety of which might be in question, for although we are empowered by the Convention to try such offenders by a set of men who have an undoubted right to invest judicial powers, yet they have given us nothing but resolutions, and have pointed out crimes without giving us instructions or prescribing us any other rules but the Articles of War, which we must entirely lay aside in such cases. \* \* \* \* \* From this above mentioned inconsistency of trial this Court see the necessity of applying to your Honor for leave to be relieved from trying State prisoners any more, unless that the name Court-Martial should be changed to that of Judicature, the prisoners allowed an Advocate" to plead in their behalf, a jury, and the members of the Court sworn by the rules of Civil Law, &c."

Thus did a Court of regular officers early in the history of the nation show its respect for constituted authority and for the great fund-

amental rights of Englishmen in settled or discovered colonies, for which they were then contending, not the least of which were the rights which every civilian was claimed to possess when charged with a Common Law crime: of presentment or indictment by a grand jury, assistance of counsel for his defence, and trial by an impartial jury of peers of the vicinage by due process of law.

It is deserving remark that the same respect for the Constituted Civil authorities in matters of civil cognizance which was then evinced by the officers of that Court is to-day entertained by the officers of the American Army, and is not only traditional in the service but inculcated as an imperative duty.

Not long afterward, on the 22d July, 1777, another regular General Court-Martial, or more properly speaking, "Military Commission," sat at Peekskill by order of Major-General Israel Putnam, United States Army, Colonel William Shepard, 4th Regiment Massachusetts Continental Infantry, being the President, and Philip Pell, Jr., Esq., Deputy Judge Advocate. This Court tried one Edmund Palmer, a citizen, upon the charges *first*, of plundering, robbing and carrying off the cattle, goods, &c., of well affected inhabitants, and *second*, with being a spy from the enemy, lurking about the American lines and found within them." In his defense the prisoner showed he was a Lieutenant of Volunteers in the British service, but being duly convicted of the offenses charged he was accordingly executed. His trial gave rise to the laconic and curt historical reply of General Putnam to Major-General William Tryon, which was as follows:

HEADQUARTERS, 7th August, 1777.

"*Sir*:—Edmund Palmer, an officer in the enemy's service, was taken as a spy lurking within our lines; he has been tried as a spy, condemned as a spy, and shall be executed as a spy, and the flag is ordered to depart immediately.

Yours, &c.,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

P. S. afternoon—he is hanged."

In approving the proceedings of the Military Commission in this case and in directing the sentence to be executed, General Putnam, from his Headquarters, Peekskill, 27th July, 1777, made on the record the following remarks; " \* \* \* To preserve and perpetuate the felicities of society, to support and vindicate the rights of Civil Government against foreign force and invasion, the military power was originally erected, and for this purpose the American Armies now wave their banners in the field and myself am in arms. The military I consider as subservient to and

attendant upon the Civil: invested with competent powers for its own executive government and to preserve its own existence against all open and secret enemies, of the latter denomination are all spies, and thereby answer the end of its institution, by guarding its own safety, is enabled to defend the community against hostile invaders. These considerations, with the example of all ages, induce me to believe that spies are the most detestable of all enemies and ought to be speedily executed, though not without trial and legal conviction. Of this character is Palmer, the unhappy culprit, and for this, and not for robbery or burglary, which are crimes cognizable by the Civil power, do I sentence him, who by joining himself to the enemy and accepting an appointment from them, forfeited all right to the protection and immunities of the Government of which he was a subject. \* \* \*

The language of General Putnam, as here given, although somewhat involved and ungrammatical, nevertheless expresses the idea prevalent then and now in the American service, that the regular army is but an executive force subordinate to the civil authority, to be employed in times of peace, when there may be resistance to constituted authority, in protecting and aiding such authority in the execution of the laws and to be used in time of war in an international sense, under the Chief Magistrate as Commander-in-Chief, in defense either of national existence, integrity or honor. While it is true, as stated by General Putnam, that robbery and burglary are crimes cognizable ordinarily by the civil power, yet there are times during war when the civil courts within the actual sphere of belligerent operations are closed or necessarily prevented from taking jurisdiction. In such cases the laws of war require the military authorities, usually through the agency of military commissions, to investigate and punish, in order to protect peaceable inhabitants.

In Lieutenant Palmer's case, therefore, even if he had not been a spy, his other offenses had been committed in the "neutral ground," where the authority of the State was powerless.

There were many such instances in the Revolution. Thus before a General Court-Martial, so-called (Military Commission), of which Colonel Philip Cortland, 2d Regiment New York Continental Infantry, was President, was brought Private David Hall, of Colonel W. Stewart's regiment of Light Infantry, charged with plundering an inhabitant of money and plate. The court found him guilty, and sentenced him to death. General Washington in approving the sentence ordered it to be executed the same afternoon, at half-past four o'clock. (General Orders, Army Headquarters, Steenrapie, 12 September, 1780.)

A few days later, before a Division General Court-Martial, so-called, assembled by Major-General Nathaniel Greene's orders, of which Lieutenant-Colonel Calvin Smith, 13th Regiment Massachusetts Continental Infantry, was President, Private Peter Nooney and three other soldiers in the same regiment were tried for "robbery." They were severally found guilty, and in accordance with their sentences duly executed, two-thirds of the court concurring in the imposition of such penalty." (Gen. Orders, Hdqrs., Orange Town, 27 September, 1780.)

To the American Army is largely due the credit of formulating and reducing to definite rules the Code of Martial Law—a code which, as we have seen, received considerable development during the Revolution. The service of the allied French army under General Washington brought to its notice the humane and improved manner in which military authority was exercised by the Americans under this Code, and the knowledge thus acquired undoubtedly contributed towards the ameliorations exhibited in subsequent European wars.

The Continental Congress did what it could in this direction, as, for example, when it instructed General Washington by resolution of 16th October, 1782, "to accede to the proposition of General Sir Guy Carleton for the mutual liberation of all clergymen, physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, and to prevent their being hereafter considered as prisoners of war."

During the war with Mexico, after the American "Army of Occupation," under Brevet Brigadier-General Zachary Taylor, had crossed the Rio Grande in 1846, that officer was annoyed and disconcerted by deliberate assassinations of his soldiers in Matamoras, Monterey and other places. An examination of the "Rules and Articles of War," enacted by Congress for the government of the army in times of peace and war, showed that no jurisdiction was given to courts-martial over such offenses. It would, of course, have been sheer folly to have sent such cases before local Mexican courts, when it was plain that the acts mentioned were merely the outgrowth of national hostility, embittered by war. The General-in-Chief, Major-General Winfield Scott, however, clearly saw what the law of nations authorized in such cases, and accordingly, so soon as he landed at Tampico, with another army on a different line of operations, he published his celebrated and now rare order on "martial law," which was again referred to by him at Vera Cruz, and republished from the National Palace, in the City of Mexico, after the American Army had obtained triumphant possession. (Gen. Orders,

No. 20, Army Hdqrs., Tampico, 19 Feb., 1847; Gen. Orders No. 87, Army Hdqrs., Vera Cruz, 1 April, 1847; Gen. Orders No. 287, Army Hdqrs., Mexico, 17 Sept., 1847.)

It is said that General Scott was better pleased with that order than with any one of his victories in the field. In it, after mentioning many felonious crimes against persons and property for which the "rules and articles of war" for the government of the army provided no punishment, he proceeded to say that "the good of the service, the honor of the United States and the interests of humanity imperiously demand that every crime \* \* \* should be severely punished," and that a supplemental code was needed, namely, martial law, which all armies in hostile countries are forced to adopt, not only for their own safety, but for the protection of the unoffending inhabitants and their property about the theatres of military operations against injuries contrary to the laws of war. He then proceeded to state how and what offenses should be brought before military commissions.

General Scott had entered the army in 1808, when many old officers of the Revolution were still in service. From them he probably acquired that knowledge of martial law, as executed during the earlier war, of which he subsequently made such good use.

In 1863 the Code, as promulgated by Major-General Scott, formed the basis of a more extended statement by the late Professor Francis Lieber, LL. D. It was prepared at request of the then Secretary of War (Stanton), revised by a board of officers, of which the late Major-General Ethan A. Hitchcock was President, and was approved by the President of the United States. (Gen. Orders No. 100, War Dept., Adjutant-General's Office, 24 April, 1863.)

Subsequent text writers on the Law of Nations, both American and Continental, have in several instances republished this Code as being an apparently correct general exposition of the law as applicable to belligerent operations on land.

## ASA BIRD GARDNER

<sup>1</sup> Am. Acn., vol. ii, 4th series, p. 968. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 483.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1517. <sup>4</sup> Am. Arch., vol. iii, 4th series, pp. 245-247, 328.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240. <sup>6</sup> Am. Arch., vol. ii, 4th series, p. 940.

<sup>7</sup> Am. Arch., vol. iii, 4th series, p. 1385. <sup>8</sup> Am. Arch., vol. iv, 4th series, p. 224.

<sup>9</sup> Official Register Officers and Men of New Jersey in Rev. War, p. 395; Sparks' Writings of Washington, vol. viii, pp. 265, 301, 311, 352; *Ibid.*, vol. ix, pp. 169, 221.

<sup>10</sup> In his letter to Colonel Sheldon André said he would endeavor to obtain permission to go out with a flag to Dobb's Ferry to meet Mr. G. [meaning Arnold.] In order to deceive the Colonel,

he at same time time declared that the object of the meeting was of so private a nature *that the public on neither side could be injured by it*, and further, that if there was any possibility of his being detained, he would "rather risk that than neglect the business in question, or *assume a mysterious character* to carry on an innocent affair," and get to the American lines "*by stealth.*" (Proceedings in André's Case, published by order of Congress, p. 9.) *Ibid.*, p. 14, Appendix.

<sup>11</sup> Original captured papers, State Library, Albany; Boynton's Hist. West Point, p. 110.

<sup>12</sup> Lieut.-Gen. James Robertson, from Greyhound Schooner Flag of Truce, 2d October, 1780, p. 18, Proceedings in André's Case ante. *Ibid.*, pp. 11 and 12.

<sup>13</sup> Mahon's Hist. of England, vol. vii, p. 70.

<sup>14</sup> See Journal Continental Congress. <sup>15</sup> Miscel. pap 37; 383, 387, Secretary of State's Office, Albany, N. Y.; Calendar N. Y. Hist. Mss., vol. ii, p. 83.

<sup>16</sup> The present 45th Article of War for the government of the American Army declares that "*Whosoever* relieves the enemy with money, victuals or ammunition, or knowingly harbors or protects an enemy, shall suffer death or such other punishment as a Court-Martial may direct." (U. S. Revised Stat., Sec. 1342.)

<sup>17</sup> Calendar N. Y. Hist. Mss., vol. ii, p. 120. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179. <sup>20</sup> Before the adoption of the VI Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, prisoners on trial before a General Court-Martial were not (following the British practice) entitled of right to the assistance of Counsel. <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258.

<sup>22</sup> According to the present 58th Article of War a General Court-Martial may, under such article, in time of war, insurrection or rebellion take cognizance of the felonious crimes of robbery, larceny, murder and many others, when committed by persons in the military service, and may award sentence which shall not be less than that prescribed by the laws of the State or territory where the offense was committed.

## CUBAN ANTIQUITIES—THE CANEYS OF THE DEAD

The word *caney* belongs to the idiom of the Indians of the great Antilles, and consequently to that which was spoken by the natives of Cuba, to whom the venerable Bishop Las Casas gave the name of *Siboneyes*. It means a house of conical construction, and in a larger sense applies in the eastern and other parts of the "Queen of the Antilles" to things and objects of delicate form. The *caney*s are elevations of earth in the form of truncated cones. The river *caney*s are circular mounds which from a bird's-eye view display curves somewhat analagous, and they are even to be found on the borders of the sea which bears that name, such as that which served for the primitive commerce of Sanctus Spiritus in the Mar del Sur. From the term "*Caney of the dead*" a great number of corpses is not to be inferred, nor yet a cemetery nor anything resembling the tumuli or constructions on the surface of the earth, which are called in the United States mounds and in Spanish *terraplens*. Whether intended or not for places of burial, a *caney* is an artificial elevation of ground which is believed to be the work of man. It is not the Mexican *Teocalli*, for the *good* Indians, the *peaceful* and domesticated inhabitants born on the soil, never got as far as that; but it is one of the saddest remains that Cuba offers of the passage of the ages which have preceded us in history.

The memoirs of the Patriotic Society of Havana had already been published in 1844, when the périodicals of Puerto Principe announced the existence of *fossil human skeletons*, which was of small importance towards the general information concerning the country at that period. There are still in Cuba a few deposits of human bones, not only in *caney*s, but also in numerous caves. In them were mingled the remains of wild negroes, of native Indians and of *guanajos*, who, driven by despair at the prospect of the toil to which they were condemned perished there by pestilence or famine. The negroes, especially the "*minas*," and in our time the Chinese, have turned to suicide as the supreme remedy for the sufferings of slavery. The notices published in Camaguéy were not a novelty. The existence of human fossils was already known, because the word "fossil," is itself an equivalent for "hidden," or "buried," according to its etymology: *fossilis*. Scientific men like Don Andres del Rio applied the system of Berzelio to all mineralogy under the name of *Orictonocia*, or "knowledge of fossils." No one would have supposed that

geology, which by its most distinguished champions, Cuvier and Lyell, had opposed the theory of *Pre-Adamites*, would abandon its most determined position, which recognized in man the last being which appeared in creation in the layers of the formations of the earth. But it is well to define these discoveries of fossil skeletons. Every one has heard in Cuba, Saint Domingo and Porto Rico of deposits of bones and bodies, and of the Caneys of the dead, which tradition connects with the Indians.

"It is many years," say the writers of these papers in Camaguéy (*Memoirs of the Society*, p. 45, No. 102, 1844) "since we heard of those which were found in this jurisdiction." The discovery itself was described by Bernabé Mola, who received his information from Don Francisco Antonio de Agramonte, both of whom were interested as compatriots in the study and progress of the country. The picture they draw of the ground resembles that which was made of the place in which the skeletons were found in the island of Guadaloupe, of which I shall make mention later. "The spot where what we shall call the cemetery is found," say the *Memoirs* and the article quoted, in which repose the skeletons described, is on the southern coast, near the bay of Santa Maria Caimba,\* and an estuary, *which has received from it the name of the Creek of the Caneys, because upon it there are to be seen scattered several of these sepulchres which are of a conical form, quite perpendicular, and presenting when seen in profile the opening of an extremely obtuse angle.* By compass the spot mentioned is west-south-west (from Puerto Principe), and to be more precise, a quarter due west — about sixteen provincial or Cuban leagues (of five thousand yards) in a straight line." The spot of the find is characterized as low and the coast as overflowed, particularly that called the Vertientes (bubble wells,) over which the sea has made its invasion in the lapse of time. To these circumstances he ascribes the discovery of the skeletons aforesaid, which we doubt, as it is only at low tide that the mentioned cemetery is left dry. There were discovered incrustated in the arena various skeletons, apparently of both sexes and of children, for the bones of these were found placed between the first, which seemed to be those of women. The high stature of the skeletons leads us to suppose that they were of an Indian race now entirely extinct."

Nor yet is the supposition new that such remains existed in the Antilles even in this very form. On the shores of Guadaloupe there had before been found human skeletons incrustated in a hard dark rock. Zimmerman speaks of them, denying their authenticity as true fossils, and Hitchcock (*Elementary Geology*, p. 100, 1841) also mentions them. At



first sight the discovery of human fossils, in the true meaning of the word, did not appear to be quite established, but from its appearance in alluvial matter, and from the objects of recent date that surrounded it, it can not be assigned to a period further back than some hundreds of years. The doubt entertained by Zimmerman is confirmed, and it has even been explained by the battle fought near where they were found, between the *Caribs* and *Galibis* in 1710.

The skeletons did not indicate an epoch more remote than the Mosaic deluge. Geology served as a support to the Bible, and philology sought in it its arguments. Johnes two years later wrote his "Philological proofs of the original unity and recent origin of man (1846)." His work quotes Cuvier and Lyell, and confirms the "Theory of the Earth" of the first, and the Geology of the second.

The wise *Scheutser* published in the last century a copious series of fossil remains to which he gave the name of *Fossils of the Deluge* in his splendid "*Fisica Sacrada*" and other special works on the same subject. He deemed it a very strange circumstance that human remains were so rare, and that he had only found two vertebrae (which had become black) and a large part of a skeleton. I have under my eye the print, excellent in its execution and design, and engraved as were all his works with a perfection which this century has not much surpassed (Vol. I, plate XLIX). This illustrious physician, this wise professor, believed that this was a *petrification* of nearly the whole of the spine and part of a human skull; but Cuvier demonstrated that it was a *salamander*! Even a portion of the liver the learned doctor believed to be petrified. The man of the tertiary period over whose remains the pious writer made such pathetic declamations was reduced to a great lizard. In 1844 the only pre-Adamites were such in a prophetic sense or upon theoretic principles; just as Voltaire and Barthelemy anticipated Nieburgh and Mommsen in the theory of the fabulous nature of Roman history. Zimmerman announced paleontologic discoveries *à priori*. The skeletons of Guadaloupe, two in number, were carried to the museums of Europe; this was known in Cuba in 1844. The Camaguéan periodicals noticed the fact, and even added "that the manner of the sepulchre authorized the conjecture of the existence among them (the race extinguished by the Spaniards) of some barbarous practices, such as had been noticed in other places."

But these Indian bones and other reminders of the past were not found in the *caneys* only but in caves. My friend, Don Andres Stanislas, met with them in Porto Rico, and many times spoke to me of them;

they exist in the upper islands. The United States are full of geological data from which science has discovered old errors. Charles Lyell, the most distinguished champion of the *recent origin* of man has admitted that one skeleton and other surrounding testimonies which were found in the delta of the Mississippi had overset his old opinions; and Dr. Dowler has estimated that it was *fifty thousand years old*. Griffin Lee makes the period longer. *Mound Folliet* was a gigantic *caney* in form until it was levelled. (Le Hon. *L'Homme fossile*, p. 211, Priest's American Antiquities p. 196, fig. 1 of the plates.)

The existence in Cuba of *fossil man* has also been demonstrated by the learned naturalist Don Felipe Poey upon evidence collected by the indefatigable enthusiastic and estimable explorer of Cuba, Don Miguel Rodriguez Ferrer.

The existence of pre-historic man in America proves that the antiquity of its early population is greater than that of which is called the old world, and that Cuba was part of the primitive world. Our subject is not yet exhausted.

#### ANTÔNIO BACHILLER

\* Caimba is the name for the holes in rocks or trees in which deposits of water are found. It seems to me an indigenous word, and I write it with an (s), although the Spanish sailors call it *Cacimba*. It is a word of general use in Brazil in the same sense but limited to the ground only. The Portuguese write it with an *e*. The same occurs in *Cibo*, *Ciba*, *Cibao*, &c.

## MARQUIS DE FLEURY

### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

Teisseidre, Marquis de Fleury (François-Louis), the hero of Stony Point, son of François de Fleury and Marguerite Domadieu, his wife, was born the 28th of August, 1749, at St. Hippolyte, in Languedoc.

La Fayette says in his Memoirs that M. de Fleury belonged to the regiment of Gâtinais, but in a document in the archives of the French War Department it is stated that he entered the regiment of Rouergue as volunteer (15 May, 1768), and served in it during the campaign of Corsica, rising gradually to the rank of first lieutenant.

In 1776 he sailed for America with Trouson du Coudray, 'having received a leave of absence and the rank of captain of engineers from his Government. On his arrival he joined the American army as volunteer, and accompanied it in this capacity during a part of the campaign of 1777. He received the rank of captain for his gallant conduct at the battle of Biscatagua.' He was then sent to Philadelphia, coming theatre of the war, to map its suburbs, sound the Delaware and fortify Billingsport. He rejoined the army with the rank of Major of Brigade when the enemy landed at Hith.

His brave and gallant conduct at the Brandywine (11 September, 1777), where he remained on the battlefield after the rout of his brigade, and had his horse killed under him, attracted the notice and admiration of Washington, who drew the attention of Congress to him. The Quartermaster-General received orders to present M. de Fleury with a horse, "*in token of the high esteem in which his merit was held by Congress.*"<sup>1</sup> He served as Major of the Brigade of Dragoons at the battle of Germantown, was wounded in the leg, took several prisoners, and had the horse given to him by Congress killed under him. He was then sent as Engineer-in-Chief to Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island, which was threatened by the English squadron and army. There he sustained a siege of six weeks, during which the *August* (64 guns) and the *Merlin* (22) were blown up by the fire of the fort. The commandant and the garrison of 600 men were relieved three times, but M. de Fleury steadily refused to quit his post. He was severely wounded on the 16th of October, and the same night the fort was evacuated. He was made Lieutenant-Colonel, and received a letter of thanks for his able and valiant conduct from the President of Congress.

During the winter of 1778 he formed the bold project to cross the ice and set fire to the English squadron. The Delaware not being entirely frozen that winter, he invented "batteaux mines," which were to be worked by the repulsion of fusees; but whilst he was working on them he was ordered to the Army of the North. The expedition into Canada did not take place. On his return he was made Inspector, and was charged with instructing and disciplining the troops.

At the opening of the campaign of 1778 he was the second in command of a picked corps (which comprised the body guard of the General) of 600 men, 2 pieces of artillery and 50 cavalry. He led it into action at the battle of Monmouth. Washington sent him to meet the Comte d'Estaing on the latter's arrival in America, and he accompanied him to Rhode Island, which was to be attacked. His entreaties prevailed on the Admiral to raise the useless siege of Newport and to retire to the north of the island. His company repulsed the enemy and covered the retreat. The Comte d'Estaing wrote to General Washington: "Allow me to recommend M. de Fleury especially to your good graces. General Sullivan will tell you all about his conduct at Rhode Island. He is an excellent officer and a useful Frenchman. I hope to serve again with him. He is a man made to unite private individuals in the same way that our nations are united."

Mr. de Fleury commanded a regiment of light cavalry when the campaign of 1779 opened. He was the first to scale the ramparts of Stony Point, and he carried off the English flag with his own hand. For this brilliant deed Congress awarded him a medal, which was fastened to a band cut from the flag he had so gallantly captured. He was the only Frenchman to whom such an honor was accorded. This medal is in the collection given by Mr. Vattemare to the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, and he describes it as follows: "A general in Roman costume, standing on a pile of ruins, holding in one hand a drawn sword and in the other a flag, on which he is tramping. *Legend*: VIRTUTIS ET AUDACIÆ MONUM ET PRAEMUM—*Exergue*. D. DE FLEURY EQUITI GALLO PRIMO SUPRA MUROS, RESPUB. AMERIC. (Duvivier fecit). Reverse—A fortress built on a rock and besieged by a squadron. *Legend*: AGGERES, PALUDES, HOSTES VICTI—*Exergue*. STONY-POINT. Jul. mdccclxxix."

The President of Congress wrote to him: "Congress hopes that your own country will show its appreciation of your merit." And the French Minister wrote "that he flattered himself that the Court would give in the person of M. de Fleury a proof to America of the satisfaction with which it has seen that a French officer had been so useful in

her service." \* When M. de la Luzerne arrived General Washington begged him to give an account of M. de Fleury's gallant conduct to the French Court; and M. de la Luzerne wrote to the Council about it.

At the end of the campaign M. de Fleury asked for and obtained a leave of absence of nine months, and General Washington wrote to Congress on M. de Fleury's departure that he hoped for the return of an officer who had rendered such important services.

M. de Fleury returned to France. Whilst there he addressed a memoir to the Court, wherein he gave an account of his services, ending as follows: "M. de Fleury having thus by his services risen from the rank of simple soldier to that of Lieutenant-Colonel, honored by the good will of the Nation and the Army, by the esteem of Congress, by the confidence of his General, ventures to solicit some sign of the approbation of his Prince and of the Minister under whose auspices he passed into the service of the allies of France. Although convinced that he owes his success more to his good fortune than to his talents, and that his zeal alone was able to compensate for his inability, he ventures to hope that his country will not disdain his services, and that that happiness of every Frenchman, the return to a loved land, will not be for him a sorrow and a disgrace. P. S. M. de Fleury has drawn some plans and written some memoirs which have received the approbation of M. Girard. He asks leave to present them to the Minister."

M. de Fleury received the rank of Chevalier de Saint Louis, 5th December, 1781, and a pension of 400 francs was awarded to him for his services at the siege and capture of Yorktown. He returned to America in the "Aigle" with the Prince de Broglie and several other officers, and rejoined the army; but finding that the war was practically over, and that his services were no longer necessary, he went to South America to make some explorations. On his return to France he was made Colonel of a regiment at Pondichéry, 1784, and died in his native land with the rank of "Maréchal-de-Camp."

#### ELISE WILLING BALCH

NOTE.—This sketch is translated from the second and unpublished part of "*Les Français en Amérique*," by the late Thomas Balch, Esq., of Philadelphia.

<sup>1</sup> *Les Français en Amérique*, pp. 71-72. <sup>2, 3, 4</sup> Mémoire of M. de Fleury in Archives of French War Department. <sup>5</sup> Letter of M. d'Estaing. <sup>6</sup> Mémoire of M. de Fleury in the Archives of the French War Department. <sup>8</sup> Mémoire of M. de Fleury in the Archives of the French War Department.

## HENRY WHITE AND HIS FAMILY

Tradition assigns to the family of White a Welsh origin. The earliest record of it, however, locates it at Denham, near Uxbridge, Buckinghamshire, England. The archives of the Herald's Office contain a grant of arms to the family in 1584. They are thus blazoned: Shield, azure, three roses argent, two above and one below. Crest, a lion's head couped, argent.

The American branch of the family settled in the province of Maryland at quite an early period; the father of Henry White, the subject of this sketch, who was a Colonel in the British army, joined his uncle in that colony, emigrating from England in 1712.

Henry White, according to the family account, was born in America but received his education in England. He later returned to this country and established himself as a merchant in New York, and his kinsmen in Maryland dying out he fell heir to their property. He first appears on the busy scene of colonial trade in a petition dated May 8, 1756, for leave to ship bread to South Carolina for the use of the navy. He was then acting as agent of Samuel Bowman, Jr., and Jo. Yates, of Charleston. The war with France, after a hollow truce of several years, had just broken out afresh and the authorities had imposed restrictions on the export even of home products to neighboring colonies. The trade in English goods between them was never permitted. The next year he was engaged in the importation of the usual varieties of European goods from London and Bristol, his store being in King street.

On the 13th May, 1761, he married Eve Van Cortlandt, daughter of Frederick and granddaughter of Jacobus Van Cortlandt, the founder of the younger branch of that family. The Van Cortlandt family was one of the wealthiest and most important of the colony, and the branch with which young White connected himself had largely added to its wealth and influence by intermarriage with that of Philipse, whose extensive manor of Philipsborough, in Westchester County, extended from the Harlem River on the south nearly to the south line of the manor of Cortlandt on the north, and from the Hudson on the west to the Bronx on the east. He is now found extending his commercial operations and the owner of the *Moro*, a sloop whose heavy armament of ten guns indicates that she was employed in privateering, the favorite business of the time. This alliance with the Van Cortlandts secured the fortune of the young

merchant. In 1769 Mr. de Lancey declining to take a seat at the Council Board, Mr. White entered the field as an aspirant for the position, one of the highest in the gift of the Crown. His application seems to have had the support and recommendation of Governor Moore, and in March of the same year he received his commission and was sworn of the Council, a post which he retained until the close of English rule in the colony. His wealth and importance increasing, he changed his place of business to Cruger's wharf, which was for a time the favorite location for the shipping merchants, and later bought for his residence the large house situated in Queen (now Pearl) street between the Fly Market, which was at the foot of the present Maiden Lane, and the Coffee House, which stood on the corner of Wall and what is now Water street (the exact site faced the foot of Cedar street). This house had been the residence of Abraham de Peyster, the Treasurer of the colony, and was one of the most important buildings in the city. In 1772 he became President of the Chamber of Commerce, being the fourth to reach that highest honor in this commercial city.

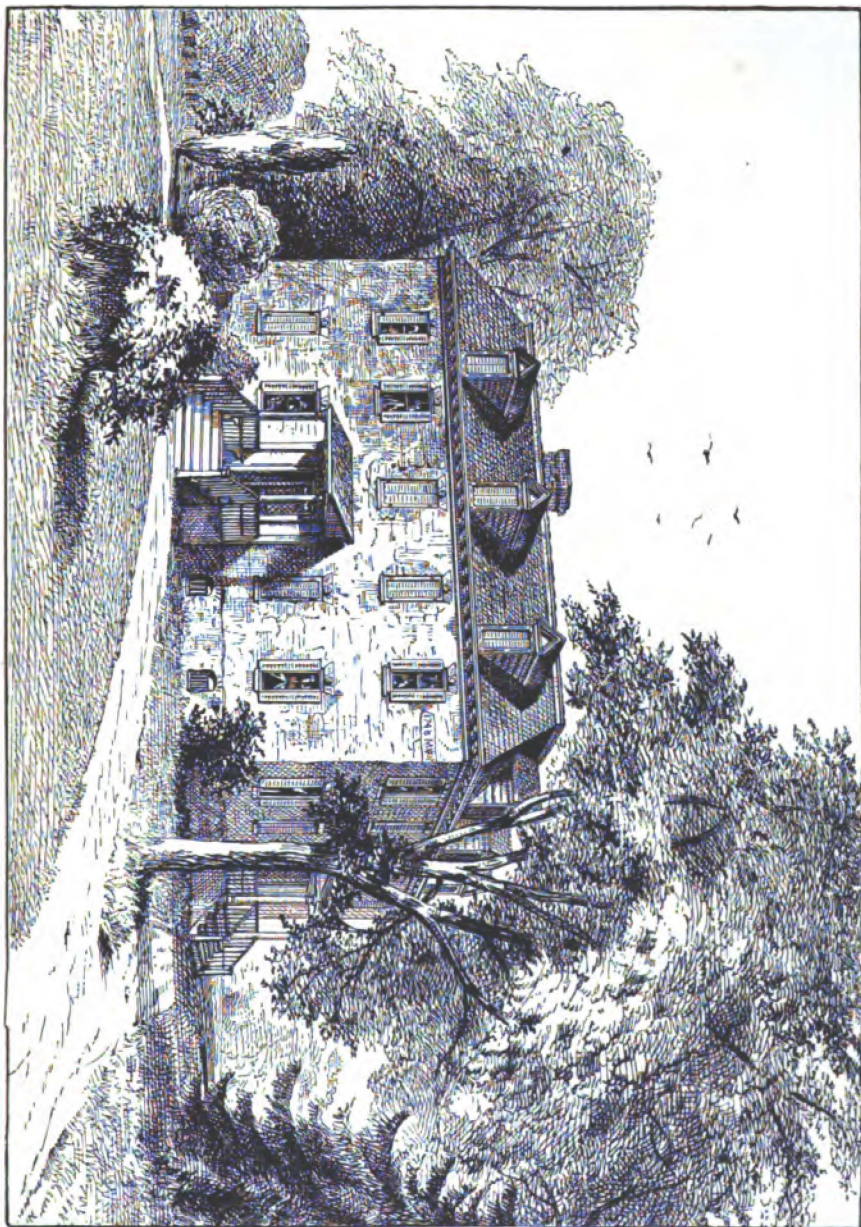
To Henry White as one of the first merchants of the colony and a member of his Majesty's Council, the East India Company consigned the ship *Nancy* with the cargo of tea intended for New York. She left London at the same time as the vessels bound for Boston, Philadelphia and Charleston, but being blown off the coast by contrary winds, put into Antigua, and did not reach the offing until the 18th April, months after the destruction of the tea which arrived by the Boston vessels, the unloading and storage of that for Charleston and the return of that for Philadelphia. The New York vessel shared no better fortune. Mr. White was forced by the pressure of opinion to decline to receive the objectionable consignment, and the Committee of Vigilance, appointed in open town meeting to prevent its landing, conducted the captain of the vessel to Mr. White's house and compelled him to engage to make all possible dispatch to leave the city and return to England with his cargo.

Notwithstanding his well known English sympathies Mr. White does not appear to have had any personal difficulty with the patriots. It is probable that he was prudent enough to keep himself out of harm's way. There is no account of his having suffered any annoyance. He was in the city in the summer of 1775 when a letter of Governor Martin, of North Carolina requesting the shipment of a *marqu e*, or field tent, and a Royal Standard, was intercepted and laid before the Committee of Safety. In 1776, when the Council broke up, it appears from the letters of Governor





[illegible][illegible]



CORTLANDT HOUSE—NEAR KINGSBRIDGE



Tryon that he was in England. In the fall of the same year he returned to the city with the second division of the Hessian troops, and from his influence with the citizens was of great service to Governor Tryon in securing the peace of the population, discontented and chafing under the restriction of military rules. The next year he was first of a committee of four to receive donations for the equipment of provincial regiments for the King's service, and remained in the city during the war, acting as the agent of the Home Government in various ways, chiefly in the sale of captured vessels and cargoes and the distribution of prize money among the British men-of-war.

On the 9th October, 1780, according to the record in the Surrogate's office, he appeared before the Surrogate to prove the will of the unfortunate André, when he declared that he was well acquainted with the testator's handwriting. He left the city and returned to England prior to the evacuation of New York in the fall of 1783.

Mr. White did not long survive the war. He died in Golden Square, London, on the 23d day of December, 1786, and was buried in the church-yard of St. James, Westminster, in Picadilly. An obituary notice in the "Gentleman's Magazine" said of him that "in public life he united the dignity of office with the respectability and integrity of a British merchant; and during the late troubles in America exhibited a zeal and attachment to Government that was at once exemplary and appropriate." Like many others, Mr. White paid the penalty of his loyalty.

Mr. White was attainted of treason to the State of New York, and his estates were forfeited by the Act of 1779. His home in Queen street, at the time in the occupation of George Clinton, the first Governor of the State, was sold in May, 1786. Fortunately the Constitution of the State adopted at Kingston contained a wise and liberal provision that no attainder should work "corruption of blood." But the fortune of Mr. White, independent of the estates of his wife, was ample. His influence was also great in official circles. Of his sons by his wife Eve Van Cortlandt, one, Henry, remained in America. William Tryon, another, named after his old friend, the Governor of New York, was a Captain in the East India Company's service.

Henry White, the eldest son, married his first cousin, Anne, daughter of Augustus Van Cortlandt. Their eldest son, Augustus, assumed the name of Van Cortlandt, and inherited a large estate at Yonkers, under his grandfather's will. Dying without issue, he devised to his brother Henry, who in turn assumed the name of Van Cortlandt,

a life interest in this estate, and, failing issue to him, a life estate to his nephew Augustus Van Cortlandt Bibby, and remainder to the eldest son him surviving. This nephew was a son of his sister Augusta, who had married Dr. Edward N. Bibby, whose father, Captain Thomas Bibby, an officer on the Staff of General Fraser, had secured an exchange after the Convention at Saratoga, and established himself in New York. Henry Van Cortlandt did not long enjoy the property; he died without issue the year of his inheritance, when it passed into the hands of Mr. Augustus Van Cortlandt (Bibby). With the old estate, and the name maintained by careful provision, also passed "Cortlandt House," near Kingsbridge, the residence of the family, and one of the most interesting relics of the colonial period. The history of this house, a view of which as it appears to-day accompanies this sketch, is full of romantic interest.

The old mansion of Jacobus Van Cortlandt was destroyed by fire about 1748, when the present, a large stone dwelling-house, was erected by Frederick Van Cortlandt. Built on a plateau on the eastern slope of the river chain of hills, it commands an extensive interior view. The long and smiling vale of Yonkers stretches beneath it, and to the southward the placid landscape ends in the Fordham heights. The ground in front was artificially terraced and ornamented after the old French manner of gardening, with large box trees and hedges, with here and there small sheets of water and diminutive fountains.

The interior is not less quaint and interesting. The windows are old-fashioned and the dispositions of the upper stories odd. An air of old-time, which would have charmed the heart of Hawthorne, still pervades the whole building, which bears its date in iron figures on its gables. In the library there are several portraits, one of the most interesting of which is of a Mr. Badcock, a friend of Mr. White, the son of the subject of this sketch. Another is the celebrated portrait of Henry White by John Singleton Copley, from which the engraving which accompanies this sketch is taken. The attitude is fine and the coloring wonderful in its fidelity. The warm flesh tints bear unerring witness to a reasonable indulgence in "generous wine that maketh glad the heart of man" and heightens nature's hues.

The Philipse Manor was all historic ground. When the Provincial Convention adjourned in August, 1776, from Harlem to Fishkill, the Committee of Safety, which held daily sessions in the interim, stopped here and held an important meeting on the Manor. When New York was in the hands of the British the Hessian Jagers had a picket guard on the ground and the officers were garrisoned in the house.

Washington dined at Cortlandt House in 1781, when he made his famous feint upon the British lines, and many a skirmish took place between the patriots and De Lancey's loyal Refugee Corps, the French, and the Hessians, and here occurred the bitter struggle between the Stockbridge Indians, who had joined Washington, and the Queen's Rangers, under Colonel Simcoe.

There are other details of the old house that deserve a passing notice. To the beauty of its outward surroundings and inward adornments there was added a famous cellar. The régime was that usual in the good old days of Madeira and Port when annual provision was made by cask, the old, and half old, being refilled in the order of their succession. This was the earlier fashion. Later, demijohns of famous vintages, under the name of their importers or the vessel which brought them, took the place of this primæval practice. Then the well-stored vaults held Blackburn, March and Benson, Page, Convent, White and other well-known importations of Madeira, in rich profusion; and the "White" Port held undisputed rank. Nor must the "Resurrection" Madeira be forgotten, so called because buried during the Revolution and dug up at its close. Here the uncovering of the brilliant mahogany, and the toast of "Absent friends and Sweethearts," was the signal for a merry bout, where convivial songs added to the charm of the occasion and flinching was not allowed. We have heard of a deserter who, seeking to escape "the glass too much," broke from the festive hall, took the porch steps at a bound, and followed down the lane by the whole company in hot pursuit, and to the cry of view-halloo "with one brave bound cleared the gate," and a five-barred gate at that. "Old times are changed, old manners gone;" but stranger and friend alike still meet from the erect and stately host the same elegant cordiality, and it will be a marvel indeed if he do not find that Cortland House and the White vintages alike deserve their fame.

Two of the Sons of Henry White entered the British service: the elder, John Chambers White, was commissioned in the navy, rose to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the White, and was made Knight Commander of the Bath, June 29, 1841. Frederick Van Cortlandt White received the commission of Ensign 19 Feb., 1781; was made Colonel of the First Regiment of Foot Guards (the Grenadier Guards) 1 Jan., 1805, and Major-General 25 July, 1810. On the army registers his name appears as Frederic C. and sometimes as Frederic Charles, but this latter is an error. Both these officers lived in London, and are now dead. Of his daughters, Ann was married to Doctor afterwards Sir John

McNamara Hayes, Bart., of Golden Square, London. They all resided in England, while Margaret, married to Peter Jay Munro of Westchester, and Frances to Dr. Archibald Bruce, lived and died in New York.

Some account of Eve Van Cortlandt, the wife of Henry White and the mother of these children, may interest the reader. She is well remembered by many of our older citizens. She was born, as entered in her father's family bible, 22 May, 1736, and died on the 19 August, 1836, in the one hundred and first year of her age, having more than completed a century of existence. She left the United States with her husband at the close of the revolution, and on her last return from Europe in 1804, occupied the house at No. 11 Broadway, her own by inheritance, till her death. This house, which stood for one hundred and forty-years, has been erroneously supposed by some of our local historians to have been the coffee-house kept by Burns in the Stamp Act period. It was not a public house until after the death of Mrs. White, when it was for some years known as the Atlantic Garden. Its site is now the station of the Elevated Railroad. Mrs. White was buried in the family vault, on Vault Hill, near Cortlandt House, on the 22d of August, 1836.

Her long life embraced a period full of remarkable events. Born early in the reign of George II, she lived till after the coronation of Queen Victoria. As a child she heard of the final defeat of the Stuart pretender at Culloden, and among her friends were officers who had fought on that bloody field. The foundation of the British empire in India, the seven years' war and the capture of Canada, the American revolution and the Independence of the United States, were the stirring incidents of her middle age. The young prince Louis XV was on the throne when she was born; the French revolution had swept away the monarchy, the star of Napoleon had risen and dazed the world with its glory and set in the darkness of exile, and the restoration had given way to constitutional monarchy under Louis Phillipe, before she closed her career. The packets from England had brought to her ears the news of the war of the Austrian Succession; the thrilling story of Maria Theresa, the partition of Poland, the birth of the Prussian Kingdom, the wonderful reign of the great Catharine. When she first saw the light New York was a provincial town and had not crept beyond the Commons, the present City Hall Park; they closed upon an imperial city, the commercial metropolis of a nation. In 1736 Clarke ruled the colony by Royal authority, in 1836 Marcy was governor of the Empire State, and General Jackson, the hero of a second war with Great Britain, was the eighth

President of the Great Republic. To few is it allotted to witness an historic panorama such as this, with its moving procession of courtiers, warriors, statesmen and sages. It is marvellous to think that she had heard from living lips the story of the passage of New York from its Dutch dynasty to the English rule, and that she lived to relate it to the present generation.

#### JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

NOTE.—For many of the facts and biographical details the Editor takes pleasure in acknowledging his obligations to Mr. Edward F. de Lancey, of this city, a maternally great-grandson of Mr. and Mrs. White.



## KEESE-ANA

To the August number of the "Magazine of American History" Mr. Evert A. Duyckinck contributed an appreciative and entertaining paper entitled "Keese-ana;" being his recollections of my father, the late John Keese. It was my hope that the publication of the article in question might awaken further "recollections" among those who knew him in the old times, for, as Mr. Duyckinck feelingly says, "Keese was a man who should not pass out of memory with the recollections of his many friends of the present fleeting generation;" and it is equally a matter of regret with his family, as with Mr. Duyckinck, that his name is not included in any American biographical dictionary. Surely a man whose life's aim was the diffusion of knowledge, whose name was identified with many important literary undertakings, and whose lame as an auctioneer was beyond doubt unique—deserves a record more enduring than memory.

Very few, if any, indeed, however, of my father's literary friends, to whom the preparation of a memoir would be an easy and not unwelcome task, are now living. Morris, Willis, Halleck, Hoffman, Tuckerman, the brothers Clark, George P. Putnam, and many others—all are gone. All save poor Hoffman, whose mental darkness is worse than death itself. How well I remember him! He and Tuckerman were frequent visitors at our house, and my brother and myself were often tutored by them in the recitation of their poems. Mr. Hoffman's "Sparkling and Bright" was my earliest committal to memory, and I can vividly recall my rather spasmodic interpretation of Mr. Tuckerman's "Apollo Belvedere." Then it was Mr. Hoffman's delight to equip us with shovel and tongs—which last article my father declared would do on a pinch—and put us through a military drill, ending with a stern peremptory "Dismiss!"—the obeying of which order was the one sole success of our performance. Mr. Hoffman was soldier, hunter, wit, poet, all in one; and as I remember him one of the most charming of men. He had a fund of stories of adventure, and drew towards him the young with a magic equal to that of the Piper of Hamelin. Too juvenile then to understand or value the company so often assembled at my father's, I comprehend now all that it meant, and fancy what an intellectual commerce it must have been.

In a note received from Mr. Duyckinck, after the publication of his paper, he wrote me that his personal knowledge of my father was limited to the auction room, and was kind enough to say that with the

material possibly at my command an additional chapter of Recollections might be given that would happily supplement his, and allow the employment of new matter. To accomplish this, and as a loving duty, the present writer begs the indulgence of his readers.

It was during the period of the literary gatherings above referred to that the various published works cited by Mr. Duyckinck—to which list may be added "The Forest Legendary," a collection of Metrical Tales of the North American Woods—were edited by my father. They were so many evidences of good taste, literary discrimination, and a thoughtful consideration of the claims of genius and of refined culture; but it is not needful to dwell upon them save in the case of the "Poets of America," which deserves more than a passing glance.

This compilation was really the first repository that could lay claim to being distinctly representative of native poetry, presented in an attractive form. "American Poetry," says the editor's preface, "has hitherto been little more than a happy accident, and seems to have arisen in spite of the practical tendencies of our country and the prosaic character of our time. \* \* \* It has usually come before the public eye in small, detached portions, with slight pretention to permanence in the form of its publication, and has been rescued from speedy oblivion only by its own beauty and power. The genius of the artist and the liberality of the publisher, have done far too little towards presenting in an attractive shape, and with due advantages, the finest productions of our poets. We have left our pearls unstrung. We have made few attempts to heighten the brilliancy of our gems by the beauty of their setting."

No one will doubt the truth of these words who will consider for a moment how the popular taste for a few years past has come to regard illustrations as an almost indispensable adjunct to collections of poetry, and that publishers are as truly alive to the importance of pictorial embellishment as they are to that of the text it adorns. It was, then, prophetic forecast to discern the needed element. The reading public was quick to recognize the delicate and graceful creations of the artist's pencil in the *Poets of America*, and the work in two series passed through several editions, universally commended by the press and admired by all lovers of poetry. Whether my father would have become an author—that is, a writer of books—as Mr. Duyckinck hints, had he not been attached to the selling of them, I can hardly offer an opinion. Author he certainly was in more ways than one; for if all the jests, epigrams, impromptu verses, that were his, and all the sonnets, valentines, dedicatory poems, &c., written for friends for years and years should be printed,

they would make a portly volume. But how useless to speculate when we know that he found his field in the auction room—a fresh wood and pasture new indeed; but in which he made himself at home so quickly and so perfectly that it was easy to see that he was to the manner born. Whatever display of wit he may have made in literary coteries, or the social circle, or at festive celebrations, died with the occasion that gave it birth, or was faintly recorded in memory, to fade as soon; but from his pulpit in the sales-room he spoke to the public at large, and his witticisms passed from lip to lip, were jotted down and carried home and crept into the papers, and were thus circulated and became a living record. And so John Keese, Auctioneer, is the objective point of my sketch.

The high compliment of being the “wittiest book auctioneer of his day in New York,” is paid him by Mr. Duyckinck, and it is equally true that he “left no successor in his peculiar vein.” That “peculiar vein” was an illuminating wit that played electrically upon every subject it touched; flashed light into nooks and corners; invested dull common-places with a hue of glory, and turned unmeaning or ambiguous title-pages into sudden and felicitous revelations. Add to this a wide knowledge of books and authors, an exceptional memory, a keen perception of every vantage ground, and above all, a celerity in retort that was surprising—and you have an intellectual equipment rarely found in the possession of an auctioneer.

It is no wonder that people flocked to the evening sales; and I have heard many say that to go there was as good as a play; so that the late William E. Burton, to whom in after years my father became warmly attached, whose theatre was then in Chambers street, regarded the auction room of Cooley & Keese as no contemptible rival. And here I am reminded of an experience related by that famous comedian, which, although a tale of his own crushing discomfiture, was told with great relish. The story has never been in print, and is really too good to be lost.

It annoyed Mr. Burton very much when in the tag of the play certain of the audience began the bustle of departure, and he determined to embrace the first opportunity to administer a public rebuke. He had not long to wait. One evening towards the close of the piece, the characters standing in order for the epilogue, an auditor arose in the gallery and commenced buttoning his coat. Mr. Burton left his place and stepped to the footlights. “Excuse me, sir, but the play is not yet finished, and you disturb the audience. Have the goodness to sit down.”

The stranger, without pausing in his preparation, promptly replied: "Can't help it. I've listened to your infernal trash long enough, and now I'm going." "And what did you say, Burton?" exclaimed the late Henry Placide, who was one of the amused group. "Harry," said Burton with an air of complete humiliation, "I couldn't say a d—d word!" My father was quite right in thinking that the actor received on that occasion emphatically a curtain lecture.

In glancing over old papers I am surprised to find so many tributes to my father's powers of entertainment. It would seem that in his day his qualities were deemed really phenomenal; and one of his admirers declared: "If John Keese should quit the auctioneer business, I should die of *ennui*. It would be a public calamity. He always looks to me like the ghost of Sheridan, grown sick of Parliament, and just emigrated and set up in the book-auction business in New York as a sort of practical joke on himself." It was then a perfectly natural question for Mr. James Linen to ask:

"Who lives in old Gotham in comfort and ease,  
And knows not the wit and wag, Auctioneer Keese?"

And Mr. James T. Fields, the accomplished man of letters, then of the firm of Ticknor & Fields, in his rapidly penned verses after one of the Trade sales, pleasantly sang:

"But all were gay, and every one  
Before the feast agrees,  
That when he wants for food or fun  
He'll shake a bunch of *Keese*."

Mr. Duyckinck truly says that "an auctioneer is bound to hold his own against all interlocutors. \* \* \* It is his business to control the audiences and their purses. To do this he must keep his company in good humor, and least of all suffer any intellectual discomfiture. Keese never lost this superiority."

But let us get into the Auction Room. A narrative of the Battle of Waterloo is put up. "How much for it?" Twenty-five cents was bid. "There was no quarter at the Battle of Waterloo, my dear sir." I believe it was the late Mr. Gowans, who, when the auctioneer held in his hand *Some Account of the Centaurs*, declared there couldn't be a history of what never existed, and wanted an instance of a Centaur; whereupon the doubter was referred to the Biblical record of the head of John the Baptist coming in on a charger.

A witticism sometimes might be beyond the ken of a portion of his audience, as when he spoke of Cadmus as the "first post-boy," because

"he carried letters from Phoenecia to Greece;" but when he knocked down Dagley's Death's Doings for seventy-five cents to "a decayed apothecary," with the consolatory comment of "smallest *fevers* gratefully received," there was no lack of comprehension. Selling a black letter volume "concerning the apparel of ministers," he supposed it referred probably to their "surplus ornaments;" and he assured his audience that the Poems of the Rev. Mr. Logan were the Banks and Braes of Bonnie Doon—at all events the brays.

An illustration of his readiness was when a parcel of fancy envelopes was passed up, to be sold in one lot. "How many are there?" was shouted from various parts of the room. "O, I don't know; too many to number. How much for the lot?" At last they were knocked down. "What name?" "Cowper!" "It shall be Cowper's Task to count them," instantly exclaimed the auctioneer.

A joke much relished by the book-binding fraternity was his likening a ledger to Austria, because it was backed and cornered by Russia; and when it was knocked down to a Mr. Owen Phalen, he paused at the name and said reflectively: "Don't know about selling to a man that's always Owen and Phalen."

At one of the sales of furniture a table of curious design was sold to a bidder who left it to be called for. Some time elapsed, when a friend happening in admired the table, and wished to buy it at private sale. My father told him it was sold to a party who thus far had proved himself the most un-com-for-table-man he ever knew.

I remember when a lot of Wade & Butcher's Sheffield razors was included in the catalogue, the auctioneer said there was no limit to their sanguinary possibilities—for the purchaser "might wade in blood and butcher all his friends." "Never mind, you'll have one volume less to read," he said to a bidder who found his set of books short; and when another wanted to know where the outside of his copy of Lamb was, the auctioneer conjectured that "somebody had fleeced it," adding consolingly, "but you can recover it, you know." A back-gammon board was put up, "to be sold on the square, and as perfect as any copy of Milton, which comparison necessitated the explanation that there was a pair o' dice lost; and "Three Eras of a Woman's Life" elicited the running comment of "Wonderful woman—only three errors. How much—thirty cents—only ten cents apiece—not very expensive errors after all."

Hallam's Middle Ages, "intended for gentlemen in the prime of life," and a copy of the Court Guide, "a free translation of Ovid,"

were severally knocked down, the last to a bidder whom the auctioneer unhesitatingly announced as Mr. Tupman, the relevancy of which name all readers of *Pickwick* will perceive.

I have alluded to Mr. Gowans. He was an Irishman, and his native wit made him formidable. His mission to the auction room was apparently to pursue the auctioneer, and very appropriately, therefore, he bought under the name of *Chase*. My father was once selling prayer books, and Gowans, sitting somewhat back in the company, wishing to create a diversion, as was his wont, interrupted the rapid vocalization with: "Are they in English?" As quick as gunpowder the auctioneer replied: "Of course they are. *Do you suppose a man is going to pray in Irish?*"

The enthusiasm of an Irishman was so aroused one evening that it could only find expression in the determination to vote for the auctioneer for alderman—and "Be gorra, name your ward." The episode was laughingly closed by my father's explanation that he belonged to no ward then, but when he was a boy he belonged to them all. The mystery shrouding this statement was dissolved by the modest hint that when he was a boy he was one of the Master Keys.

A portion of the library of Charles Lamb at one time came under my father's hammer. I can fancy that he must have revelled in the suggestions born of that hallowed treasure. Would that hand and memory had preserved a record of what must been an occasion of more than ordinary interest. Possibly some reader of this may supply what I have altogether missed. And with this tinge of regret I close my imperfect sketch.

The Autumn Trade Sale is just over, and old memories came o'er me as day by day I read its course as traced in the newspapers. Many familiar names in the book trade were there; many new houses founded on old ones were represented; many passing to successors still retained the old firm name. One name that of old was so potent, one voice that rang so clearly, one glance alert to detect the slightest nod, one brain forever busy, was missing—had long been missing—from the muster-roll. But I love to think that perhaps a few hearts went back into the past, and there lingered a moment in remembering John Keesee, the Auctioneer.

WILLIAM L. KEESE

NARRATIVE BY  
CAPTAIN JOHN STUART  
OF GENERAL ANDREW LEWIS' EXPEDI-  
TION AGAINST THE INDIANS IN THE  
YEAR 1774, AND OF THE BAT-  
TLE OF POINT PLEASANT,  
VIRGINIA

II

He, [Andrew Lewis,] was appointed first Captain under General Washington, together with Captain Peter Hogg in the year 1752, when General Washington was appointed Major by Governour Gooch to go on the Frontiers and erect a Garrison at the little Meadows, on the waters of the Monongahela, to prevent the Encroachment of the French, who were extending their claims from Fort Pitt (then Fort Duquesne) up the Monongahela River and its Waters. During the Time they were employed about that Business they sustained an Attack made on them by a party of French and Indians sent out from Fort Duquesne for that purpose, on account of an unfortunate affair that took place and happened soon after they had arrived at the little Meadows.

A French Gentlemen of the name of Jumenvail with a party was making some Surveys, not far from Maj. Washington's Encampment. Maj. Washington ordered Capt. Hogg to go and examine him, as to his Authority for making such Encroachments on the British Claims and Settlements. Capt. Hogg discovered where Jumenvail was camped, which he approached in the Night Time, and contrary to the orders or the Instructions of Maj. Washington, he fired on Jumenvail and killed him. The French, in order to retaliate, sent out a party to attack

Washington, but they were discovered when within one Mile of the Encampment, and soon appeared before it and commenced firing as they approached. Our people had made some Intrenchments from which they returned the Fire.

In this Engagement Gen'l Lewis received two Wounds. The French at length cried out for parley, and the firing ceased on both sides and the parties intermixed indiscriminately, and articles of Capitulation were drawn up by the French which Maj. Washington signed and acknowledged. He was then a very young man, and unacquainted with the French Language, and it seems in that instrument he acknowledged the assassination of Jumenvail. This was sent to Europe and published. And Hostilities soon after commenced between the two rival Nations viz: England and France; the chief Foundation of the quarrel being founded on this Transaction in America. I have seen Bissit's Account of the beginning of the War of 1755, in his History of England. It differs somewhat from this; but I have narrated the Facts as I heard them from Gen'l Lewis, and have no Doubt of their Correctness.

The French had brought with their party a Number of Indians, which gave them a Superiority of Numbers. An Accident took place during the Intermixture of the parties which might have proved fatal to Washington and his party had not Gen'l Lewis, with great presence of mind, prevented it. An Irish Soldier, in the Crowd, seeing an Indian near him, swore in the well known language of his Countrymen, "I will send the yellow Son of a B—h to Hell!" Gen'l Lewis, who was limping near him with

his wounded leg, struck the muzzle of his Gun into the Air and saved the Indian's life as well as the lives of all the party, had the Irishman's Intentions taken Effect.

When the War of 1755 began Gen'l Washington was appointed the Commander of the first Regiment ever raised in Virginia, and Gen'l Lewis, Major, who was afterwards on a command with the British Maj. Grant, under Gen'l Forbis, to reconnoitre the Vicinity of the French Fort (now Fort Pitt), against which Gen'l Forbis's Army was then on their March to endeavor to demolish it when Grant and Lewis drew near the Garrison undiscovered. Maj. Grant began to apprehend he could surprise the Garrison and disappoint his General of the honour of the Conquest. Against this unjustifiable Attempt Gen'l Lewis in vain remonstrated, and represented that the Garrison was re-enforced by a Number of Indians, then at the place in great Force, and the Difficulty of reaching the Garrison privately and undiscovered.

Grant, however, was unwilling to share so great an Honour with any other, and ordered Maj. Lewis to remain with their Baggage with the provincial Troops which he commanded, whilst he, with his Scotch Highlanders, advanced to the Attack, which he began early in the Morning by beating Drums upon Grant's Hill (as it is still called). The Indians were lying on the opposite side of the River from the Garrison, when this Alarm began, in Number about one Thousand five hundred. The sound of War so sudden and so near them soon roused them to arms, and Grant and his

Highlanders were soon surrounded, then the work of death went on rapidly and in a manner quite novel to Scotch Highlanders, who, in all their European Wars, had never seen Men's Heads skinned before. Gen'l Lewis soon perceived by the retreating fire that Maj. Grant was overmatched and in a bad situation. He then advanced with his Corps of two hundred provincials, and falling on the Rear of the Indians, made a way for Maj. Grant and some of his men to escape, but Lewis's party was also defeated and himself taken prisoner. The Indians desired to put him to Death, but the French with Difficulty saved him; however, the Indians stripped him of all his Clothes but his shirt before he was taken into the Fort. An elderly Indian seized the shirt and insisted to have it, but he resisted with the Tomahawk drawn over his Head until a French officer by signs requested him to deliver the Shirt, and then took him into his Room and gave him a complete Dress to put on. When he was advancing to the Relief of Grant he met a Scotch Highlander under Speedy Flight, and inquiring of him how the Battle was going he said "they were ah beaten aund I hauv seen Donald McDonald aup till his Hunkers in Mud, weth ah the skeen af his heed." Grant had made his Escape from the Field of Battle with a party of seven or eight Soldiers and wandered all night in the Woods. In the Morning they returned to the Garrison and surrendered themselves prisoners to the Indians, who carried them into the Fort, and Maj. Grant's life was preserved by the French, but the Indians brought the Soldiers to the Room's Door where Maj. Lewis was,



and his Benefactor refused to let them come in, and they Killed all the Men at the Door.

The French expecting that the Main Army, under Gen'l Forbis, would soon come on, and believing that they would not be able to defend the Attack, blew up the Fort and retreated to Quebeck with the prisoners, where they were confined until a cartel took place, when they were exchanged.

This is the same Col. Grant who figured in the British Parliament in the year 1775, when Mr. Thurlow, the Attorney General, affirmed that the Americans were Traitors and Rebels, but did not prove his position from a Comparison of their Conduct with the Treason Laws, and Col. Grant in particular told the House, saying, "I have often acted in the same Service with the Americans, I know them well, and from that knowledge would venture to predict that they would never dare to face an English Army; for, being destitute of every Thing necessary to constitute good Soldiers by their laziness, uncleanness, or rascal Defects of Constitution, they were incapable of going through the Service of a Campaign, and would melt away with sickness before they would face an Enemy, so that a very slight force would be more than sufficient for their complete Reduction." But during the Time of their Captivity this philosophical Hero was detected in an Act of the most base Duplicity in Quebeck. As the letters of the English officers were inspected before they were sent off, a French officer discovered that in Maj. Grant's Communication to Gen'l Forbis he had represented the whole Disgrace of his

Defeat to the misconduct of Maj. Lewis and his provincial Troops. The officer immediately carried the letter to Maj. Lewis and shewed it to him. Lewis, indignant at such a scandalous and unjust representation, accused Grant of his Duplicity in the Presence of the French officers and challenged him, but Grant prudently declined the Combat, after receiving the grossest Insults by spitting in his face and degrading language.

After the French had blown up the Fort and departed for Quebeck with the prisoners, in going up the Alleghany River, it was very cold, and Grant lay shivering in the Boat cursing the Americans and their Country, threatening if ever he returned to England he would let his Majesty know their insignificance and the Impropriety of the Trouble and Expense of the Nation in endeavoring to protect such a vile Country and People. For this provoking language Gen'l Lewis did chide him severely.

Gen'l Lewis was in person upwards of six Feet high, of uncommon Strength and Agility, and his Form of the most exact Symmetry that I ever beheld in Human Being. He had a stern and invincible Countenance, and he was of a distant and reserved Deportment, which rendered his Presence more awful than engaging. He was a Commissioner with Dr. Thomas Walker to hold a treaty on Behalf of the Colony of Virginia with the Six Nations of Indians together with the Commissioners from Pennsylvania, New York and other eastern provinces, held at Fort Stanwix, in the province of New York, in the year 1768. It was there remarked by the Governour of New York that the Earth seemed to tremble

under him as he walked along. His independent spirit despised sycophant means of gaining Popularity, which never rendered more than his superior merits extorted. Such a Character was not calculated to gain much Applause by commanding an Army of Volunteers, without Discipline, Experience or Gratitude. Many took umbrage because they were compelled to do their Duty, and others thought the Duties of a common Soldier were beneath the Dignity of a Volunteer. Every one found some imaginary complaint.

When Congress determined to be independent and appointed General officers to command our Armies to prosecute the War for Independence and defending our Liberty, they nominated Genl. Washington to the chief Command; but his great modesty recommended Genl Lewis in Preference to himself. But one of his colleagues from Virginia observed that Genl. Lewis's Popularity had suffered much from the Declamation of some of his Troops on the late Expedition against the Indians, and it would be impolitick at that Conjunction to make the Appointment. He was, however, appointed afterwards as the first Brigadier-General, and took the Command, at Norfolk, of the Virginia Troops. When Lord Dunmore made his escape from Williamsburg on Board a British Ship of War lying off Norfolk, the Vessel drew up and commenced a Fire on the Town, but Genl. Lewis, from a Battery, compelled his Lordship to depart, and I believe he never afterwards set his foot on American Ground.

This ended the military Career of Genl. Lewis, Congress having appointed

Genl. Stephens and some others Major-Generals, gave him some offense, as he had been their superior in former services and having accepted his office of Brigadier at the solicitation of Genl. Washington, he wrote the General his intention to resign. Genl. Washington in Reply pressed him to hold his Command and assured him that Justice would be done him as it respected his Rank. But he was grown old, and his Ardour for Military Fame abated, and being seized with a Fever he resigned his Command to return Home in the year 1780, and died on his Way, in Bedford County, about forty miles from his own house, on Roanoke in Botetourt County, lamented by all who were intimately acquainted with his many meritorious services and superior qualities.

It is said there is a Book now extant in this Country under the Title of Smith's Travels in America (which was written in England), wherein the Author asserts that he was on the Expedition in the year 1774, and that he joined the Augusta Troops in Staunton. He gives a particular Description of Mr. Sampson Mathew's Tavern and Family, who kept the most noted publick House in Town, and of the March of our Army from Camp Union to Point Pleasant. He also gives an Account of the Battle and of Col. Lewis being Killed in the Engagement. If such a person were along I am persuaded he was incog. and a Creature of Lord Dunmore, for I was particularly acquainted with all the officers of the Augusta Troops, and the chief of all the Men, but I knew of no such a Man as Smith, and I am the more confirmed in this opinion from what Genl. Lewis told

me in the year 1779, that he was informed that on the Evening of the 10th of October, the Day of our Battle, that Dunmore and the noted Dr. Connelly, of Tory Memory, with some other officers were taking a walk, when Dunmore observed to the Gentlemen that he expected by that Time that Col. Lewis had hot work. And this corresponds with my suspicions of the Language of McCullough, who promised us "Grinders," for had not McCullough seen the Indians coming down the River on his Return the Evening before the Battle, they could not have known the Strength of our Army, or the Amount of our Troops so correctly as they certainly did ; for during the Battle I heard one of the Enemy hollow out with abusive Terms in English, that they had eleven hundred Indians and two Thousand more coming. The same Boast was vociferated from the opposite side of the River, in hearing of many of our Officers and Men who occupied the Ohio Bank during the Battle, as the Number of eleven hundred was precisely our Number, and an Expectation entertained by some that Col. Christian would come on with two Thousand more. The Intelligence must have been communicated to the Indians by the Governour's Scouts, for there could have been no other Means of conveying such exact Information to them. Col. Christian had only about three hundred altogether, including the three Companies of Shelby, Russel and Harbert, when he arrived at our Camp.

Having finished the Intrenchments and put every Thing in Order for securing the wounded from Danger after the

Battle, we crossed the Ohio River on our March to the Shawnee Towns, taking our March by the way of the Salt Licks, and Capt. Arbuckle for our Guide, who was equally esteemed for a Soldier as a fine Woodsman. When we came to the Prairie on Killikenny Creek, we saw the Smoke of a Small Indian Town, which they deserted and set on Fire at our Approach. Here we met an Express from the Governour's Camp, who had arrived near the Nation and proposed Terms of peace with the Indians. Some of the Chiefs, with the Grenadier Squaw on the Return of the Indians after their Defeat, had repaired to the Governour's Army to solicit Terms of peace for the Indians (which I apprehend they had no Doubt of obtaining), and the Governour promised them the War should be no further prosecuted, and that he would stop the March of Lewis's Army before any more Hostilities should be committed upon them. However, the Indians, finding we were rapidly approaching, began to suspect that the Governour did not possess the power of stopping us, whom they designated by the Name of Big Knife Men. Therefore, the Governour, with the White Fish Warriour, set off and met us at Killikenny Creek, and there Col. Lewis received orders to return with his Army, as he had proposed Terms of peace with the Indians, which he assured should be accomplished. His Lordship requested Col. Lewis to introduce him to his officers, and we were according ranged in Rank and had the Honour of an Introduction to the Governour and Commander-in-Chief, who politely thanked us for services

rendered on so monstrous an Occasion, and assured us of his high Esteem and Respect for our Conduct.

On the Governour's consulting Col. Lewis it was deemed necessary that a Garrison should be established at Point Pleasant to prevent and intercept the Indians from crossing the Ohio to our Side, as well as to prevent any Whites from crossing over to the side of the Indians, and by such means preserve a future Peace, according to the Condition of the Treaty then to be made by the Governour with the Indians. And Capt. Arbuckle was appointed Commander of the Garrison, with Instructions to enlist one hundred Men for the Term of one year from the Date of their Enlistment, and proceeded to erect a Fort, which was executed on the following Summer.

The next Spring the Revolutionary War commenced between the British Army under Genl. Gage, at Boston, and the Citizens of the State of Massachusetts, at Lexington. And Virginia soon after did assume an Independent Form of Government, and began to levy Troops for the common Defense of the Country, when another Company was ordered to the Aid of Capt. Arbuckle's Garrison, to be commanded by Capt. William McKee. But the Troubles of the War accumulated so fast that it was found too inconvenient and expensive to keep a Garrison at so great a Distance from any Inhabitants, as well as a Demand for all the Troops that could be raised to oppose British Force. Capt. Arbuckle was ordered to vacate the Station and to join Genl. Washington's Army, but this he was not willing to do, having engaged, as he alleged, for a different

service. A Number of his Men, however, marched and joined the Main Army until the Time of their Enlistment expired. In the year 1777 the Indians, being urged by British Agents, became very Troublesome to frontier Settlements, manifesting much Appearance of Hostilities, when the Cornstalk Warriour, with the young Redhawk, paid a visit to the Garrison at Point Pleasant. He made no Secret of the Disposition of the Indians, declaring that on his own Part he was opposed to joining in the War on the side of the British, but that all the Rest of the Nation but himself and his own Tribe were determined to engage in the War, and that of Course, he and his Tribe would have to run with the Stream (as he expressed it); on which Capt. Arbuckle thought proper to detain him, the young Redhawk and another Fellow, as Hostages, to prevent the Nation from joining the British.

In the Course of that Summer our Government had ordered an Army to be raised of Volunteers, to serve under the Command of Genl. Hand, who was to have collected a Number of Troops at Fort Pitt; with them to descend the River to Point Pleasant, there to meet a Re-enforcement of Volunteers expected to be raised in Augusta and Botetourt Counties, and then to proceed to the Shawnee Towns and chastise the Indians, so as to compel them to a neutrality; but Hand did not succeed in the Collection of Troops at Fort Pitt, and but three or four Companies only were raised in Botetourt and Augusta, and which were under the Command of Col. George Shilleran, who had ordered me to use my Endeavors to raise all the Volunteers I

could get in Greenbrier for that service. The people had begun to see the Difficulties attendant on a State of War and long Campaigns carried through Wildernesses, and but few were willing to engage in such Service, but the Settlements we covered being less exposed to the Depredations of the Indians, had shown a willingness to aid in the proposed plan to chastise the Indians, and had raised three Companies. I was very anxious of doing all I could to promote the business and aid the Service, used the utmost Endeavors by proposing to the Militia Officers to Volunteer ourselves, which would be an Encouragement to others, and by such Means, raise all the Men that could be got. The chief of the officers in Greenbrier agreed to the Proposal; and we cast lots who should command the Company. The lot fell on Andrew Hamilton for Captain, and William Renick for Lieutenant, and we collected in all about forty Men, and joined Col. Shillieran's party on their Way to Point Pleasant. When we arrived at Point Pleasant, there was no Account of Genl. Hand, or his Army, and little or no provisions made to support our Troops, except what we had taken with us down the Kanahway, and we found that the Garrison was unable to spare us any supplies, being nearly exhausted, when we got there, what had been provided for themselves; but we concluded to remain there as long as we could to wait the Arrival of Genl. Hand or some Account from him. But during the Time of our Stay, two young men of the name of Hamilton and Gilmore went over the Kanahway one day to hunt for Deer. On their

Return to the Camp, some Indians had concealed themselves on the Bank amongst the Weeds to view our Encampment, and as Gilmore came along past them, they fired on him, and Killed him on the Bank. Capt. Arbuckle and I were standing upon the opposite Bank, when the Gun fired, and whilst we were wondering who could be shooting contrary to orders, or what they were doing over the River, we saw Hamilton run down the Bank and called out saying: "Gilmore is Killed."

Gilmore was one of the Company of Capt. John Hall, of that part of the Country (now Rockbridge County), and a Relation of Gilmore, whose Family and Friends were chiefly cut off by the Indians in the year 1763, when Greenbrier was cut off. Hall's men instantly jumped into a Canoe, and went to the Relief of Hamilton, who was standing in momentary expectation of being put to death; and they brought the Corpse of Gilmore down the Bank covered with Blood and Scalped. They put him into a Canoe, and as they were passing the River, I observed to Capt. Arbuckle, that the people would be for Killing the Hostages, as soon as the Canoe would land, but he supposed they would not offer to commit so great an Outrage on the innocent, who were in no wise accessory to the murder of Gilmore; but the Canoe had scarcely touched the Shore until the Cry was raised: "Let us Kill the Indians in the Fort," and every Man, with his Gun in his Hand, came up the Bank as pale as death with Rage. Capt. Hall was at their Head and leader. Arbuckle and I met them and endeavoured to dissuade them from so un-

justifiable an Action, but they cocked their Guns, and threatened us with instant Death if we did not desist. They rushed by us into the Fort and put the Indians to death. On the preceding Day the Cornstalk's Son Elinipsico had come from the Nation to see his Father, and to Know if he were Well, or yet alive. When he came to the River opposite the Fort, he halloed over. His Father was at that Instant in the Act of delineating a Map of the Country and Waters between the Shawnee Towns and the Mississippi, at our Request, with Chalk upon the Floor. He immediately recognized the Voice of his Son, got up, and went out and answered, and the young Fellow crossed over and they embraced each other in the most tender and affectionate Manner. The Interpreter's Wife, who had been a prisoner with the Indians and had recently left them, on hearing the uproar the next Day, and hearing the men threatening that they would Kill the Indians, for whom she retained much Affection, ran to their Cabin and informed them that the people were just coming to Kill them, and that because the Indians that Killed Gilmore had come with Elinipsico the Day before. He utterly denied it, declared that he Knew Nothing of them, and trembled exceedingly. His Father encouraged him not to be afraid, for the Great Man above had sent him there to be Killed, and die with him. As the men advanced to the Door, the Cornstalk rose up and met them. They fired upon him, and seven or eight Bullets passed through him. Thus fell the great Cornstalk Warrior whose Name was bestowed upon him by the Consent of the

Nation as their great Strength and Support. His Son was shot dead as he sat upon a Stool. The Redhawk made an Attempt to go up the Chimney, but was shot down. The other Indian was Shamefully mangled, and I grieved to see him long in the Agonies of Death.

The Cornstalk from personal Appearance and many brave Acts, was undoubtedly a Hero. Had he been spared to live, I believe he would have been friendly to the American Cause. Nothing could have induced him to make the visit to the Garrison, at the critical Time he did, but to communicate the Temper and Disposition of the Indians, and their Design of taking part with the British. On the Day that he was Killed, we had held a Council, in which he was. His Countenance was dejected, and he made a Speech, all of which seemed to indicate an honest and manly Disposition. He acknowledged that he expected he and his party would have to run with the Stream, for all the Indians on the Lakes, and Northwardly, were joining the British. When he returned to the Shawnee Town, after the Battle at the Point, he called a Council of the Nation, to consult what was to be done, and upbraided the Indians, for their Folly in not suffering him to make Peace, on the Evening before the Battle, saying: What will you do now? The big Knife<sup>s</sup> is coming on us, and we shall all be Killed. Now you must fight, or we are undone." But no one made answer. He then said: 'Let us Kill all our Women and Children and go and fight till we die.' But none would answer. At length, he arose and struck his Tomahawk in the Post, in the Centre of the Town House, and said,

"I'll go and make Peace!" and then the Warriours all grunted out "ough! ough! ough!" And Runners were instantly despatched to the Governour's Army to solicit a peace, and the Interposition of the Governour on their Behalf. When he made his Speech in the Council with us, he seemed impressed with an awful prediction of his approaching Fate. For he repeatedly said, "when I was a young Man and went to War, I thought that might be the last time, and I would return no more;" "Now," said he, "I am here amongst you, you may Kill me if you please; I can die but once, and it is all one to me now or another Time!" And this Declaration concluded every sentence of his Speech. He was Killed about one hour after our Council broke up.

A few days after this Catastrophe, Genl. Hand arrived, but had no Troops, and we were discharged, and returned Home a short Time before Christmas.

Not long after we left the Garrison, a small party of Indians appeared near the Fort; and Lieut. Moore was ordered with a party to pursue them. Their Design was to retaliate the Murder of the Cornstalk.

Moore had not proceeded over one quarter of a Mile, until he fell into an Ambuscade and was Killed with several of his Men.

The next year, 1778, in the Month of May, a small party of Indians again appeared near the Garrison, and showed themselves, but soon decamped apparently in great Terror; but the Garrison was aware of their Seduction, and no one was ordered to pursue them. Finding their Scheme was not likely to suc-

ceed, all their whole Army rose up at once, and showed themselves, extending across from the Bank of the Ohio, to the Bank of the Kanahway, and commenced a Fire on the Garrison, which lasted several Hours, but without Effect. At Length, one of them had the Presumption to advance so near the Fort, as to request the Favour of being permitted to come in, to which Capt. McKee granted his Assent, and the Stranger very composedly walked in. Capt. Arbuckle was then absent on a Visit to Greenbrier to see his Family. During the Time the strange Gentleman was in the Fort, a Gun went off in the Fort by an Accident. The Indians without raised a hideous Yell, supposing the Fellow was Killed in the Fort; but he instantly jumped up in one of the Bastions and showed himself, giving the sign that all was well, and reconciled his Friends. Finding they could make no Impression on the Garrison, they concluded to come on to Greenbrier, and collecting all the Cattle about the Garrison for provision on their March, started up the Kanahway in great military parade to finish their Campaign, and take Vengeance of us for the Death of the Cornstalk; but Capt. McKee perceiving their Design by the Route they were pursuing, despatched Philip Hammon and John Pryor, after them with Orders, if possible, to pass them undiscovered, and give the inhabitants notice of their Approach. This hazardous Service they performed with great Fidelity. The Indians had two Days start of them; but they pursued with such Speed and Diligence, that they overtook and passed the Indians, at the House of William

McClurg, at the Meadows about twenty Miles from Lewisburg. It was in the Evening of the Day and McClurg's Family had previously removed further in amongst the Inhabitants for Safety, as they were of the Frontier-House, on the way to Point Pleasant. At this place Hammon and Pryor had a full View of them, as they walked upon a Piece of high Ground between the House and the Barn, and appeared to be viewing the great Meadows, lying in Sight of the House. Hammon and Pryor were in the Meadows concealed in the Weeds, and had a full View of their whole Party undiscovered by them, and calculated the Number of the Indians, by their Estimation at about two hundred Warriours. They, having passed the Indians at the Meadows, came on with great speed to Col. Andrew Donally's and gave the Alarm of the Approach of the Indians. Col. Donally lost no Time in collecting all his nearest Neighbours that Night, and sent a Servant to inform me.

Before Day, about twenty Men, including Hammon and Pryor, were collected at Donally's, and they had the Advantage of a Stockade Fort around and adjoining the House. There was a Number of Women and Children, making in all about sixty persons in the House. On the next day they kept a good Lookout in momentary Expectation of the Enemy. Col. Samuel Lewis was at my House, when the Messenger came with the Intelligence, and we lost no Time to alarm the People, and collect as many Men for Defence as we could get at Camp-Union all the next Day; but all were busy, some flying with their Families to the inward Settlements, and others securing their property, so

that in the Course of the next Day, we had not collected near one hundred Men. On the following Day, we sent out two Scouts to Donally's, very early in the Morning, who soon returned with Intelligence that the Fort was attacked. The Scouts had got within about one Mile, and heard the Guns firing briskly. We determined to give all the Aid to the besieged that we could and every man who was willing to go, was paraded. They amounted to sixty-eight in all, including Col. Lewis, Capt. Arbuckle, and myself. We drew near Donally's House about 2 o'clock P. M. but hearing no firing. For the sake of Expedition we had left the Road for a nearer Way, which led to the back side of the House, and escaped falling into an Ambuscade, placed on the Road, some Distance from the House, which might have been fatal to us, being greatly inferior to the Enemy in Point of Numbers. We soon discovered Indians, behind Trees, in a Rye-Field, looking earnestly at the House. Charles Gatliff and myself fired upon them, when we saw others running into the Rye near where the others stood. We all ran directly to the Fort. The People, on hearing the Guns on the Back side of the House, supposed it was another party of Indians, and all were at the Port holes ready to fire on us, but some discovering that we were their Friends, opened the Gates, and we all got in safe. One man only was shot through the Clothes. When we got to the Fort, we found there were only four Men Killed. Two of them were coming to the Fort, fell into the midst of the Indians, and were Killed. A Servant of Donally's was Killed early in the Morning, on the first Attack, and one man



was Killed in the Bastion, in the Fort. The Indians had commenced their Attack about Day-Light in the Morning, while the people were in Bed, all but Philip Hammon and an old Negro. The House composed one Part of the Fort in Front, and was double, the Kitchen making one End of the House, and there Hammon and the Negro were. A Hogshead of Water was placed against the Door, and the Enemy had laid down their Guns at a Stable about fifty yards from the House, and made their Attack with Tomahawks and War-Clubs. Hammon and the Negro held the Door until they were splitting it with their Tomahawks. They suddenly let the Door open, and Hammon Killed the Indian on the Threshold, who was in the Act of Splitting the door. The negro had a Musket charged with Swan shots, and was jumping about on the Floor, asking Hammon where he should shoot. Hammon bid him fire away amongst them, for the yard was crowded thick as they could stand. Dick fired away and I believe with good effect, for a War Club lay in the yard and a Swan shot in it. He is now upwards of eighty years old; has long been abandoned by his Master, as well as his Wife, who is as old as himself; but they have made out to support their miserable Existence many years past, with their own Endeavours. And this is the Negro, to whom, our late Assembly, at their last Session, refused to grant a small Pension, to support the short Remains of his Wretched Days, which must soon end, though his humble Petition was supported by the Certificates of the most respectable Men in the County, wherein his meritorious service was done, on the trying Occasion,

which saved the lives of many Citizens then in the House.

The firing of Hammon and Dick awakened the People in the other End of the House and up-stairs where the chief of the men were lying. They soon fired out of the Windows on the Indians so briskly, that when we got in the Fort, seventeen of the Enemy lay dead in the yard, one of whom was a boy about fifteen or sixteen years old. His Body was so torn with the Bullet, that a Man might have run his Arm through him, yet he lived almost all day; made a lamentable cry, and the Indians hallowed to him to go into the House. After dark a fellow drew near the Fort, and called out in English, and said, "I want to make peace." We invited him to consult on the Terms; but he declined our Civility. They departed that Night, after dragging eight of their slain out of the yard; and we never found afterwards where they had buried them. Neither did they ever afterwards visit Greenbrier more than twice, and then in very small parties, one of which Killed a Man and his Wife, of the name of Monday, and wounded Capt. Saml. McClung. The last Person Killed was Thomas Griffith, and his son was taken; but going down the Kanahway, they were pursued, and one of the Indians was Killed, and the Boy relieved.

Thus ended our Wars in Greenbrier, with the Indians, in the year 1780.

Narrated by John Stuart of

Greenbrier County, Virginia,  
*December, 1820.*

<sup>1</sup> See history of England for 1775, page 527, vol. 12th.

<sup>2</sup> The Term used by them to designate our Army.

# AN EXPLANATION OF THE DEVICES ON THE CONTINENTAL BILLS OF CREDIT, WITH CONJECTURES OF THEIR MEANING.

*From the Pennsylvania Magazine, December, 1775*

An emblematical device, when rightly formed is said to consist of two parts, a *body* and a *mind*, neither of which is complete or intelligible, without the aid of the other. The figure is called the *body*, the motto the *mind*. These that I am about to consider, appear formed on that rule, and seem to relate to the present struggles between the Colonies and the tyrant state, for liberty, property and safety on the one hand, for absolute power and plunder on the other.

On one denomination of the bills, there is a figure of a *harp*, with this motto, *Majora minoribus consonant*; literally, *The greater and smaller ones found together*. As the *harp* is an instrument composed of *great* and *small* strings, included in a *strong frame*, and is all so tuned as to agree in concord with each other, I conceive that the *frame* may be intended to represent our new government by a Continental Congress; and the strings of different lengths and substance, either the several colonies of different weight and force, or the various ranks of people in all of them, who are now united by that government in the most perfect *harmony*.

On another bill is impressed, a *wild boar of the forest*, rushing on the spear of the hunter; with this motto: *Aut mors, aut vita decora*; which may be translated—*Death or liberty*. The wild

boar is an animal of great strength and courage, armed with long and sharp tusks, which he well knows how to use in his defence. He is inoffensive while suffered to enjoy his freedom, but when roused and wounded by the hunter, often turns and makes him pay dearly for his injustice and temerity.

On another is drawn an *eagle* on the wing pouncing upon a *crane*, who turns upon his back, and receives the eagle on the point of his long bill, which pierces the eagle's breast; with this motto, *Exitus in dubio est*;—*The event is uncertain*. The eagle, I suppose, represents Great Britain, the crane America. This device offers an admonition to each of the contending parties, to the Crane not to depend too much upon the success of its *endeavours to avoid* the contest (by petition, negotiation, &c.), but prepare for using the means of defence God and nature hath given it; and to the eagle not to presume on its superior strength, since a weaker bird may wound it mortally.

*Sunt dubii eventus, incertaque proelia martis :*

*Vincitur haud raro, qui prope victor erat.*

On another bill we have a *thorny bush*, which a hand seems attempting to eradicate. The hand appears to bleed, as pricked by the spines. The motto is *Sustine vel Abstine*; which may be rendered, *Bear with me or let me alone*; or thus, *Either support or leave me*. The bush I suppose to mean *America*, and the bleeding hand *Brittain*. Would to God that bleeding were stopt, the wounds of that hand healed, and its future operations directed by wisdom and equity; so shall the hawthorn

flourish, and form an hedge around it; annoying with its thorns only its invading enemies.

Another has the figure of a *beaver* gnawing a large tree, with this motto, *Perseverando; by perserverance*. I apprehend the *great tree* may be intended to represent the enormous power Britain has assumed over us, and endeavours to enforce by arms, of taxing us at pleasure, *and binding us in all cases whatsoever*, or the exorbitant profits she makes by monopolizing our commerce. Then the *beaver*, which is known to be able, by assiduous and steady working, to fell large trees, may signify *America*, which, by perseverance in her present measures, will probably reduce that power within proper bounds, and by establishing the most necessary manufactures among ourselves, abolish the British monopoly.

On another bill, we have the plant *acanibus* sprouting on all sides, under a weight placed upon it, with the motto, *Depressa Risurgit; Though oppressed it rises*. The ancients tell us, that the sight of such an accidental circumstance, gave the first hint to an architect in forming the beautiful capital of the Corinthian column. This, perhaps, was intended to encourage us, by representing that our present oppressions, will not destroy us, but that they may, by increasing our industry and forcing it into new courses, encrease the prosperity of our country, and establish that prosperity on the *base* of liberty, and the well proportioned *pillar* of property, elevated for a pleasing spectacle to all *connoisseurs*, who can *taste* and delight in the architecture of human happiness.

The figure of the *hand and flail* over *sheaves of wheat*, with the motto, *TRIBULATIO DITAT*—Threshing improves it: (which we find printed on another of the bills) may perhaps be intended to admonish us, that through at present we are under the *flail*, its blows how hard soever, will be rather advantageous than hurtful to us; for they will bring forth every *grain* of genius and merit in arts, manufactures, war and council, that are now concealed in the husk, and then the breadth of a breeze will be sufficient to separate us from all the chaff of toryism. *Tribulation* too, in our English sense of the word, improves the mind, it makes us humbler, and tends to make us wiser. And *threshing* in one of its senses, that of beating, often improves those that are threshed. Many an unwarlike nation, have been beaten into heroes by troublesome warlike neighbours; and the continuance of a war though it lessens the numbers of a people, often encreases its strenght by the encreased discipline and consequent courage of the number remaining. Thus England, after her civil war in which her people threshed one another, became more formidable to her neighbours. The public distress too that arises from war, by increasing frugality and industry, often gives habits that remain after the distress is over, and thereby naturally *enriches* those on whom it has enforced, those *enriching virtues*.

Another of the bills has for its device, a *storm* descending from a *black heavy cloud*, with the motto, *SERENABIT; It will clear up*. This seems designed to encourage the dejected, who may be too

sensible of present inconveniences, and fear their continuance. It reminds them agreeable to the adage, *that after a storm comes a calm*; or as Horace more elegantly has it—

*Informes hyemes reducit, Jupiter : idem summovit.*

*Non si male nunc, et olim*

*Sic erit—Neque semper arcum tendit Apollo.*

On another bill, there is stamped the representation of a *tempestuous sea*; a face with swollen cheeks, wrapt up in a black cloud, appearing to blow violently on the waters, *the waves high and all rolling one way*. The motto VI CON-SITATÆ; which may be rendered, *raised by force*. From the remotest antiquity in figurative language, great waters have signified *the people*, and waves an insurrection. The people of themselves are supposed as naturally inclined to be still, as the waters to remain level and quiet. There rising here appears not to be from any internal cause, but from an external power, expressed by the head of *Æolus*, God of the winds (or *Boreas*, the north wind as usually the most violent) acting furiously upon them. The black cloud perhaps designs the British Parliament, and the waves the colonies. Their rolling all in one direction shews, that the very force used against them has produced their unanimity. On the reverse of this bill we have a smooth sea, the sails of ships on that sea hanging loose shew a perfect calm; the sun shining fully denotes a clear sky. The motto is, CESSANTE VENTO CONQUIESCEMUS: *The wind ceasing we shall be quiet*. Supposing my explanation of the preceeding device to be right, this will probably

import, that when those violent acts of power, which have aroused the colonies are repealed, they will return to their former tranquillity. Britain seems thus charged with being the sole cause of the present war, at the same time, that the only mode of putting an end to it, is thus plainly pointed out to her.

The last is a *wreath of laurel* on a *marble monument* or *altar*. The motto, SI RECTE FACIES, *If you act rightly*. This seems intended as an encouragement to a brave and steady conduct in defence of our liberties, as it promises, to crown with honour, by the laurel wreath, those who persevere to the end in *well-doing*; and with a long duration of that honour expressed by the *monument of marble*.

A learned friend of mine thinks this device more particularly addressed to the CONGRESS. He says, the ancients composed for their heroes, a wreath of laurel, oak and olive twigs interwoven; agreeable to the distich

*E lauro, quercu, atque olea, duce, digna corona.*

*Prudentem, fortem, pacificumque, decet.* Of *laurel*, as that tree was dedicated to *Apollo* and understood to signify *knowledge* and *prudence*; of *oak*, as pertaining to *Jupiter*, and expressing fortitude; of *olive*, as the tree of *Pallas* and as a symbol of *peace*. The whole to shew that those who are trusted to conduct the great affairs of mankind should act prudently and firmly, retaining, above all, a pacific disposition. This wreath was first upon an *altar*, to admonish the hero who was to be crowned with it, that true glory is founded on, and proceeds from *piety*. My friend therefore thinks the present device might intend a wreath of

that composite kind, though from the smallness of the work, the engraver could not mark distinctly the differing leaves: And he is rather confirmed in his opinion, that this is designed as an admonition to the Congress, when he considers the passage in *Horace*, from whence the motto is taken—

*Rex eris, aiunt,*

*Si recte facies.*

To which also *Ansonius* alludes,

*Qui recte faciet, non qui dominatur, erit rex.*

Not the King's Parliament who act wrong but the people's Congress, *if it acts right* shall govern America.

#### NOTES

UNIFORMS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.—To the August number of the Magazine I contributed an article under this title. The following adds to its completeness:

In 1775, the regiment of "Green Mountain Boys," on the Continental establishment, raised by the New York Provincial Congress, and of which Ethan Allen was Colonel, and Seth Warner, Lieutenant Colonel, was uniformed in coats of coarse green cloth, faced with red. (*Res. N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, 15 Aug., 1775.)

In the same year the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, in providing thirteen thousand coats for the Colony troops, resolved "that each coat should be faced with the same kind of cloth of which it was made; that the coats should be made in the common, plain way, without lappels, short and with small folds, and that they should all be buttoned with pewter buttons, and *that the*

*coats for each regiment, respectively, should have buttons of the same number stamped on the face of them.* (*Res. Mass. Prov. Cong.*, 23 April and 5 July, 1775.)

A pewter coat-button found on the battle field of "Freeman's Farm, or Stillwater," of 19th September, 1777, belonged to the uniform of the Eighth Regiment Massachusetts Continental Infantry, under Colonel Michael Jackson.

This regiment not only distinguished itself in that action, but in the succeeding one, "Saratoga," of 7th October, 1777, where, under its Lieut.-Colonel John Brooks, it stormed the Brunswick redoubt. Its subsequent gallant conduct at "Monmouth," and in other battles, brought it into special notice. The button has a slight border, and the following in raised letters and figures on the face:

M A S

VIII

R E G

The Ninth Regiment Mass. Continental Infantry, under Colonel James Wesson, was also in the same actions. A pewter button of this Regiment, found at Fort Constitution, Martelaer's Rock, opposite West Point, where the Ninth was subsequently stationed, is of the same design as the preceeding one, and of the size of the present U. S. Infantry button.

Two uniform buttons, respectively of the 3d Regiment Mass. Continental Infantry, Colonel John Groaton, and the 7th Regiment Mass. Continental Infantry, Lieut.-Colonel Commandant John Brooks, have been found on the old, 1782, camp ground of the American Army, near Newburgh, N. Y. They are

deposited at Washington's Headquarters in that City. These buttons are of pewter, of same size as last named, slightly oval, and have the word MAS. raised upon their faces, and underneath the Arabic numerals, 3 and 7, respectively, with an ornamentation of a vine or leaves below the figures.

A button from the uniform coat of Colonel and Bvt.-Brig.-Gen. Peter Ganesvoort, 3d Regiment N. Y. Continental Infantry (who was Brig.-Gen., U. S. A. in 1808), is in possession of Mr. Elisha R. Freeman, of "Bemis Heights." It is of gilt, flat, with an eagle slightly raised upon it, encircled by thirteen stars, and is of the same general design as the present uniform buttons of the General Officers, Professors of the Military Academy, and other officers of the staff of the American Army.

Another uniform coat button, of pewter, found by Mr. Freeman on the battle field of "Freeman's Farm," has a slight border, and the letters U. S. A. raised upon the face, the S overlapping both the U and A, thus forming a sort of monogram. This button most probably came from the coat of one of the regular New York Regiments of Infantry—either the 2d Regiment, under Colonel Philip Cortland, or the 4th Regiment, under Colonel Henry B. Livingston, each of which were with Major General Gates in the actions of 19th September and 7th October, 1777. It might, however, have come from the coat of one of the three regular Continental Regiments of Infantry from New Hampshire, who were also there, *viz.*: 1st N. H., Col Joseph Cilley; 2d N. H., Col. Nathan Hale; and 3d N. H., Col. Alexander Scammell.

Buttons of the same design, both large and small, for uniform coat and vest, have been found at Fort Constitution, and as the 3d Regiment N. Y. Continental Infantry was at one time in garrison there, it is presumable the buttons thus marked belonged to the New York troops.

The regular Corps of Artillery in the American Army, until after the second war with Great Britain, had for a design for the uniform buttons an unlimbered field piece raised upon the brass or gilt metal, with a small guidon flag, fastened by its staff to the right side of the trail of a De Gribeauval carriage about where the wheel guard plate is fixed on the modern trail. The rim of the button had a slight ornamentation. A button of this description was found in the main redoubt, Fort Constitution, which was long garrisoned by the Artillery.

The buttons of H. B. M. 20th and 31st Regiments Infantry, found on the Gates-Burgoyne battle fields, were also of pewter.

A uniform button, same material, of the 25th Foot, British Army, ("King's Own Borderer's,") found by Prof. Robert W. Weir, U. S. Military Academy, in his garden at that Post, and presented to me, is of the same design as now worn by that regiment. It undoubtedly came from the coat of some enlisted man made prisoner of war und confined near the place where it was found.

On p. 482, in referring to the uniform of the Corps of Artillery, by a clerical error, the plume is incorrectly described as being black with red top, instead of being wholly red as stated on p. 473. The black plume with red top was

prescribed for the *Light Infantry* of the Army to distinguish it from the rest, and was not, during the Revolution, worn by any other arm of the service.—(*G. O. Army Headquarters, Tea Neck, 29 August, 1780.*)

ASA BIRD GARDNER.

MOUNT WASHINGTON AND ITS CAPTURE.—Mr. Edward F. De Lancey, who contributed the article under this title to our February number, has printed this additional material:

EDITOR.

*Colonel Magaw's Orderly Book at Mount Washington.*—The following is a copy of all the entries in the Orderly Book of Colonel Magaw, taken from the original by the kind permission of its present owner, the Rev. Dr. Joseph A. Murray, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania. It begins October 31st, 1776, but unfortunately stops November 10th, 1776, six days before the surrender. The order of Nov. 1st, increasing the picket guards very strongly for the 2d, may have been the proximate cause of Demont's departure. He probably did not want to run the risk of the increased numbers of pickets, and therefore went over to the enemy before they were actually placed on guard. E. F. DE L.

"Harlem Heights, October 25th, Parole Danvers, Co. Sign Newberry. Saturday, October 26th, Parole Lexington, Co. Sign Concord. Sunday, October 27th, Parole Roxbury, Co. Sign Cambridge. Monday, October 28th, Parole Litchfield, Co. Sign Norwich. Tuesday, October 29th, Parole Berks, Co. Sign Reading. Wednesday, October 30th, Parole Lancaster, Co. Sign York. Thursday, October 31st, Parole Cumber-

land, Co. Sign Carlisle. Friday, November 1st, Parole Pittsburgh, Co. Sign Bedford.

Coll. Magaw's Orders.

Ninety men for Picquet towards New York to-morrow, to be stationed as follows:—North River, 1 Sub. and 20; Holloway, 1 Sergt. and 10; Point of Rocks, 1 Sub. and 20; Works near Harlem River, 1 Sub. and 20; one Capt. at the Point of Rocks or North River; 1 Sub. and 20 on the East River between Headquarters and Fort Washington. Weekly returns to be given in before 12 o'clock at Noon, of the strength of the several Regiments and Detachments of our Troops now on this Island, that duty may be proportioned.

Capt. Long's Company to join Coll. Rawling's Battn; in the mean time Capt. Moulton of the Artillery, will appoint one of his Officers to act as Fort Major, who will prevent all doubtful or suspicious persons entering the Fort, and observe all such Orders as may be given by the Commanding Officer or Capt. Moulton.

Saturday, November 2d, Parole Amboy, Co. Sign Woodbridge. Sunday, November 3d, Parole Morris, Co. Sign Potter. Monday, November 4th, Parole Sabrook, Co. Sign Enfield.

No cattle or hogs to be suffered in the Fort. No passes or passages to be made on any pretence whatsoever through the Abbatis, Lieut. Coll. Wypert is to be at liberty to have any Tents or obstructions removed which may be in his way in strengthening the works; all Officers to give him assistance for that purpose. The officers of the several Guards to recommend the greatest alertness to

their Centinels at this time and place, the most dangerous, important, and honourable Post that, perhaps, Americans were ever placed in. The Liberty of this great and free Continent may in great measure depend on our vigilance and bravery. Mr. John Morgan is to act as Brigade Major, all passes signed by him to be considered as good.

The Adjutants or Sergt. Majors of the several battalions to attend at Headquarters at 3 o'clock every day for orders, which will be delivered by Mr. Morgan, he will also deliver them the Parole and Counter Sign in the Evening. Each Battalion and Detachment to make out exact returns of their strength on this Island, both fit for duty and sick, as orders are received to transmit the returns to the Commander in Chief, and the Congress, these returns to be made by 12 o'clock to-morrow.

Tuesday, November 5th, Parole Bristol, Co. Sign Frankfort.

Notwithstanding the frequent general orders against firing guns about the Camp, and wanton waste of Amunition, This destructive practice still prevails, Officers are to be very vigilant and detect and confine offenders, and also to examine the Cartouch Boxes at least twice a week, and charge the men 6d pr Cartridge for such as cant be accounted for.

Wednesday, November 6th, Parole Dover, Co. Sign Darby.

The Officers of the Guards on the lines are to be very punctual in giving strict orders to the Centinels to permit no person who is not in this service to come within the lines, but such as come to continue, as they will not on any pre-

tence whatever be permitted to return, likewise no person to pass from here beyond the lines, as they will not on any account be suffered to return.

The Adjutants and Sergt. Majors of the several battalions and detachments are to be carefull that all their officers have the Reading the above orders.

Thursday, November 7th, Parole Washington, Co. Sign Lee. Friday, November 8th, Parole Magaw, Co. Sign Greene. Saturday, November 9th, Parole Cadwallader, Co Sign Beatty. Sunday, November 10th, Parole Brunswick, Co. Sign Burlington."

*Colonel Robert Magaw* was the eldest son of William Magaw, a Scotch-Irish lawyer who came, prior to 1752, from Strabane, in the north of Ireland, to Maryland, and thence to Carlisle in Pennsylvania. He was born in Ireland, was a lawyer, married while a prisoner, Marritie Van Brunt of Flatbush, and died 6th January, 1790, at Carlisle, leaving a son and daughter. His regiment, 5th Pennsylvania, numbered 25 officers and 312 men when surrendered.—*Ms. Magaw Papers. Letter of Dr. Murray.*

*Dodon Henry*, Baron von Knyphausen, Lieutenant-General, born in Alsace in 1730, son of Baron von Knyphausen, a Colonel under Marlborough, and was a descendant of the great Holland General of Gustavus Adolphus, whose name he bore. Tall, spare in person, very German in appearance, he was, though a strict officer, popular with both officers and men. He died in Berlin, in 1794, a full General in the Prussian service.—*Watson's Philadelphia Biographie Universelle.*



*Parade of the Prisoners.*—"The prisoners taken at Mount Washington were all paraded near the Jew's Burying Ground (now Chatham Square). They were said to be 2,500; no insults were offered to them when paraded, nor any public huzzaing or rejoicing as was usual on similar and less occasions."—*Ms. letter of John McKesson to Geo. Clinton.*

PROPER NAMES OF CALIFORNIA INDIANS.—The proper names of many Central California tribes originated in their geographical position in regard to other tribes, and hence include the names of cardinal points of the compass: North or East, South or West. The same holds good for many Indian tribes of other countries, especially for those which inhabit Oregon. The Modocs for instance, whose *priscan habitat* was the elevated valley of Lost River, south of the actual limits of the Klamath Reserve, are called in their own language, and in that of the kindred Klamath Lake Indians: Móadokni or Móatokni, which means "Southern dwellers," or "men living to the South." Another form of the name is Móadokish or, with the definite article appended: Moadokishash. In the Klamath-Modoc language moat, muat, means *South*; muatala, southwards; muatni, coming from the South; mua, muat, South wind; Moatok, Modoc Lake. Thus the Modocs were distinguished from their congeners, the Klamath-Lakes, or E-ukshikni, as the "Southerners" from the Lake or marsh dwellers. The *priscan* home of these latter were, from time immemorial, the shores of the upper Lake: e-ush, and

the environs of the Klamath marsh, which is situated some twenty miles northeast of the northern end of Upper Klamath Lake. The Klamath marsh is called é-ua, which is the generic term for "standing water, marsh, pond, lake," and through the suffixation of the definite article becomes e-ush. This term takes to itself the ending -kni which forms *nomina gentilitia* or tribal appellations, and appears also in Yamakni, the name given to all Oregonians, but more particularly to the Cayuses. It is derived from yamat, "North," which also forms the following derivatives: yamatala, northwards; yamash, north wind; yamatni, coming from the north; from the latter word Yamakni differs only in one letter, and its meaning is: belonging to the north, living in the north.

It is well known, that the Umqua or Umpkua River, was formerly called so only in its upper course. We can trace the origin of this name to the Klamath language, which was spoken in the immediate neighborhood of Upper Umpqua Valley; for the Klamaths still call the Umpqua Indians: Ampkakni maklaks: "People of the little water." The name was formed from ampu, ambu, *water*, the diminutive terminal -aga, -aka, thus forming amp-kaka; to this is joined the terminal -kni, designating a tribe or nation.

For the Lahaptin tribe of the Warm Spring Indians in Des Chutes Valley the Klamaths possess two names ending in -kni: Waitankni and Lokuastkni. Of these the latter is more commonly used and is explained by the Klamath word lokuash "hot," meaning thermal waters of high temperature.

I conclude this brief notice by giving a parallel to Modokni in the Klamath-Modoc term for the Pit River nation: Moatuash. This also means "South-erners," though another terminal (of ad-jectives) is appended here to the basis *moat* "south."

ALBERT S. GATSCHET.

SURRENDER OF THE NEW JERSEY PROPRIETORS.—On the 17th of April, 1702, Sir *Thomas Lane*, and *William Dockwra*, Esq.; with the rest of the Proprietors of the Provinces of East and West New Jersey, in *America*, presented to her Majesty in Council, an Instrument under their Hands and Seals, by virtue of which they surrender'd their Rights to the Government of those Provinces; which Her Majesty was Graciously pleas-ed to accept of, assuring 'em at the same time, that their Properties should be entirely preserv'd, and the Govern-ment of those Colonies brought under a due Regulation by Her Majesty's tak-ing them under her Special Care and Protection.—*The State of Europe, April, 1702.*

PETERSFIELD.

OLD FASHIONED WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN OHIO.—The ladies of Chilicothe, Ohio, celebrated the 4th of July in a manner honorable to their patriotism. Among the toasts drank by them, we notice the following:—" *The Rights of Woman*, in-nocence, modesty, and prudence, may she rest satisfied with these, without in-vestigating any others. *Modesty*, may the men respect it, that it may be held in estimation by the women. *Matrimony*, venerable for its origin and antiquity, and eminently useful in pre-

serving morality and true liberty. *The Married Ladies*, may the domestic vir-tues engage their attention. *The Young Ladies*, may those of this class, between fifteen and fifty, be shortly struck off from the list of single girls. *Old Batch-elors*, may love seize and punish them for their sacrifice of time, with as much happiness as they are able to bear, in the lawful possession of what they are pleased to call 'angel's of this world.'" —*The Weekly Visitor, August 11, 1804.*  
W. K.

WASHINGTON AND HIS FUGITIVE SLAVE GIRL.—A very remarkable letter has been recently sold in London, written by Washington from Philadel-phia, 28th November, 1796, to Joseph Whipple, concerning a slave girl who had absconded, and giving instructions as to her being sent back to Mrs. Wash-ington. The following is an extract:

"However well disposed I might be to a gradual abolition, or even to an en-tire emancipation of that description of people (if the latter was in itself practic-able) at this moment, it would neither be politic nor just to reward unfaithfulness with a premature preference, and thereby discontent beforehand the minds of all her fellow servants, who, by their steady attachment, are far more deserving than herself of favor."

This interesting document, which fills three full pages quarto, was priced at ten guineas, and purchased by an American collector; not the only one who tried to secure it.

PLUS.

GENERAL FRASER'S WIDOW.—John Charles Schrieber was plaintiff in a cause

tried July 4, 1780, before Lord Mansfield. Mrs. Fraser, widow of that experienced and gallant officer Gen. Fraser, who was killed in the action at Bræmus Heights on Hudson's river, October 7, 1777, was the defendant. Mr. Schrieber brought his action for damages on breach of a promise of marriage. The principal evidence was his son, he proved. Mrs. Fraser's having acknowledged to him her consent to marry his father. A man servant proved her having hired him to go with her to Germany, in case the marriage took place. Mr. Christie proved Mr. Schrieber's purchasing a house at 4,100*l.* and selling it again on the marriage not taking place at 3,600*l.* He also bought four horses at 140 guineas, and sold them at 74 guineas; and two carriages at 200*l.* and a taylor proved making a suit of livery on account of the expected marriage.

The Solicitor-General argued for the defendant, that she had no objection to the plaintiff, who was a very wealthy merchant, but that in the course of courtship, she began to apprehend that Mr. Schrieber's temper, and her own, perhaps none of the best, might render them both unhappy, for which reason, she thought it best to retract though to her own loss, as his fortune was far superior to hers. *Her late husband, the General, had also cautioned her in a dream against the marriage.* That the plaintiff had not proved the defendant a woman of fortune; therefore it was much below him to wish to take from her small pittance to add to his own great abundance.

Here the Solicitor-General was stopped by Mr. Dunning, who proved that

Mrs. Fraser's fortune in England and in the East-Indies, was upwards of 24,000*l.* The Solicitor-General replied, that the fortune in the East Indies could not be ascertained, but his client had suffered most by breaking off the match, as she was to have the disposal of her own fortune, 300*l.* a year pin-money, 10,000*l.* settled upon her, with the house at Fourtree Hill, Enfield, or at her option 5,000*l.* instead of it; in all 15,000*l.* in case of her survival.

Lord Mansfield observed the promise was proved; that certainly either party had a right to retract before the ceremony, and even before the priest; that the plaintiff had proved some damages; and that it belonged to the jury to assess the quantum. The jury, after a few minutes consultation, gave in a verdict of 600*l.* damages, with costs.

Both parties in the above suit have since been married. Mrs. Frazer was married April 16th, 1781, at Edinburgh, to George Buchan Hepburn, Esq.; a gentleman said to be considerably younger than Mr. Schrieber; and in July, 1781, Mr. Schrieber was married to a young widow, Mrs. Harvey, of Holbeach, in Lincolnshire.—*Political Magazine*, II. 653. W. K.

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MONTCALM'S RAZORS.—Mrs. Helen S. Peck Harding, a resident of Phelps, Ontario County, New York, has in her possession the razors used by General Montcalm and found in his baggage. The handles are of ivory, and the blades, three in number, of extremely fine steel, are so arranged as to fasten in a steel grooved back when in use.

CLEW GARNET.

CROMWELLS IN AMERICA.—It was stated by an English writer in 1787, that "at this day there is in being a branch of the Protector's family residing in the County of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, which went over to America at the Restoration. They still retain the Christian name of Oliver." PLUS.

THE SENECA FORT.—Referring to the article by Mr. George Geddes in the September number of the Magazine, on the French Invasion of the Onondagas, we extract, for the benefit of our readers interested in this local study now attracting so much attention, the following paragraph from Parkman's *Life of Frontenac* just published:

"The researches of Mr. O. H. Marshall of Buffalo, have left no reasonable doubt as to the scene of the battle and the site of the neighboring town. The Seneca ambuscade was on the marsh, and the hills immediately north and west of the present village of Victor, and their chief town called Gannagaro, by Denonville, was on the top of Boughton's Hill, about a mile-and-a-quarter distant. Immense quantities of Indian remains were formerly found here, and many are found to this day. Charred corn has been turned up in abundance by the plough, showing that the place was destroyed by fire. The remains of the fort burned by the French are still plainly visible on a hill, a mile-and-a-quarter from the ancient town. A plan of it will be found in Squier's *Aboriginal Monuments of New York*. The site of the three other Seneca towns destroyed by Denonville, and called Totiakton, Gannondata, and Gannongarae,

can also be identified. See Marshall in *Collections N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, 2d Series, II.

Indian traditions of historical events are usually almost worthless, but the old Seneca Chief, Dyu-ne-ho-ga-wah, or John Blacksmith, who was living a few years ago at the Tonawanda reservation, recounted to Mr. Marshall with remarkable accuracy the story of the battle, as handed down from his ancestors who lived at Gannagaro, close to the scene of action. Gannagaro was the Cenagorah of Wentworth. *Greenalgh's Journal*. The old Seneca, on being shown a map of the locality, placed his finger on the spot where the fight took place, and which was long known to the Senecas by the name of Dya-go-di-yu or 'The Place of a Battle.' It answers in a most perfect manner to the French contemporary descriptions."

Our readers will also be glad to learn that General John S. Clark of Auburn, is about to publish an illustrated volume containing the result of his investigations in the Mohawk Valley, by which he claims to have identified all the ancient castle sites concerning which there has been so much mystery.

EDITOR.

THE FAMILY OF BACHE.—In the November number of the Magazine in a sketch under this title the name of the mother of Theophylact and Richard Bache was given as Blyckenden. This we are assured by her great grand-son William Duane, Esq., of Philadelphia is incorrect. Her maiden name was Blechynden.

EDITOR.

## QUERIES

A CURIOSITY OF THE AMERICAN PRESS.—Mackenzie, in his sketch of Upper Canada, makes the following statement: "I have now in my possession a newspaper, the paper for which was made at the Falls of Niagara; the first side composed and printed off by an American and an Irishman, at Lewiston, in the United States, on the south bank of St. Lawrence; and the second side set up and pressed off in Queenston, Upper Canada, on the northerly bank of that river. The number so printed was afterwards published and issued at York, north of Lake Ontario, and is probably the only newspaper sheet that was ever printed in two nations. In those days there was no duty on paper, no stamps, no security against libel beforehand; the press was free."

Can any of your readers furnish any further particulars of this curiosity of the American press?  
W. K.

SCHUYLER FAMILY.—What relation (if any) was there between Gen. Philip Schuyler of Revolutionary memory and Capt. Philip Schuyler who died at Schenectady on the 23d May, 1725, leaving a widow, Catharine Schuyler?

RIP VAN DAM.

RICHARD B. DAVIS.—The following obituary notice appeared in the newspapers of August, 1804:

"Died suddenly, at Brunswick, New Jersey, in the 63d year of his age, Mr. Richard Davis, formerly an auctioneer of New York city, and father to the late eccentric genius Richard B. Davis."

I desire information in regard to Richard B. Davis, and why he was termed an "eccentric genius?"  
TRENTON.

MRS. THEODOSIA BARRIFF.—A very interesting trial took place in the Court of King's Bench, London, April 17, 1802, where Mrs. Theodosia Barriff appeared as plaintiff; she is described in the report, as the widow of an officer who had served with reputation and bravery in the American war, and as the daughter of a distinguished American loyalist. What was her maiden name?

BLACKSTONE.

FREDERICK FRELINGHUYSEN OF NEW JERSEY.—What office and rank did Frederick Frelinghuysen of New Jersey hold at the battles of Trenton and Princeton? He was not in command of Eastem Co. of Artillery, for Daniel Neil, who was killed at Princeton, was made Captain, May 9, 1776.  
A. G.

## REPLIES

WASHINGTON'S MASONIC PORTRAIT. (I. 451, 576.) I. C. is surely in error in stating that Williams' Masonic portrait of Washington was not taken from life. Such an inference *might* be drawn from G. W.'s letter about Williams in which he says he refused "to see him *again*." But the old records of Alexandria Lodge No. 22, of Alexandria, Va., show, under date of August 29, 1793, that Mr. Williams offered to present to the Lodge a portrait of Washington, "provided the Lodge make application to the President" for a sitting; and the Lodge prepared an address, signed by the officers, to be

immediately forwarded "to our illustrious Brother," the President of the United States. Did Washington, *who was a Past Master* of the Lodge, decline to sit to Williams? If he did the Alexandria Lodge has been, for eighty-four years, laboring under a marvellous delusion.

The same records for October 25, 1794, state that the portrait was received, and that fifty dollars were paid to Williams to cover his expenses in going to and returning from Philadelphia. The records also say that in November, 1794, Williams applied for "further Compensation." His application was laid over. In December, 1794, it was acted on, and the records say, "the Lodge consider the fifty dollars paid Mr. Williams a mere gratuity, *inasmuch as application was made to the President to sit for his portrait*, at the request of Mr. Williams, who proposed, *should the application be successful*, to compliment the lodge with his portrait." The Lodge therefore refused "further compensation." On the back of the portrait in William's handwriting is the following: "His Excellency, George Washington, Esquire, President of the United States, Aged 64. Williams, *Pinxit ad vivum*, in Philadelphia, September 18, 1794."

Your correspondent is again in error in his reply to my statement. His error doubtless arises from a misunderstanding of the President's reply to the Rev. Mr. Snyder, Sept. 25, 1798. Snyder wrote G. W. to use his influence to prevent the Illuminati "corrupting the brethern of the *English* Lodges over which you preside." The President in his reply expresses his desire "to cor-

rect an error you have run into of my presiding over *English* lodges in this country. The fact is I preside over none, nor have I been in one more than twice within the last thirty years." The reference here is, without doubt, to English Lodges holding Charters from the G. L. of Great Britain, of which there were then many, and not to American Lodges—for Washington did not only frequently enter American Lodges, but did preside over one.

The records of Alexandria Lodge No. 22, Va., May 29, 1788, state that having determined to seek a charter under the G. L. of Virginia, of which *Edmund Randolph* was Grand Master (having previously held charter from the G. L. of Penna.), "the Lodge proceeded to the appointment of a Master and Deputy Master to be recommended by the G. L. of Va., when George Washington, Esq., was unanimously chosen Master; Robt. McCrea Deputy Master, etc."

"Ordered that Bro's McCrea, Hunter, Allison and Powell wait on General Washington and enquire of him whether it will be agreeable to him to be named in the charter." His consent was certainly obtained, as the records of November 22, 1788, contain the letter to the G. L. of Va., the last paragraph of which says: "It is the earnest desire of the members of this Lodge, that our Brother George Washington, Esq., should be named in the charter as Master of the Lodge." Governor Randolph issued the charter, which is now in possession of the Lodge, appointing "our illustrious and well-beloved Brother George Washington, Esquire, late General and Com-

mander-in-Chief of the forces of the United States of America," Master of the Lodge. This subject is exhaustively considered in Sidney Hayden's work entitled "Washington and his Masonic Compeers." That Washington was truly interested in the order is proven beyond doubt by his correspondence published in that work, as well as by the fact which American historians have generally ignored, that in laying the corner stone of the present Capitol of the United States at Washington, Sept. 18, 1793, the President, clothed in the apron and other regalia of a Master Mason, marched in the procession at the post of honor, between Joseph Clark, Rt. W. G. M. Protem, and the W. M. of his own lodge, No. 22, Alexandria, and did himself lay the corner stone. Among the last public acts of his life was his attendance, by invitation, at a Masonic dinner, given by his own Lodge, April 4, 1797.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

BURGOYNE'S SWORD.—(I. 197.) The Catalogue of Flags, Trophies and Relics exhibited at the Metropolitan Fair has the following title: "No. 1006. Sword surrendered by Gen. Burgoyne to Gen. Gates, on the battle field of Saratoga, 1777. Exhibited by Miss Sophia Paff." This sword was presented at the close of the Fair to the N. Y. Historical Society, by the late William T. Blodgett.

At the late dedication of the battle monument at Schuylerville, Oct. 17, 1877, a circular was distributed containing the following announcement: "Relics of Burgoyne's Campaign and other Historic Mementos. Burgoyne's

Sword, Surrendered to General Gates, October 17, 1777. Gen. Schuyler's Sword. Gen. Gansevoort's Uniform. Also the entire collection of the late Samuel G. Eddy, which is offered for sale at \$2,000. Also a large number of other Relics. Tent East of Grand Stands. Admission, 10 cents."

The Editor of the *Saratoga Sentinel* describes these articles in his paper of October 25th, as follows, viz.:

"Burgoyne's sword was on exhibition in the relic tent at Schuylerville on Wednesday. It is owned by the Smith sisters of Hadley, Massachusetts, having been presented to their great grandfather by Burgoyne, on account of courtesies extended to him. The weapon is a light gentleman's dress sword, with an elegant silver hilt. The blade is straight, light and triangular instead of flat. The point is broken off and the edge is hacked, as though Burgoyne had used it in fencing with his gay companions. The blade is highly ornamented. The scabbard is light colored leather.

General Gansevoort's military coat and waist coat were on exhibition in the relic tent. The waistcoat is of brown silk, sleeveless, and as long as the ordinary sack coats of the present day. It is well preserved. The military coat is very roomy and long, of blue cloth, with red facings. It is cut away in front and resembles the military coats which are reproduced in pictures of revolutionary scenes. The sword of General Philip Schuyler was also on exhibition. It is long and curved like a cavalry sabre, and nearly as heavy. Its scabbard is of black leather, very well preserved."

There is a tradition that the widow of Gen. Gates presented Burgoyne's sword to one of her friends, and that it is still in existence at New York City.

Some of your readers can no doubt add to this list, as this relic is very much like the club that killed Capt. Cook, to be found in all well-regulated museums. As a matter of fact did not Gen. Burgoyne carry his sword to England? Lossing, in his *Field Book*, informs us that it was returned to him by Gates immediately on its surrender.

SARATOGA SPRINGS.

#### NOVEMBER PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Historical Society held its Regular Monthly Meeting on the evening of Tuesday, November 6, 1877, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D. in the chair.

Among the members elected were the Hon. Morrison R. Waite, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, President of the Chicago Historical Society.

The paper of the evening was then read by Douglass Campbell, Esq.; the subject "The Judicial and Constitutional History of the Colony of New York."

Mr. Campbell began by speaking of the vast mass of material existing for a history of the jurisprudence of the colony consisting of old records, here and in Albany. Much of the matter discovered in these records while valuable to lawyers would hardly interest a general audience. But one branch of the sub-

ject was of a different character; this was the development of the Constitution of New York. The constitution adopted in 1777 was emphatically a growth, and not a creation. Its provisions stand like monuments erected in honor of hard won victories extending back a century. Its history is important for the Constitution of the United States, and those of many of the new States are modelled after it.

Tracing the history of the colony in the Dutch times, under the Duke of York and then under the Crown, he showed that New York began the contest for colonial liberty. Here were fought out between 1700 and 1753 the great battles against the prerogative of the Crown. By their success the colony became substantially free. This great period has been almost ignored in history. It begins with the trial of Makemie in 1707, for violating the royal instructions, and ends with the suicide of Governor Osborne in 1753, who hung himself in despair at his inability to enforce the instructions of the Crown. Then parliament interfered and attempting to regain the ground lost by the governors produced the revolution. In this period also New York took the lead until the British cabinet in disgust shifted their attacks to Massachusetts in 1767. The address was interspersed with accounts of the famous state trials of the colony. At this close Mr. Campbell received the thanks of the Society.

The Reverend Dr. Osgood then read a memorial of the late John Earl Williams, long a member and friend of the Society which was accepted by resolution and ordered to be deposited in the archives. The Society then adjourned.



(Publishers of Historical works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**ARIZONA AS IT IS, OR THE COMING COUNTRY.** Compiled from notes of travel during the years 1874, 1875 and 1876 by **HIRAM C. HODGE**. 16mo, pp. 273. **HURD & Houghton**, New York, 1877.

A well arranged and instructive account, of this young territory, compiled in grateful recollection of the restoration to health of the author in its mild, healthful and fine climate. Colonel Hodge spent three years in his exploration of this new country, and contributed (*passim*) communications on its various resources to the press of the United States. His book is commended with hearty praise by the Territorial authorities. His chapters treat of the climate, natural character, scenery, resources, agricultural and mineral, and of the flora and fish of this fertile and beautiful region, which the author declares to be the "coming country of the continent."

There is a practical chapter, on the treatment of the Indians on the Reservations, of timely interest now that our troops are pursuing a few revolted tribes at great cost and loss to the nation. Another of more rare interest invites the attention of explorers and societies devoted to archaeology, to the examination of the prehistoric remains of the great Gila valley, which is rich in implements of the Stone Age; ancient pottery glazed, unglazed and colored, and rocks painted in hieroglyphic characters. Here are plain vestiges of cities, ruins of houses of concrete of considerable size, and the evident remains of irrigating canals, the origin of which is beyond even Indian tradition. One of the canals is fifty feet wide with branches from it of twenty-five feet in width; one of the towns is many miles in length, and in its center are remains of a structure 350 by 150 feet in general measurement. We heartily commend this volume to our readers.

**BEYOND THE SIERRAS, OR OBSERVATIONS ON THE PACIFIC COAST**, by **Rev A. H. TEVIS**. 18mo, pp. 259. **J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co.**, Phila. 1877.

The Reverend author does not hesitate to declare the Pacific coast to be one of the greatest countries the sun ever shown upon; no doubt, he says, its features also are wonderful, but he expressly disclaims the least intention to induce any one to emigrate to it.

The returns of nature to the husbandman are almost incredible, but for the assertion of such a witness. Wheat has yielded one hundred and fifty bushels to the acre under exceptionable

circumstances, and a farm is mentioned near **San Pablo** where from 285 acres 23,000 bushels of barley were gathered; and no where in America is the harvest, owing to the freedom from dampness, more certain than in California.

The social life of the country is touched upon fairly but gently. No high tone of general sentiment is claimed, while immorality is asserted to be no more prevalent than it is in the eastern States. Eating and drinking are cardinal elements in the coast life; at this we are not surprised. Nature knows its own wants, and the stomach asserts itself according to its needs in all latitudes. The giant trees of the Yosemite valley are described and measurements given of the greater monsters. The "Heathen Chinese" has a chapter of his own. The author is of opinion that the morals of this race are lower here than at home; that the Chinaman is deteriorated by his intercourse with ourselves. This is not cheering. While the religious tone of California is not high in the author's opinion, her educational facilities are praised and her public and charitable institutions claimed to be second to none.

It seems like a dream to have seen the first vessel sailing for this **El Dorado** in 1848, and now within thirty years to be reviewing the history of an Empire.

**DEVOIRS D' ÉCOLIERS AMÉRICAINS** RECUEILLIS À L' EXPOSITION DE PHILADELPHIE (1876), by **F. BUISSON**, President of the School Commission, delegated to Philadelphia by the Minister of Public Instruction, and translated by **A. LEGRAND**, with drawings and plans. 16mo, pp. 578. **HACHETTE & CIE.**, Paris. 1877. **F. W. CHRISTERN**, New York.

**TASKS OF AMERICAN SCHOLARS COLLECTED AT THE PHILADELPHIA EXPOSITION, &c.**

There is no precisely analogous term in English for the French "devoir," which is the reply by the scholar in writing to a task set by the Master, always a favorite mode of French teaching. This was followed at Philadelphia, where numerous collections of the actual work of scholars in various institutions throughout the Union were received, exhibited and published. As the preface happily states, "the volume is not a book on the schools of the United States, but a book written by the schools themselves." Mr. Legrand recommends the volume as equivalent to an inspection of the schools of the United States, conveying a perfect idea of their daily management, and many details upon the

school, family and even national life, valuable from their simplicity and frankness. The tasks of the Chinese scholars are characteristic and amusing.

**ANNALS OF BUFFALO VALLEY, PENNSYLVANIA, 1755-1855**, collated by JOHN BLAIR LINN. 8vo, pp. 621. LANE S. HART, Harrisburg, Penn., 1877.

This is essentially a local history, as its title implies, but not the less interesting on that account. These studies of counties, townships and localities, from their very nature afford room for the record of a vast number of isolated facts of no great importance in themselves, but often affording clues to others of real significance; especially is this true of those places which have been directly connected with the history of early settlement and of the relations of the whites with the Indian natives of the soil. Mr. Linn takes up his story at the very beginning. It opens as usual with a tale of blood, another of the stories of white injustice and Indian retribution, the end of which is not yet nor for our generation. The Mahany Penn's Creek Massacre of 1755 does not much differ from others of the same character springing from identical causes. The Annals of Buffalo Valley open with the year 1768, a year celebrated for the beginning of a rapid development in all the colonies, a natural revival after the depression of the French war and Stamp Act period. The work is divided into Annual Sections, which give it something of the character of a Register, a form which does not allow of extended narrative, but is valuable in its ease of reference. It closes with an excellent index.

**TRENTON, NEW YORK — ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT. CENTENNIAL ADDRESS** delivered at Trenton, N. Y., July 4, 1876, by JOHN F. SEYMOUR. With Letters from Francis Adrian Van der Kemp, written in 1792, and other documents relating to the first settlement of Trenton and Central New York. 8vo, pp. 149. Utica, N. Y., 1877.

Another and one of the best of the addresses elicited by the timely suggestion of President Grant, that each town in the country should record its progress up to the date of the Centennial of the nation's birth as a landmark for future guidance. Mr. Seymour has not confined himself to his own views, but has made a most valuable contribution to the history of the State of New York in printing in full this interesting series of letters, written in 1792 by Mr. Van der Kemp, and giving an account of his journey from Kings-

ton to Lake Ontario on horseback and by canoe. The letters are written in a clear and pleasant style, full of the results of his observation of the natural beauties and capabilities of the country, and interspersed with sprightly descriptions of life in the woods. He is enthusiastic over the excellence of the Salmonidae of the Oneida tributaries and enraptured with the fatness and tenderness of the eel of the lake. Not always was this the traveler's diet. Occasionally the monotony of luxury was relieved with bear meat, or, as he terms it, "stewed slices of surly bruin," which he pronounces a dainty, and when fat suited to the "fastidious palate of polished New Yorkers." The bruin from whom the surly slices were "untimely ripped" was slain in a hand to hand fight by a blow from a tomahawk. Perhaps Van der Kemp had already been acclimated in his short intercourse with the Oneidas, and felt with the Iroquois "sweet is the flesh of a dead enemy."

Van der Kemp emigrated from Holland in 1778, first settling at Esopus and then on an island in Oneida Lake. He served the cause of history by translating for George Clinton the ancient Dutch records of the State; was later assistant justice of the County Court. But we advise our readers to enjoy these letters in full, not by such snatches as we have room for, and return to Mr. Seymour's address. We there learn the first settler of Trenton was Gerrit Boon of Holland, who pitched his tent in the forest in 1793, evolved a village from his consciousness, and determined that it should be called Older Barneveld for obvious reasons. Boon was the agent of the famous Holland Company, whose American factors were Le Roy, Bayard, McEvers, Lincklean, Ledyard, Ellicott and others, who held the title to the twenty-three thousand acres of the Servis patent, granted by Sir Henry Moore, Colonial Governor in 1768. There are other interesting original papers in the appendix to the address.

**THE CAMPAIGN OF LIEUT.-GENERAL JOHN BURGoyNE, AND THE EXPEDITIONS OF LIEUT.-COL. BARRY ST. LEGER.** By WILLIAM L. STONE. 12mo, pp. 461. JOEL MUNSELL, Albany, 1877.

This work, by our well-known historian, is divided into two parts, as the title shows, and is completed with an extensive and valuable appendix, in which are to be found a great variety of details, personal and local, none of course very new, but grouped in an easy and profitable form. There are also several fine steel portraits, including Burgoyne, St. Leger, Schuyler, Gansevoort, Thayendanege, Lady Ackland and Baroness Reidesel, but none we observe of General Gates, though there is in existence an excellent engraving from Stuart's master-piece, the Gates portrait.

We have elsewhere placed on record our entire dissent from the one sided, narrow view taken of the part of General Gates in the famous campaign which, assumed by him at its most critical stage, he conducted by skill, foresight and with the precision of mechanism to its triumphant close. We shall not review this contest. From what we have seen of the Schuyler and Gates correspondence, and the judgment formed of their personal relations to each other, we should say that either of them would view with wonder their pictures as drawn by historians. We believe firmly in the organizing faculty, the unselfish devotion and ardent patriotism of Schuyler, and as firmly in the administrative ability, calm method and admirable military skill of Gates.

Of Arnold, the less said the better. In this campaign, whatever his merits in others, he neither displayed military skill nor manly virtues. His courage was crazy frenzy.

Mr. Stone is a pains-taking, industrious author, but his conclusions must be taken with several grains of allowance. We have heard it said that Schuyler should have worn Gates' laurels. It was not, we are willing to admit, his own fault that he did not. A combination of circumstances had destroyed his efficiency and made a change in the Northern Department an imperative necessity. *Schuyler himself admitted that necessity.* Gates it is claimed found the grain of glory ready for his reaping; however, no reaping operation was ever more scientifically performed. We believe that it has been left for Mr. Stone to assert that "the incapacity of Gates was manifest from the time of his assuming the command of the northern army until the surrender!" We need not add another word.

#### MAINE—HER PLACE IN HISTORY.

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION, PHILADELPHIA, NOVEMBER 4, 1876, by JOSHUA L. CHAMBERLAIN. Published by order of the Legislature of Maine, February, 1877. 8vo, pp. 108. Augusta. 1877.

This interesting address is edited and published in a most creditable manner. It is illustrated with the Coast Survey chart of the soundings of the Gulf of Maine, and several maps. I. Of aboriginal America, showing the distribution and territorial limits of the Indian nations in the New World. II. Voyage and discovery, 986-1067, A. D., showing the course of the different voyages. III. Of the English grants, 1606-1732, A. D. IV is missing in the copy before us. V. The United States at the close of the Revolution; treaty of 1783. VI. The United States, 1877. VII. The territorial growth of the United States, 1780-1877, and lastly an outline map, showing the discoveries and early names of localities, with other valuable information.

The author asserts with no uncertain sound the

claim of Maine to priority of importance over her Plymouth neighbor, and tells us that "years before the Pilgrim set foot on Plymouth sands there were established English settlements at various points on the shores of Maine; that Pemaquid was a seat of trade and of government, and at one time the metropolis of all the region east of New York," and further that the Plymouth colony took its title and tenure from Maine, and the city of Georgiana, founded in 1641, the site of the present town of York, was the first incorporated city in America. Notwithstanding this and many other claims to high honor, General Chamberlain admits "that Maine has no history the dignity of which is conceded, and hardly a place among the recognized factors of the nation's destiny," and proposes reasons for this obscurity. We mourn the fact, and are glad that so strong hand is raised to reclaim for Maine some of the laurels her powerful neighbor has interwoven in her own chaplet. Passing from these considerations of the author, we find a concise account of the early discoveries, the priority in which he assigns to the Celts and Scandinavians, Irish chieftains having already taken possession of Iceland before the Northmen appeared there, 860, and we quote from the General's own words, Madoc, Prince of Wales, having large dealings with these western shores in 1170. To Champlain and Ferdinando Gorges is ascribed the glory of setting in motion the great powers that were to contend for the mastery of the New World. The beginning of the Popham colony and its disasters are narrated. Gorges, the Lord Palatine of the Maine Province, is Maine's cherished hero, and receives due justice in these pages. The conduct of Massachusetts to Maine is carefully and impartially handled. We find the reasons for the disposition of those neighboring colonies "who were wont to trot after the Bay Horse" to kick out of the traces. Mr. Chamberlain does not attempt to defend the intolerance of the stern old Commonwealth. The people sought the wilderness to live according to their own ideas, and they were willing that the world outside should do likewise, so long as they did not interfere with their ideas. The final pages describe the progress of Maine in industry and agriculture. He explains the reasons of many of her disappointments, and bids her people to look to husbandry as their true resource. We doubt whether in these days of easy rapid travel men will not prefer to farm that wondrous western soil, which is so generous to the tiller, in preference to the best of New England. Chief among her honors, the claim is made that Maine leads the sisterhood in the race for education. This may be true, but comparisons which do not take into account the emigration statistics of the Middle States are not of much value.

Maine has moral virtues, among which gratitude is not wanting, and this she owes to the

accomplished gentleman who has so well performed his allotted task and set his State right on the Centennial record.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF LIVING

OLD MEN OF THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. In six volumes. By E. B. CRISMAN, D.D. Vol. I. 16mo, pp. 132. St. Louis, Missouri.

The reverend author announces his purpose in these biographical sketches to be to promote reading in his church, to afford examples of Christian piety in the lives he describes, and to preserve for the historian denominational history that might be otherwise lost. Biography is certainly a valuable adjunct to history, and supplies many a link to the chain of truth. Some of the subjects of these sketches were born in the last century. All Ministers or ruling elders, they have carried the doctrine of the Presbyterian church to extended sections of the United States. The names of Drs. Beard and Dillard of Tennessee, Bone of Alabama, McGee King of California, Pierson of Arkansas, and Means of Texas are familiar and well-known names in their several fields of labor. The sketches are simple and purely biographical.

UNE COLONIE FÉODALE EN AMÉRIQUE (L'Acadie, 1604-1700), par J. RAMEAU. 16mo. pp. 367. DIDIER & CIE, Paris, 1877.

A FEUDAL COLONY IN AMERICA. (ACADIA, 1604-1700.) For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

This volume is a valuable contribution to the history of Canada, a rich field which daily attracts new reapers. The colonization of Acadia or Nova Scotia, as the English have since named the peninsula, was effected under conditions different from those which we find in any other American settlement. The original grant in 1603 to the Sieur de Monts, was of exclusive privilege to trade along the coast as low as the fortieth degree. With the title of Vice Admiral he set sail from Havre de Grace in the spring of 1604. He built a fort on the island of St. Croix, passed the winter there with considerable suffering and loss of men, and in the spring was joined by the Sieur de Pont-Grave, from Honfleur, with recruits, and together the next year they founded Port Royal, which M. de Monts conveyed as a *fief* to the Sieur de Poitracourt, who began the establishment of an agricultural colony. This was the first of the feudal tenures, of which numbers still remain in Canada. The post of Port Royal passed in 1632 into the hands of a new French colony of forty families, led thither by M. M. de Razilly and d'Aulnay. In 1710,

when Acadia fell into English hands, the population of the parish reached 2,000 souls; in 1750, left undisturbed by their English conquerors, without new additions from Europe, it had risen to 4,000. This increase alarmed the English. The French villages were surrounded by the New England militia in 1775, and a barbarous *deportation*, familiar through Longfellow's beautiful pastoral, carried off 10,000 of this simple, agricultural people. Later some of these returned from their forced emigration, not exceeding 2,500 in all, from whom is descended the French population which in 1871 was counted at 87,740 souls. We will not follow the account of the feudal attributes of this early colony, which the author describes with evident affection. His views are not of to-day, but we dissent again as before from the opinion expressed that the semi-feudal colonization of the French could ever have kept pace with the individual and restless activity of their English neighbors. What the result might have been had the French seized the middle country instead of occupying bays and rivers which were always ice-bound in winter it is useless to enquire. The secret of their failure may have been in this want of practical common-sense. But we question the taste of M. Rameau in calling Franklin "a mortal and hypocritical enemy of the French name," when he ascribes to him extreme clear-sightedness in his famous declaration of 1755, that "until Canada was conquered there would be neither peace nor repose for the thirteen colonies." Surely there was no *hypocrisy* in this declaration. The English reader will smile at the author's opinion that the reunion of Canada to France after the American revolution would have been the destruction of the United States. This is "chauvinism" pure and simple.

BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER. AN ORATION DELIVERED ON THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EVENT, OCTOBER 17, 1877, AT SCHUYLerville, N. Y., by GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS. 8vo, pp. 27. BAKER & GODWIN, New York, 1877.

Everything that comes from the pen of this scholarly and accomplished gentleman is worthy of perusal. This was in every sense an oration, and was eminently suited to the patriotic occasion, which will be long remembered as the historic ground of old Saratoga. Our readers will not expect to find calm historic treatment in the warm passages which were met with applause by the hearers. Mr. Curtis has accepted the current popular traditions and woven them into the pageant he has drawn with his usual consummate and dramatic skill.

THE BURGOYNE CAMPAIGN. BEMIS' HEIGHTS, SEPT. 19 AND OCT. 12th. HAUVER ISLAND AND ITS FORTIFICATIONS, by H. C. MAINE, A. M. Illustrated with pen drawings by BRUCLAND. 8vo, pp. 51. Troy Whig Pub. Co., Troy, 1877.

This is a curious little addition to the history of the famous campaign of 1777, which originated, as its author informs us, in a desire to search out and record the history of the occupation by the Americans of Hauver and Van Schaick's Islands, at the sprouts of the Mohawk. The illustrations are by the photo-electrotype process, which is quite satisfactory for the style of illustration such a pamphlet needs. The curious will find sketches of cannon and howitzers, coats of arms and other relics, which come out very well, while the portraits are below mediocrity.

There are some statements which at this season should not be allowed to pass unrefuted. Of these is the assertion that Gates in his report of the action of the 12th, "*barely mentioned Arnold and Morgan*." On the contrary, notwithstanding the insubordination and insolence of Arnold, Gates magnanimously mentioned his gallantry and wound, and gave special praise to Morgan's riflemen and Dearborn's light infantry.

REPORT OF THE NEW JERSEY COMMISSIONERS OF THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION, printed by authority. 8vo, pp. 423. Trenton, N. J., 1877.

An admirably arranged and well printed volume, being the official report of the showing of New Jersey at the great American Fair. New Jersey took early part in sympathy and aid of her neighbor, the legislature voting one hundred thousand dollars to be invested in Centennial stock. The State Commission raised and disbursed \$22,763.73 in addition for the New Jersey Hall. The number of exhibitors from the State was 502, represented by 32,816 articles, and displayed at a cost of \$188,013. It is to be regretted that the other States have not been as thorough in their reports. The volume contains an account of exhibits and of the awards of merit assigned.

PANOLA; A TALE OF LOUISIANA. BY MRS. SARAH N. DORSEY. 16mo, pp. 261. T. B. PETERSON & BRO., Philadelphia, 1877.

The reader will find in this romance, which is of the sensational class, some interesting sketches of life in the Southwest just prior to the breaking out of the civil war. There is an excellent field for observation and drawing of character in the mixed races, the Mulatto, and

Indian half-breeds, of part white and of part negro parentage. Some of these are well treated here, and the authoress shows her knowledge of their peculiar natures. Panola, the heroine, is part Cherokee, part Dutch. Natika, her rival, part Greek, part French. "Much married Liz-bette," who had buried eight husbands [in oblivion], a French mulatto. In the chapter named after her are some nice appreciations of the *morale* of the mulatto race. Mrs. Dorsey assigns to them the passions and appetites of the African, with the astuteness and viciousness of the white race. This is more true of the amalgamation with the Saxon than the French; the latter type has much more amenity and is much truer in its attachments and ties, particularly those formed with the white race.

THE EARTH AS MODIFIED BY HUMAN ACTION. A NEW EDITION OF MAN AND NATURE. By GEORGE P. MARSH. A new and revised edition. 16mo, pp. 674. SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG & CO., New York, 1877.

These profound researches, philosophic deductions and ingenious speculations by analogic process, as to the future physical condition of the globe under the treatment it is experiencing at the hands of mankind, are too famous to require any more than a passing mention. They will always remain an authority on this curious subject. The final chapter "on the great Physical changes proposed to be accomplished by the art of man," to use the author's words, is that which is most valuable to the general reader. The recent famine in India, ascribed to the neglect of the British Government to carry on the ancient works of irrigation, which made its plains fertile, and is an apt illustration of one of Mr. Marsh's theories. The completion of the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez, which received his approbation when he wrote his work in 1863, demonstrates the practical correctness of his judgment. The index to this volume is admirable in arrangement and detail.

THE WORKS OF EDGAR ALLAN POE. In four volumes. 12mo. W. J. WIDDLETON, New York, 1876.

THE LIFE AND POEMS OF EDGAR ALLEN POE. A new memoir by E. L. DIDIER and additional poems. 12mo, pp. 305. W. J. WIDDLETON, New York, 1877.

Mr. Widdleton has done literature a service in putting in a compact form the works of this eccentric and talented author. Mr. Ingram, in his memoir to the four volume edition, first called attention to the injustice done to Poe by Dr.

Griswold; Mr. Didier has taken the same more generous view of his character, and prints a long introductory letter by Sarah Helen Whitman, Poe's most consistent defender. That his life was one of miserable self-indulgence, in which his intervals of self-control were also miserable because of the wretchedness he brought upon those who loved him, is too well known to be kept secret. His poems, most strongly marked by individuality, are evidences of his deformed mental and moral condition.

#### "THE DOLLAR OF OUR FATHERS"—

MOVEMENT OF SILVER. Speech of SAMUEL B. RUGGLES, Chairman of the Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce on International Coinage before the Convention of the American Bankers' Association, held in the City of New York, September 13, 1877. Published for the information of the Chamber. With Supplemental Historical Notes. 8vo, pp. 16. Press of the Chamber of Commerce, New York, 1877.

An extremely valuable paper from the best authority in this country on this and kindred subjects. Its purpose is to throw light upon the silver question, which is now the one important subject in national discussion. The great perturbations in the value of this metal have attracted general attention, while the proposal to make a metal of such fluctuating value a legal tender has aroused an alarm as general. The probable necessity of great public works of irrigation in India, which will require the use of large amounts of silver coin, introduces a new and important element into this problem, on which our national prosperity may for a long time depend. The United States can supply the silver if the English will be our factors in its distribution. The interest of both countries is in a common accord. This pamphlet of Mr. Ruggles is the last of the contributions of his broad and prophetic mind to a branch of science which, simple in itself, has been muddled by the absurd theories of those who confuse finance with banking, and subordinate all other interests to the privilege of issuing currency.

THE HISTORICAL SUCCESSION OF MONETARY METALLIC STANDARDS. Reviewed by ROBERT MOXON TOPPAN, of New York, in a letter to the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York on International Coinage, printed for the use of the Chamber. 8vo, pp. 18. Press of the Chamber of Commerce, 1877.

A concise and comprehensive view of the leading

facts presented in the monetary systems of Asia, Europe and America in a period extending over twenty-five hundred years. At the very outset we find the interesting statement that as far as researches have been made the three metals have never been of equal value, but preferred as now, in the order of gold, silver and copper. The superiority of gold is thus established by the common consent of men, and in all ages. The investigation then shows to us how gold has gradually asserted that superiority and become the sole unit of value. Gold was the standard in Asia Minor from 800 B. C. for four centuries; silver, auxiliary. Silver was the sole standard in Greece for a long period; gold came in with the conquest of Persia; a double standard prevailed under the successors of Alexander, while gold became the sole standard of the Roman Empire.

The history of Europe since the Middle Ages is a repetition of what preceded the breaking up of western civilization—a gradual progress towards gold as a single standard. These are interesting facts. We also notice the statement that the decimal system prevails over nearly the whole civilized world except Great Britain, which as usual stands in the way of all progress that does not originate with herself, while Germany, in her hatred of France, resists with equal pertinacity the adoption of the admirable units and subdivisions which prevail in France.

#### HISTORY OF THE PROGRESS OF POP-

ULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM 1790 TO 1870. By EDWARD JARVIS, M. D., President of the American Statistical Association. 8vo, pp. 16. BAIRD, CLAPP & SON, Boston, 1877.

This pamphlet was prepared for the eighth session of the International Statistical Congress held at St. Petersburg in 1872. The preparation of such tables is a thankless task, but they are of great value for philosophic deductions, and their authors deserve the thanks of the public.

CENTENNIAL OFFERING. REPUBLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES AND ACTS OF THE REVOLUTION IN AMERICA. Dedicated to the young men of the United States fifty-four years ago by the late HEZEKIAH NILES, editor of the Weekly Register. 8vo, pp. 522. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York, Chicago and New Orleans, 1876.

The name of Hezekiah Niles will always be affectionately remembered by students of American history for his invaluable *Register*, which noted the daily occurrences of interest in the United States for a period of a half century. A correspondence in that periodical in 1816 suggested

the compilation of this volume, which was issued at Baltimore in 1822 in an edition which was rapidly exhausted, and has lately become so rare that a new edition was called for by many of our most distinguished statesmen and citizens. In pursuance of their request Mr. Samuel V. Niles, grandson of the original compiler, prepared the present volume for the press, thoroughly revising and classifying the contents under the respective colonies and in chronological order, with a good index.

#### CARICATURE AND OTHER COMIC

ART IN ALL TIMES AND MANY LANDS. By JAMES PARTON. With 203 Illustrations. 4to, pp. 340. HARPER & BROTHER, New York, 1877.

In this volume are gathered together a series of articles, prepared by this popular and entertaining author for *Harpers' Monthly Magazine*, with numerous additions of original matter. It is an elegant table book of an amusing and instructive character; superbly printed and profusely illustrated in a most creditable manner. Mr. Parton's selections include all that is known of pictorial caricature, from Ancient Egypt to the present time, related in the gay and sparkling manner for which he is so celebrated.

American caricature closes the volume. Mr. Parton considers Benjamin Franklin to have been the earliest American caricaturist, and traces the history of the art in this country from him to our day, which offers so many examples of the power of the crayon upon public opinion.

The Messrs. Harper appear to have spared no expense in the manufacture of this volume. Mr. Parton especially acknowledges their "extraordinary liberality" in this connection. The volume is certain to take an instant hold on popular favor, and to become the text book on this subject in America.

#### THE UNITED STATES AS A NATION.

LECTURES ON THE CENTENNIAL OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE GIVEN AT BERLIN, DRESDEN, FLORENCE, PARIS, AND LONDON. By JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, D.D., LL. D. 8vo, pp. 323. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co., Boston, 1877.

The United States might have searched in vain for a better representative of its thought, feeling and culture than the eloquent divine to whom we owe these pages. They greatly served to correct the deliberate misrepresentations made even by Americans concerning the condition of public and private morals in this country, and to show to European nations that there are still some who value their birth-right. These lectures—six in number—covering the history of the progress of

the country in the century since the declaration of independence, were received with remarkable favor by large audiences in Berlin, Florence, Paris and London. The volume is published with the usual good taste of the Osgoods.

#### ADRIFT IN THE ICE FIELDS. BY

'CAPTAIN CHARLES W. HALL. Illustrated 12mo, pp. 326. LEE & SHEPARD, Boston, 1877.

This little volume, in a form pleasing to youth, presents a picture of the hardy population which inhabit the margins of the great Gulf of St. Lawrence. Books of this character, like Cooper's Littlepage series, have an historical value in their faithful portrayal of manners and customs.

#### MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCI-

ETY. MEMOIR OF THE HON. JOHN H. CLIFFORD, LL. D. By ROBERT C. WINTHROP. 8vo, pp. 30. Boston, 1877.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF EDMUND QUINCY AND JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. 8vo, pp. 30. Boston, 1877.

It is the custom of this venerable institution to notice in an appropriate manner the deaths of their fellows. Mr. Winthrop, President of the Society, pays a graceful tribute to the memory of Governor Clifford of the old Commonwealth, and of Mr. Edmund Quincy, the late Recording Secretary of the Society. The merits of Mr. Motley as a historian received the highest praise from his associates, Messrs. Winthrop, James Russell Lowell, Amory, Dr. Holmes and others. His diplomatic career, which has been the subject of so much debate of late, was not discussed.

#### LIFE AND LETTERS OF GEORGE CABOT.

By HENRY CABOT LODGE. 8vo, pp. 615. LITTLE, BROWN & Co., Boston, 1877.

This elaborate volume furnishes valuable material to the student of the history of the Federal period of our history. It is full of original letters of an interesting character, which throw light on the politics of the day. Mr. Cabot was Senator from Massachusetts and a thorough Federalist, and his life is here presented by his grandson from that stand-point.

It is admirably printed and well indexed.

#### THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, No.

259, NOVEMBER - DECEMBER, 1877. 8vo. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co., Boston.

We receive this volume from the editor with the notice that the office of our standard Review has been transferred to the city of New York,

and that it will be hereafter published by Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. Under its new direction it promises to maintain its character and largely extend its influence. In the present number we find articles relating to American history from Parkman, Charles Gayarré, and Charles Lindsey of Toronto, and a collection of opinions on the subject of the Resumption of specie payments.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW. VOL. IV, No. 6. NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1877. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York and Boston.

This Review maintains its popularity. The articles relating to America are upon the Currency Question, Judicial Partisanship, a review of Dr. Mahan's volume on the Civil War and an essay on Motley's Appeal to History by the Hon. John Jay.

AN HISTORICAL PAPER RELATING TO SANTA CRUZ, CALIFORNIA, prepared in pursuance of the resolutions of Congress for the National Centennial Celebration, July 4, 1876, at the request of the Common Council of Santa Cruz. By S. H. WILLEY, D.D. 8vo, pp. 37. A. L. BANCROFT & Co., San Francisco, 1876.

In this pamphlet we find the history of Santa Cruz traced from its discovery, through the periods of exploration, of the Missions, of colonization and of industries. Santa Cruz was incorporated a city in March, 1876, and has a population of from five to six thousand inhabitants. Dr. Willey tells us that it is the oldest city on the Mexican coast, its discovery antedating that of Monterey twenty-four years.

THE LIFE, CAMPAIGNS AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF GENERAL McCLELLAN (GEORGE B. McCLELLAN), THE HERO OF WESTERN VIRGINIA! SOUTH MOUNTAIN! AND ANTIETAM. 16mo. T. B. PETERSON & BROTHERS, Philadelphia.

This appears to be a reprint of the *Campaign* volume published in 1864. There is nothing in it that requires any special mention at this moment. We merely note its re-publication.

THE NARRATIVE OF A BLOCKADE RUNNER. By J. WILKINSON, Captain in the late Confederate States Navy. 12mo, pp. 252. SHELDON & Co., New York, 1877.

The reader will naturally expect to find in a work of this nature, written by an actor in the

scenes he describes, a one-sided view of this subject. The profession of blockade running was certainly full of interest and excitement, but it was not lucrative. Sooner or later nearly every one of the craft fell into the hands of the United States cruisers, and we believe we are not wrong in stating that every one of the English merchants engaged in this unfriendly business was ruined before the close of the war.

BIOGRAFIA DE HOMBRES NOTABLES DE HISPANO-AMERICA. Biography of Distinguished Men of Spanish America.

Under this title Señor Ramon Azpurú, we learn from Caracas, has lately published an interesting work, which serves to complete the monumental work. "*Documentos para la vida pública del Libertador.*" By this name every one will recognize the Father of his country, the Liberator Simon Bolivar.

The volume, according to its "announcement," begins the collection of lives of the illustrious men who have figured on the South American Continent since the year 1810. Commencing with that of Bolivar, it closes with a sketch of General Anzoátegui. As this latter was one of the patriots of 1810, the work, although containing more than fifty biographies, has only commenced. There will be many volumes more if the promise of the collection be carried out so as to embrace in chronological order all the regions of the New World.

The second volume will contain biographies of Paez, de Higgins, Palacio, and other notables, who aided in the work of Spanish-American freedom.

MAP OF THE NORTH SEA AND LANDS DELINEATED UPON A CHART IN THE 14TH CENTURY, by ANTONIO ZENO, and as printed at Venice in 1558 to accompany the Narrative of the Northern Voyages of the Brothers Nicolo and Antonio Zeno to Iceland, Greenland, Spitzbergen, Franz Joseph Land, etc., etc., 1380 and after. Fac-simile—reduced size, by the photo-electrotype process. GEORGE EDWIN EMERY, Lynn, Mass., 1877.

BODY OF THE ZENI MAP OF THE NORTH SEA, 1380, exhibiting an original identification of Frisland, Islanda, Crolandia, Podanda, Monaco, Icaria, Neome, Grislada and the Seven Islands (Mimant, etc.)—also the Islands of the Zeni Narrative and the Lost Colony of East Greenland. By GEORGE E. EMERY, Lynn, Mass., 1877.



**MAP OF THE NORTH SEA AND LANDS AS KNOWN IN POPULAR GEOGRAPHY, 1877,** with an original identification of the Frisland, Islanda, St. Thomas, Podanda and Duilo of the Zeni Map and Voyages, 1830, together with the true locality of the Last East Greenland Colony; also the Hvidserk, Blaaserk, North Bottome, Funderstranda and Western Sea of the Icelandic Sagas, etc., as located from historical investigations, by **GEORGE E. EMERY**, Lynn, Mass., 1877.

We invite the attention of our geographers to the last of the series, which presents a view of Mr. Emery's investigations.

**LE GLAÇON DU POLARIS AVENTURES DU CAPITAINE TYSON RACONTÉES D'APRÈS LES PUBLICATIONS AMÉRICAINES,** par M. W. DE FONVIELLE, contenant une carte. 16mo, pp. 302. HACHETTE & CIE., Paris. F. W. CHRISTERN, New York. 1877.

This is a pleasing and instructive abstract of "Arctic Experiences and Captain Tyson's Adventures" published by Harper Bros. in 1874, and of the Government report of the "Narrative of the North Polar Expedition U. S. Ship *Polaris*," of which we gave a notice in a late number.

**THE STORY OF A HESSIAN. A TALE OF THE REVOLUTION IN NEW JERSEY.** By **LUCY ELLEN GUERNSEY**. 12mo, pp. 181. American Sunday School Union, Philadelphia, 1877.

This interesting little story opens at the hunting lodge of Nonnenwald in the Thuringerwald in the fall of 1779 upon a woman in distress at the death of a son, while her husband is serving in the Hessian Contingent in America. The story of the soldier is not put together with much skill, and has less historic treatment than we anticipated, but it is worth noticing as showing the disposition of the day to use every form of narrative to convey moral lessons. In this the interest in centennial history suggests the form.

**OUR NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION. AN ESSAY.** By **JOHN C. HENDERSON, Jr.** 16mo, pp. 131.

This essay is well worthy of perusal. It invites attention to popular education as the most important element in the character of a free people. We are not of those who believe that read-

ing and writing are the sum of human knowledge, though no doubt efficient helps to it, and hence do not hold to the theory that suffrage should depend upon these accomplishments. Perhaps, also, the measure of material progress may not always be found in this direction.

We are glad to notice the fair, dispassionate method of the essayist. No comparisons of the United States with foreign countries are yet in order. The large uneducated immigration must be always taken into account. The States cannot well be left to themselves to correct the inequalities resulting from the distribution of this large mass, and Mr. Henderson is naturally found to be warmly in favor of the recommendation of President Grant, that "the States shall be *required* to afford the opportunity of a good common school education to every child within their limits." In this we heartily concur.

**MORMONISM UNVEILED; OR THE LIFE AND CONFESSIONS OF THE LATE MORMON BISHOP JOHN D. LEE** (written by himself), embracing a history of Mormonism from its inception down to the present time, with an Exposition of the Secret History, Signs, Symbols and Crimes of the Mormon Church. Also the True History of the Horrible Butchery known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre. 8vo, pp. 406. BRYAN, BRAND & CO., St. Louis, 1877.

In a preface to this volume the publishers inform us that this is the *genuine and only genuine* Life and Confessions of this atrocious scoundrel, who expiated his participation in the tragedy of Mountain Meadows, the 23d day of March, 1877, on the very spot where he murdered the inoffensive emigrants twenty years before. For the correctness of this information, reference is made to the U. S. Marshal of Utah Territory and other well known persons.

We wish this revelation may give a *coup de grace* to this revolting institution, and that punishment may fall on those leaders in iniquity who have as yet escaped.

**A MEMORIAL OF FITZ GREENE HALLECK.** A description of the Dedication of the Monument erected to his memory at Guilford, Connecticut; and of the Proceedings connected with the Unveiling of the Poet's Statue in the Central Park, New York. Printed for the Committee. AMERMAN & WILSON, New York, 1877.

This is chiefly an account of the proceedings which took place in Central Park on the 15 May, 1877. We are alive to the claim of Halleck as a light and graceful poet, but we look in vain

through his works for any reason why a *colossal* statue in brass should be raised to him in Central Park. If such be the honors to mortals, what shall be the measure of the monuments we shall raise to the *immortals* when they leave us for the Walhalla?

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DAVENPORT AND VICINITY IN THE WAR OF 1812. Written by published by W. CLEMENT PUTNAM. 8vo, pp. 10. Woodlawn, 1877.

An interesting sketch of the western campaign of 1814, the purpose of which was to establish a strong military post on the British and Indian frontier. The campaign resulted in a series of defeats, which the essayist ascribes to the fault of the commanders.

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THE REV. SAMUEL PETERS, HIS DEFENDERS AND APOLOGISTS, with a Reply to the Churchman's Review of "the True Blue Laws of Connecticut," etc. By J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL. Reprinted from the *Hartford Daily Courant*. 8vo, pp. 26. Hartford, 1877.

We have already alluded to the lively dispute over the reprint of the Reverend Samuel Peters' History. This is Mr. Trumbull's argument, which will be found strong and pungent as well.

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MS. NOTE ON THE CHURCH IN AMERICA. By WILLIAM WHITE, 1747-1836. Privately published by THOS. H. MONTGOMERY. New York. Easter Tide, 1877.

These are four pages of fac-simile of a Ms. found among the papers of the Reverend Bishop of Pennsylvania. It relates to a controversy which ended in the connection of the American Episcopal Church with the Church of England. There is also an excellent portrait, which will delight the hearts of collectors.

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THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY. No. 3 of Vol. I. Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1877.

We have here in due season an unusually interesting number, the contents of which are too numerous for us to mention even by name. The Journal of William Black, Secretary of Commissioners to unite the Colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland in 1744, is continued as the leading article, and we also find some interesting notes on the Iroquois and Delaware Indians.

ROBERT MORRIS, THE FINANCIER OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. A Sketch. By CHARLES HENRY HART. (Reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.) Philadelphia, 1877.

We notice this article from the last number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* to call attention to the *Nota Bene* of Mr. Hart, that he has in preparation a life of Robert Morris, in two volumes, royal octavo, for the completion of which he invites copies of such autograph letters as may be in the hands of collectors throughout the country. We take pleasure in seconding the request of this painstaking and accomplished student.

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THE LIFE OF EDGAR ALLAN POE.

By WILLIAM F. GILL. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 315. C. T. DILLINGHAM, New York, 1877.

This is still another effort to redeem the reputation of this eccentric, brilliant and most individual genius from the general impression the world has of him. It is one of the privileges of genius to be the "point de mire" of criticism. Mr. Gill uses sharp edged tools in his literary work.

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MONTCALM ET LE CANADA FRANCAIS. ESSAI HISTORIQUE, par CHARLES DE BONNECHOSE. Avec un Portrait et deux cartes. HACHETTE, Paris, 1877. 12mo, pp. 208. For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, was born February 28th, 1712, in the *Château de Candiac*, near Nîmes, of an old family that had done much military service. Entering the army at the early age of fourteen, his first campaign was made under the old Maréchal de Berwick. He served afterwards in Bohemia and Italy. He was wounded by five sabre cuts before Piacenza in 1746 while commanding the regiment of Auxerrois-infanterie, where the French were defeated. He married a grand-niece of Talon, founder of the Royal Administration in Canada, and had ten children, of which six were alive in 1752. In 1756 he sailed on the frigate *Licorne* from Brest as chief commander of the French troops sent to Canada, a much coveted appointment. His aid-de-camp, twenty-seven years old, was the afterwards celebrated Bougainville. On another frigate of the convoy was the Chevalier de Lévis, successor to Montcalm, and later Maréchal de France. The newly published History of New France by Charlevoix was carefully studied by the leader and his staff, who landed at Quebec on the 13th of May. 3,800 men came

over at this time, and 1,500 more the year following. Of these 2,200 were left at the end of five years. Montcalm's brilliant attack and capture of Fort Oswego or Chouaguen followed shortly after his arrival, and then his attempt to seize Fort William Henry in the winter, which he made a success during the next summer. It was on the retreat from this place that the massacre was said to have occurred, which Fenimore Cooper in his *Last of the Mohicans* exaggerated, or rather invented, for it appears that no one was hurt excepting some French soldiers who quelled the tumult.

The author then describes Montcalm's difficult position after the abdication of the Governor, M. de Saudreuil, into the hands of François Bigot. In 1758 he repulses the English under Abercrombie from Fort Carillon, afterwards rebuilt as Ticonderoga. Montcalm then desired to be recalled, and sent home Louis Bougainville, his aid, to make a report to the Ministry on the desperate condition of the Province. This was the elder Bougainville, who when Vice Admiral added some notes and an Itinerary from Fort Chouigen (Oswego) to Schenectady to a French translation of Alex. Mackenzie's travels by Castuera, which appeared in 1802. The close of the year 1758 brought the bad news of the loss of Fort Duquesne, and the winter was a very anxious one to the French. Bougainville returned with information to hold Canada at all hazards. The result is well known, and is well told by the author. An appendix contains papers relating to the posthumous honors rendered to Montcalm, to the monument erected at Quebec, on which is a statue presented by Prince Napoleon, and dedicated October 19th, 1862. It has also the terms of capitulation, signed at Montreal, September 8th, 1760, and a geographical description of Canada by the Abbé Holmes.

The work is a brilliant and apparently correct sketch of the young French General, whose life closed simultaneously with that of Wolfe, when Canada became the prize of the British. Some mis-spelling of Indians names may be overlooked.

**A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIBLIOGRAPHY, OR A HANDY BOOK ABOUT BOOKS.** By JOSEPH SABIN, author of "A Dictionary of Books Relating to America." SABIN & SONS, New York, 1877.

Those who know anything about this author's Dictionary will not be surprised to find one speaking in very strong terms in commendation of the present work, a practical acquaintance with which is needed. It is the work of a man who regards books with a kind of personal affection, and who knows everything about the subject treated that a life-time of enthusiastic study generally affords. The author does not claim to

have exhausted the department of Bibliography, yet he has done his work so honestly and thoroughly that no one will need to take the matter in hand again for many years. "No work of any great importance appears to have been left out; though Mr. Sabin frankly confesses the truth that a complete Bibliography of Bibliography is beyond any one man's capacity. To read the book is in a sense an education, while the bibliomaniac will be charmed with the recollection of the splendid tournaments upon his chosen field which some of the titles bring to mind. The man who buys and uses this book will do justice to himself as well as to the author.

**MEMORIALS OF THE DISCOVERY AND EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE BERMUDAS OR SOMERS ISLAND, 1515-1685.** Compiled from the Colonial Records and other original sources by Major-General J. N. LEFROY, R. A., C. B. F. R. S., Honorary Member of the New York Historical Society—some time Governor of the Bermudas. Vol. I, 1515-1652, with map. 8vo, pp. 772. LONGMANS, GREEN & Co., London, 1877.

This will be found a volume of extreme historic value. It is printed and published in admirable form, the entire cost being defrayed by the Colonial Government. The accomplished author has fully carried out the promise of thoroughness made in his preface, and has enlivened the dry pages of mere historic record with many curious details of the life and manners of this colony in the seventeenth century. General Lefroy claims that there is no British colony of that century the records of whose social life are so full, or whose history dates from so early a settlement. This settlement originated we are told in erroneous and delusive expectations, and was embarrassed by the attempted monopoly of the first proprietors. The storm which wrecked the ship which carried Sir George Somers and his companions is held by the General to have suggested, as Malone considered, the title of "The Tempest," but he warily avoids committing himself as to whether the island was or was not the "still vexed Bermoothes" of the immortal bard who converted all things to his uses and made all things his own. The first chapter treats of the discovery (1515-1611) and the shipwrecks; the second of the colonization under the Verjernes Company, 1612-1615; the third of the Virginia Company, then follow the Governments of Butler, Bernard Wodehouse, Bell, Wood, Chaddocke Sayle, the triumvirate, Turner, Trimmingham and Fforster, which brings us to the Proclamation of the Commonwealth in 1652.

An appendix supplies ample local details and a chronological register of events. Two indexes, one of persons and one of subjects, complete this admirable volume.

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